

Albanian Etymological Dictionary

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BRILL

ALBANIAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

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BY

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BRILL
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1998

To my beloved Natasha

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PREFACE

The present Dictionary results from twenty years of my work in the field of Albanian etymology. A considerable number of my etymological studies were published as a series of articles on *Balkan etymologies*. Since 1985, I have been accumulating material for a comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Albanian language corresponding to contemporary standards applied to the works of this genre.

The present Dictionary is based on works of my predecessors GUSTAV MEYER and EQREM ÇABEJ, authors of earlier Albanian etymological dictionaries (ÇABEJ's work, unfortunately, remained unfinished), as well as on studies of other outstanding scholars such as NORBERT JOKL, MAX VASMER, and ERIC HAMP. At the same time, dozens of words in my Dictionary have received new explanations suggested here for the first time or already mentioned in one of my *Balkan etymologies* or other publications.

The Dictionary is based on a certain view of the prehistory of Albanian. It is a purely etymological work; hence, its lack of interest in early Albanian texts (unless their data are, occasionally, of crucial etymological importance). As far as the inherited vocabulary is concerned, the Dictionary deals with three main stages in the development of the Albanian lexicon: Indo-European, Proto-Albanian and (contemporary) Albanian. While Indo-European in the framework of this book is treated as reconstructed for the latest period of its existence immediately preceding its disintegration and the appearance of the ancient Indo-European languages, particularly, as far as the phonetic history is concerned (where I follow mainly BRUGMANN's reconstruction with certain minor changes such as laryngeals), Proto-Albanian language and reconstruction are relatively new concepts developed in my earlier publications. They denote a stage of development between Indo-European and (contemporary) Albanian *immediately preceding* the intensive linguistic contacts with Latin, i.e. before the I - II centuries C.E. Thus, Proto-Albanian may be functionally compared to the notion of Late Proto-Slavic in modern Slavic linguistics. The following period from II century to VII century remains unnamed in the present work (I used a rather clumsy term, *Early Albanian*, in my Russian articles), but its main developments can be described in terms of the Proto-Albanian situation changed by Romance and Slavic lexical and phonetic influences.

As to (contemporary) Albanian, this period starts with the language attested in the earliest written documents of the Albanian culture.

Proto-Albanian, as demonstrated by its vocabulary and isoglosses linking it to other Indo-European languages, is connected with a certain type of material and spiritual culture and with a certain territory. There are serious reasons to believe that this territory did *not* coincide with the contemporary Albania, i.e. with the ancient Illyrian coast of the Adriatic (see WEIGAND *BA* III 277-286; GEORGIEV *Trakite* 212-215). On the contrary, numerous proofs (the absence of indigenous sea-faring terminology in Albanian borrowing corresponding words from Romance and Greek or using transparent metaphors; the existence of Albanian-Rumanian bilateral isoglosses; the lack of Proto-Albanian toponymy in Illyria and so on) seem to corroborate the original settling of Proto-Albanians in Dacia Ripensis and farther North, in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains and the Beskidy/Bieszczady (believed by some to come from Proto-Albanian definite plural **beškāi tāi*, see *bjeshkë*). The Proto-Albanian migration to Illyria via the Eastern slopes of the Balkans must have taken place before (but not considerably earlier than) their contact with Romance speakers and the end of the Proto-Albanian period in the history of the Albanian language.

The Dictionary includes an *Introduction*, a short reference source where the reader will find basic information on the development of the phonetic system from Indo-European to Proto-Albanian to Albanian as well as the basic historical phonology of early loanwords in Albanian. A much more detailed description of Proto-Albanian will appear in my *Historical Grammar of Albanian* which I hope to publish soon. The Introduction also includes short notes on the Albanian phonetics and orthography. In the main body of the Dictionary, every item contains basic lexicological information (main word form, including the Geg variant after tilda if differing from Tosk, meaning, basic paradigmatic forms for nouns and verbs or characteristic of the part of speech and the like) and the suggested etymology with a reference (if this etymology has been given earlier). Other etymologies and references are adduced after the sign of $\diamond$. In this section, some references are adduced with their etymological versions briefly summarized, while other sources are just mentioned, for the convenience of the reader. A blank reference normally means that the source may be helpful but does not contain an etymological explanation of its own. Occasionally, Geg forms having no Tosk parallels are adduced as separate etymological entries, marked as (G). The Dictionary also contains indices of forms.

The alphabetic order used in the Dictionary as far as Albanian forms are concerned corresponds to the accepted standard of the Albanian lexicography; *ë* follows *e*; *gj* and *nj* are separate letters following *g* and *n* correspondingly; the same is true of *ll* and *rr* appearing after *l* and *r* as separate symbols and of *sh*, *zh*, *xh* and *th* after *s*, *z*, *x* and *t*.

It should be kept in mind that in Albanian there still exist certain problems of agreeing on a standard orthography. My orthography simply follows the main lexicographic sources I used and may well be not quite consecutive in some cases. The dictionaries on which the choice of words for the present work (as well as the orthography and meanings) was based, were KRISTOFORIDHI, LEOTTI, DRIZARI, *Fjalor*, BUCHHOLZ-FIEDLER - UHLISCH and MANN *HAED*. Other lexicographic sources mentioned in the List of references were also used occasionally.

The Dictionary includes the following layers of the contemporary Albanian vocabulary:

- (1) Inherited words of Indo-European origin;
- (2) Words of expressive origin, onomatopoeias and the like;
- (3) Loanwords from ancient Greek, Latin (and Romance), Slavic and other languages.

The approximate limit *post quem non* chosen in this Dictionary is X - XII century. Therefore, I did not include here most of the Italian, Rumanian, modern Greek and Turkish loanwords as well as many local and dialectal loans from Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian. However, some difficult or interesting words of these groups were included, if they were of any specific etymological interest, particularly, if there was a discussion on their etymologies. The omitted lexical layers were successfully studied and described elsewhere (see HELBIG, BORETZKY, HARDY *Gk.* and other sources). In the case of Slavic loanwords, I was often unable to distinguish older borrowings from recent ones, and it seemed proper to keep Slavic material in case of any doubts.

Non-Latin scripts other than Greek have been transliterated. This applies in particular to Cyrillic for which a compromise system is used, preserving *ѣ* and *ѥ* as signs for vowels in Bulgarian, Church Slavonic and Old Russian but presenting *ѥ* as a palatalization sign (') elsewhere. As already mentioned above, Indo-European reconstructions reflect a pragmatic compromise, too, and may be generally described as modified Brugmannian. Laryngeals (wherever necessary) are represented by a generalized symbol **H* (also used in quotations of other scholars as a convenient label for various laryngeal phonemes). I did my best to

check and double-check cited forms and meanings using the basic and most authoritative reference sources. Thus, Greek words were normally controlled with LIDDELL-SCOTT, Sanskrit words - with MONIER-WILLIAMS, Old Irish - with *DIL* and so on.

Bibliographic references are abbreviated. References to books consist either of the author's name (DIEFENBACH, VASMER) or of the author's name and an italicized and abbreviated name of the book (JOKL *Stud.*, DESNICKAJA *Sravn.*). References to papers in journals and collections of articles consist of the author's name and an italicized and abbreviated name of the serial edition (PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen*, DURIDANOV *IIBE*). In the list of references, only books and serial editions are listed. Roman numerals after the reference indicate the volume, Arabic figures are page numbers. In rare cases when the serial edition has no numbered volumes, I adduce the year of publication instead. Occasional combinations of the Roman and Arabic numbers stand for the volume and the fascicle.

* * *

I owe a debt of gratitude to my late teacher of etymology Leonid A. Gindin (blessed be his memory) and my late teacher of Albanian Roza Koçi (blessed be her memory).

At early stages of my etymological work, I benefited from valuable advice and help provided by my colleagues of the Russian Academy of Sciences: Vladimir Dybo, Sergei Nikolaev, Sergei Starostin and Vladimir Toporov in Moscow and Alexander Rusakov in St. Petersburg. I also think with gratitude of my former co-author Irina Kalužskaja and of the late Agnija Desnickaja.

In 1981-1990 I was greatly assisted by the librarians of the Institute for Slavic and Balkan Studies in Moscow. The whole work would not have been carried out without the everyday help and co-operation of the staff of the Greek and Slavonic Annexe of the Taylorian Library where I spent most of my time in Oxford in 1995-1996. In particular, I would like to thank David Howells and Richard Ramage. I am also grateful to the staff of the Slavic and East European Library of the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) and, in particular, to Helen Sullivan. Important material was collected in the National Library in Tirana and in the Celtic Library (Jesus College, Oxford), where I was admitted due to the courtesy of my respected friend D. Ellis Evans who was always generous in sharing his vast knowledge of Celtic with me. Invariable

friendliness and competence of my Brill editors, Trudy Kamperveen and Jan Fehrmann, greatly contributed to my work at its last stage.

As mentioned above, a considerable part of this work was written during my stay in Wolfson College (Oxford) whose members and staff were of great help.

Finally, I would like to record my special thanks to numerous colleagues and friends: Bahri Beci, Merita Bruci and Shaban Demiraj (Tirana), Michael Nicholson, Gerald Smith, Andrew Sherratt and John Moorey (Oxford), John Greppin (Cleveland), Aron Dolgopolsky (Haifa), Jens Elmegård Rasmussen (Kopenhagen), Benjamin Isaac (Tel Aviv), and Vitaly Shevoroshkin (Ann Arbor). My friend Jean Rosen (Seattle) kindly agreed to edit my English. Indices were prepared in collaboration with my wife Natasha Orel and my student Gregory Zubakov.

I am particularly indebted to my friend Çlirim Bidollari (Tirana) who carried out the difficult, boring and dedicated task of reading through the Albanian part of the present book and correcting it, in the midst of the Albanian national tragedy of 1996-1997.

INTRODUCTION

ALBANIAN PHONETICS AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Modern Albanian (spoken in Albania as well as in large Albanian colonies in Italy, Balkan countries, Northern America and the Ukraine) exists in two basic forms based on two main groups of dialects, Tosk (Southern Albania) and Geg (Northern Albania). These two dialectal groups differ in a number of phonetic features as well as in certain morphological phenomena (mainly, in the analytical forms of the verb such as infinitive, future, imperfect, conditional and plusquamperfect). The main phonetic differences are as follows (according to ÇABEJ *St.* III 96-98):

1. In Geg there exist nasal vowels corresponding to non-nasal vowels in Tosk, cf. Geg *pêsë* ~ Tosk *pesë*, Geg *li* ~ Tosk *li*.

2. In Tosk there exists (stressed) *ë*, an equivalent of Rum *â*, *î*, Bulg *ъ*. This Tosk vowel corresponds to various nasal vowels in Geg.

3. There is an opposition of short : long vowels in Geg (historically explained by contractions and positional lengthenings). In Tosk there is no such opposition.

4. Old Albanian *uo* and Tosk *ua* correspond to Geg *ue*. In most of Geg dialects, *ue*, *ie*, *ye* yielded long vowels *u:*, *i:*, *y:*.

5. In several words, initial Tosk *va-* corresponds to initial Geg *vo-*.

6. In Tosk, voiced consonants are unvoiced in the auslaut. In Geg they are not.

7. Tosk dialects preserve groups *mb*, *ngj* and *nd* assimilated to *m*, *nj* and *n* in Geg.

8. Old Albanian groups *kl* and *gl* (preserved today in Chameria as well as in Dardha and Italy) changed to *q*, *gj* in most of Albanian dialects. However, in the North one finds *k*, *g*, in the Catholic part of Shkodra - *kj*, *gj*.

9. Intervocalic *-n-* is preserved in Geg but underwent the process of rhotacism in Tosk; hence, Tosk *verë* as an equivalent of Geg *venë*.

The contemporary literary standard is based on the Tosk variant. There also exists a parallel Geg literary norm. In order to read in Albanian, it is essential to make a few notes of the orthography (for details see BUCHHOLZ - FIEDLER *Alb. Gr.* 27-42):

c stands for [ts].

ç is a sign for [tʃ].

dh denotes an apicodental [ð].

ë stands for [ɐ] or zero if unstressed. When stressed, it denotes a central unrounded vowel [ɛ] similar to Bulg *ѣ*.

gj denotes a palatalized velar [gʲ].

j stands for [j].

l stands for "clear" European [l]. It can also denote a palatal [lʲ] being a separate phoneme in certain local dialects.

ll is a "dark" [ɫ] similar to the non-palatalized [ɫ] in Russian. It is opposed to *l* as an alveolar-dental to an alveolar.

nj denotes a palatalized [nʲ].

q stands for a palatalized velar [kʲ].

rr represents a long and/or intense [R].

sh is a palato-alveolar spirant [ʃ].

th denotes an apicodental [θ].

x stands for [dz].

xh is a sign for [dʒ].

y denotes a front rounded [y].

zh is a palato-alveolar spirant [ʒ].

Nasality of vowels in Geg is shown by the sign of circumflex $\wedge$: $\hat{a}$ stands for a nasal [ã], $\hat{e}$ is [ẽ] and so on.

ALBANIAN HISTORICAL PHONETICS

Vocalism

1. Short IE **e* was preserved as **e* in Proto-Albanian but later, after or during the period of Albanian - Latin contacts, it yielded a diphthong **ie* while in certain positions it remained unchanged (a similar process took place in Rumanian). These positions have not been accurately defined. Short **e* remains unchanged before *n* and *nj* (*vend*, *ndenja*, *rend*), after **l* (*mbledh*, *lehtë*, *lend*), after clusters containing **r* (*kredh*, *shkrep*, *bredh*) but not after the initial **r* (*rpjep*), after **j* (*ngjesh*). The diphthong **ie* was generally preserved as *ie* ~ *je* (*bie*, *pjek*, *djeg*, *diell*). In some cases, presumably, before a syllable containing PALB **i* and/or before some clusters, **ie* changed to *ia* ~ *ja* (*gjalmë*, *jam*, *mjaltë*, *jashtë*). The initial element of the diphthong was lost again after *ç*, *gj*, *nj* (*çel*, *gjerb*, *njeri*, *qengj*). The earliest Latin loanwords in Albanian reflect Lat *ē* as *je* ~ *ja* (*pjesë*, *vjersh*, *mjek*).

2. Short IE **o* changed to PALb **a* > Alb *a* (*natë, gardh, gjak, mardh*). Lat *ō* is reflected as *u* (*krushk, kundër, shpuzë*) or *o* (*popull, portë, korb*) in loanwords. Short IE **a* coincided with **o* in PALb **a* > Alb *a* (*kap, dal, bathë*). Lat *ā* appears as *a* in Albanian loanwords (*fajë, larg, shtat*). In some cases, Alb *a, ë* < PALb **a* reflects the old IE **a* (*dhënë ~ dhanë* < **danti-*, part. of *jap, mëllënjë* < **melanĵā*). However, in other words (probably, before the old stress) **a* disappears (*baltë*).

3. Narrow short vowels **i* and **u* were preserved in Albanian (*gdhij, ligë, vidh; dru, gjumë, ujë, butë*). The same applies to Lat *ī* and *ū* (*këmishë, këshill, iriq; luftë, popull, shumë*). At the same time, in some words (belonging to a later chronological layer?) Lat *ī* appears as Alb *e* (*shenjë, meshë, kreshpë*).

4. Before nasal consonants, Proto-Albanian short vowels **a, *e, *i, *u* were nasalized and turned into **ā, *ē, *ī, *ū*. Later they were preserved as such in Geg dialects (where they are marked as *ā, ē, î, û* if not followed by a nasal consonant). In Tosk, **ī* and **ū* lost their rhinesm while **ā* changed to *ë* and **ē* - to *ë, e*; hence such pairs as Tosk *kërp* ~ Geg *kanp*, Tosk *hënë* ~ Geg *hanë*.

5. Long IE **ē* changed to PALb **ā* and then to Alb *o* (*mos, plotë, kohë, ngroh*). In one case (*mish*) **ē* is reflected as Alb *i* (this development clearly preceding the application of the "ruki" rule). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ē* is usually rendered as Alb *e* (*regj, femër, prëndverë*). Occasionally, however, it yields Alb *i* (*bishë, ligj, kishë*). Long IE **ā* merged with **ē* in PALb **ā* > Alb *o* (*motër, kollë, kopshtë*). As to Lat *ā*, it is always preserved in Alb *a* (*blatë, shkallë*) while Gk *ā* appears as *o* in loanwords (*mokër*).

6. Long IE **ō* yielded PALb **ō* later reflected as Alb *e* (*tetë, pelë, blerë*). The same result is found in earlier Latin loanwords with *ō* (*pemë, tërmet, tmerr*). Later, Latin loanwords display *u* (*kanushë, shullë*) or even *o* (*orë, kore*) as a reflex of *ō*. While IE **ō* was palatalized to **ō̃*, IE **ū* gave PALb **ū* usually appearing as *y* in the inlaut (*dyllë, gjysh*) and *i* in the auslaut (*mi, ti, thi*). Lat *ū* is normally rendered as *y* (*gjyq, shqyt, fytyrë, vërtyt*) but, occasionally, also as *u* (*rrushkull*).

7. Long IE **ī* was preserved as PALb **ī* > Alb *i* (*pi, di, pidh*). In isolated cases, however, Alb *y* reflects **ī* (*ay*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ī* yields Alb *i* (*fill, linjë*).

8. In unknown conditions (probably, in the originally non-final syllable) before **n, *m, *r* long PALb **ā* and **ō* merged into **ō̃* that was later reflected by diphthongs: Tosk *ua*, Geg (old) *uo*, (new) *ue* (*muaj, krua, duar* - pl. of *dorë*). In some cases, these diphthongs were further

umlauticized into Tosk *ye*, Geg *y* (*dye* - pl. of *derë*, *lyej*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ō* gives the same results (*kapua*, *ftua*, *shërbetuar*, *arsye*).

9. IE **ei* was preserved as PALb **ei* but later coincided with **ī* in Alb *i* (*dimër*, *mirë*). As to IE **ai* and **oi*, they yielded PALb **ai* reflected as Alb *e* (*verë*, *be*, *degë*).

10. Indo-European diphthongs in *u* lost their second element in Albanian. Thus, IE **eu* preserved as PALb **eu* appeared as Alb *e* (*desha* - aor. of *dua*, *det*, *nëntë*). IE **au* and **ou* merged into PALb **au* further reflected as Alb *a* (*dashur* - part. of *dua*, *dash*, *agoj*, *thaj*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *au* is also rendered as *a* (*ar*, *gaz*, *lar*).

11. Syllabic liquids **r* and **l*, both long and short, changed to PALb **ri*, **il* and, less often and in uncertain conditions, to **ru*, **ul*. Those clusters were either preserved as Alb *ri*, *il*, *ru*, *ul* or metathesized before vowels (*krimb*, *trim*, *grurë*, *kulpër*, *ujk*, *birë*). Syllabic nasals **ŋ* and **m* changed to PALb **a* > Alb *a* (*shtatë*, *gjatë*, *mat*).

12. Under the influence of front vowels of the following syllable, Alb *a* of various origins was umlauticized and changed to *e*, as for example in plural of nouns or certain forms of verb (*eh*, *elb*, *end*, *gjem*, *ter*). Later this *e* was often generalized to the whole paradigm and, thus, appears in singular of nouns and present of verbs. A similar umlaut led to the transformation of *e* into *i*.

13. In Proto-Albanian, the vowels of the final syllable were preserved under the old stress but lost one mora when unstressed. Resulting new short vowels were reduced, mainly to *ë*. When a new system of stress came into being in Albanian, new unstressed vowels in all positions were reduced to *ë*, *u* or zero. If afterwards an inlaut consonant fell, the sequence of two vowels was contracted and colored according to the accented vowel (*pyll*, *kij*).

14. In the vocalic anlaut, a prothetic *h*- may well appear (*armë* ~ *harmë*, *yll* ~ *hyll*). In early loanwords, the initial *o* was substituted by **ō* > Tosk *va*, Geg *vo* (*varfër*, *vadhë*, *vatër*).

Consonantism

15. Non-syllabic liquids were preserved as PALb **r*, **l*. PALb **r* is reflected as Alb *r* (*dru*, *tre*, *motër*) and occasionally as *rr* (*kërr*, *vjehërr*, *rrap*). For unknown reasons, the intervocalic *r* was altogether lost in *bie*. In Latin loanwords, initial *r* is usually rendered as *rr* (*rrallë*, *rregull*, *rrem*). In other positions it yields *r* (*prill*, *drejtë*, *kundër*). PALb **l* tends to yield *l* in the anlaut (*lehtë*, *lendë*, *lidh*) but gives both *l* and *ll*

in other positions (*pelë, mjaltë, hell, mjegull*). In Latin loanwords, intervocalic *l* appears as Alb *ll* (*popull, ulli, mënjollë*). Otherwise it gives *l* (*larg, lëti, plagë*). Geminated Lat *ll* is reflected as *l* (*pulë, gjel, bulë*).

16. IE **m* remained unchanged in PALb **m* > Alb *m* (*mjaltë, muaj, mjekër*). The same is true of Lat *m* in loanwords (*mik, mijë, mënd*). IE **n* yielded PALb **n* that also remained unchanged in the anlaut and in various consonantal clusters (*ne, nëntë, natë, nuk*). Initial Lat *n* is rendered as Alb *n* (*natyrë, nëmëroj, nyje*). In the intervocalic position PALb **n* remained unchanged in Geg but yielded *r* in Tosk (*verë ~ venë, emër ~ emën, llërë ~ llanë*). Latin loanwords reflect the same process of Tosk rhotacism (*kërp ~ kanp, rërë ~ ranë, femër ~ femën*).

17. The reflex of IE **u* is PALb **w* > Alb *v* (*ve, verë, vehte*). PALb **w* was lost before rounded vowels (*derë*). In a few words, the development of **īwī-* to Alb *y* is attested (*grykë, hyll, qytet*). As to Lat *v*, it also yields *v* in Albanian (*vjershë, verdhë, gjuvengë*). As to IE **i*, it was preserved as PALb **j*. In the initial position, **j* remained unchanged before back vowels (*ju, josh*) but yielded *gj* otherwise (*gjesh, gjaj, gjem*). In the inlaut, PALb **j* disappeared after front vowels (*di, hi, fle, bie*) but changed to **x* > *h* after other vowels (*bahe, shtröhë, ngroh, ftoh*). The shift to **x* covers the earliest Slavic loanwords (*llohë, krahe, krahinë*). In Latin loanwords, the anlaut *j* is reflected as *gj* (*gjuvengë, gjyq, gjymtyrë*) and later as *j* (*janar*).

18. Initial IE **s* > PALb **s* yields Alb *gj-* (*gjashtë, gjalpë, gjallë, gjarpër*). In two cases where **s* > *th* (*thi, thaj*) the interdental results from the dissimilation of two sibilants. In the intervocalic position, **s* yields to **x* > *h* (*kohë, Geg nahe, acc. of ne*). However, after **ī, *ū* PALb **s* changed to **š* > *sh* (*breshër, push, gjysh, plish, kush*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *s* is always rendered as *sh* (*shekull, pëshoj, shëlg*). The same is true of earlier borrowings from other languages (*shakë*).

19. IE **p* remains unchanged as PALb **p* > Alb *p* (*pelë, pesë, pjek*). IE **bh* yields PALb **b* > Alb *b* (*bie, bathë, dhëmb, baltë*). Labials in Latin loanwords are preserved as *p, b* (*popull, pjepër, bulë, bishë*).

20. IE **t* > PALb **t* is reflected as Alb *t* (*tre, tetë, ti, trap*). The voiced IE **d* is unchanged (*darkë, ditë, dritë*). IE **dh* coincides with **d* in PALb **d* > Alb *d* (*derë, djeg, dal*). Unless lost, PALb **d* in the intervocalic position or before **r* changed to *dh* (*bredh, ledh, pjerdh, gardh*). In the anlaut, *dh* < PALb **d* is explained either by apheresis (*dhunë, dhashë*) or by sandhi (*dhjetë*). In Latin loanwords, dentals yield *t* and *d* (*tmerr, trofië, dëm, drejtë*). Lat *d* changes to Alb *dh* in the same position as PALb **d* (*shurdh, urdhër*).

21. So called "pure" velars were preserved as such in Albanian. IE **k* remained PALb **k* > Alb *k* (*krua*, *karpë*, *kedh*). As to **g* it appears as PALb **g* > Alb *g* (*agoj*, *ligë*, *gungë*). The same reflex continues IE **gh* > PALb **g* > Alb **g* (*shteg*, *gardh*, *mjegull*). Latin velars were not changed in Albanian borrowings: Lat *c* is rendered as Alb *k* (*këmishë*, *këngë*, *këshill*), Lat *g* - as Alb *g* (*gaz*, *grigj*, *plagë*). In contemporary Albanian initial *k* is sometimes voiced in Geg (*gëlbazë* ~ *këlbazë*, *gështenjë* ~ *kështenjë*).

22. Indo-European palatal stops were asibilated to affricates in Proto-Albanian. IE **k̑* changed to PALb **ts* > Alb *th* (*thom*, *thëri*, *thep*, *djathtë*) but occasionally PALb **ts* appears as *c*. Both IE **ḡ* and **ḡh* yielded PALb **dz* > Alb *dh* (*lidh*, *vjedh*, *herdhe*, *madh*, *rrjedh*). However, in the anlaut only IE **ḡ* gave the same reflex (*dhëmb*, *dhëndër*, *dhal-lë*) while IE **ḡh* reflected as PALb **d* > Alb *d* (*dorë*, *dimër*, *dyllë*) with some irregularities. In many words where palatals were neighbors of sonants the process of asibilation did not take place (*grurë*, *quaj*, *mjekër*). The development of IE **k̑* in *vjehërr* is explained by an assimilation **swetsurā* > **swesurā* > **swexurā*.

23. The history of labiovelars was particularly complicated in Albanian. At first, IE **kʷ*, **gʷ* and **gʷh* changed to biconsonantal clusters **kw* and **gw*. In front of non-palatal vowels, these clusters lost their labial element and merged with pure velars so that IE **kʷ* yielded Alb *k* (*pjek*, *katër*, *ndjek*), **gʷ* > Alb *g* (*gur*, *gak*, *gërshas*) and **gʷh* > Alb *g* (*djeg*, *garbe*). Before front vowels, the clusters **kw* and **gw* changed to **k'w* and **g'w* with a palatalized first element and (together with groups IE **k̑u*, **ḡu* > PALb **k'w*, **g'w*) yielded **tsw*, **dzw* > **tš*, **dž* > Alb *s*, *z* (*sjell*, *sy*, *pesë*, *zorrë*, *zë*, *zulë*, *zjarr*, *ndez*).

24. In Proto-Albanian, some of the intervocalic voiced dentals and velars were lost (*ve*, *le*, *nge*, *dra*). The conditions of this process are unknown but may be of accentual origin. At the same time, a similar change (including also *b*) occurred in numerous Latin loanwords (*mjek*, *përrallë*, *pre*, *tra*).

23. In the auslaut, most consonants were lost already during the Proto-Albanian period (probably, before the vowel shortening in the last syllable). The only definite exception is *r* (*motër*).

24. Before the old **j*, the following PALb **t*, **d* and **s* changed to **tš*, **dž* and **š* in a process that may be described as the *first palatalization* (*mas*, *nesër*, *tres*, *buzë*, *shosh*, *vesh*). Latin clusters *tj* and *dj* were also affected by this process (*pjesë*, *pus*, *rrezë*, *shpuzë*). Lat *sj* coincided with *s* in Alb *sh* (*këmishë*).

25. Before *j* (including the new *j* developed as the first part of the diphthong *ielje* < PAIb **e*) as well as before *i*, PAIb **k* and **g* yielded *q* and *gj* (*qoj*, *qerthull*, *gjemb*) and **l*, **n* changed to *j* ~ *l* and *nj* (*majë*, *běj*, *njeri*). This process may be called the *second palatalization*. It is also attested in Latin loanwords (*qetë*, *qëndër*, *regj*, *ligj*, *gështenjë*).

26. The cluster **rj* changed to *rr* (*ënderr*, *derr*), also in early Slavic loanwords (*purrë*). However, there are difficult forms where **rj* is reflected as *j* (*mbaj*).

27. Proto-Albanian clusters **rw*, **wr* as well as **lw* changed to *rr* and *ll* (*arrë*, *rribë*, *gjallë*, *miell*). Later Latin loanwords follow this pattern (*rrylë*) but then, probably in words coming from Balkan Eastern Romance (proto-Rumanian) one also finds *-rb-* < Lat *-rv-* (*shërbej*). Also, as in proto-Rumanian, Latin groups *-br-* and *-bl-* change to *-ur-*, *-ul-*; then the labial forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel and (in Albanian) disappears (*farkë*, *shtallë*).

28. When combined with nasals, stops yield various results. Thus, **pn* changes to *m* (*gjumë*), **dm* to *m* (*hram*) while **gn* (with *g* of any origin) is reflected as *nj* (*njoh*, *enjë*). In Latin loanwords *gn* is also changed to *nj* (*shenjë*) but in some words (of Eastern Balkan origin?) it appears as *ng* (*peng*).

29. In Proto-Albanian **rn* and **ln* were preserved. These clusters lived long into the pre-historic Albanian period until they yielded *rr* and *ll* (*verr*, *barrë*, *pjell*, *shtjell*). The same reflexes are found in Latin loanwords (*ferr*, *furrë*, *kërrutë*). In loanwords one can also trace the old cluster *mn* reflected as *m* or, with a secondary final *-b*, *mb* (*dëm*, *shkëmb*, *shtëmbë*). Geminates *nn* in borrowings was preserved as *n* or *nd* (similar to *-m* > *-mb*) and, apparently, was not affected by the Tosk rhotacism (*gunë*, *pendë*). The cluster **nr* developed an epenthetic **d* and changed to **ndr* > *ndër* (*ëndërr*, *dhëndër*).

30. Before spirants and affricates of various origins, nasal sonorants disappeared (*pesë*, *mish*, *pëshoj*, *mëz*).

31. As noted above, auslaut *m* and *n* occasionally changed to *mb* and *nd* (*shkëmb*, *shtëmbë*, *pëllambë*, *pendë*). On the other hand, *mb*, *nd* and *ng* resulted from various clusters consisting of a nasal and a stop, both in Indo-European roots and in loanwords (*lëndë*, *pëndë*, *ndëj*, *nga*, *tembull*, *prind*, *këngë*). Some of these clusters tended to lose their second element (*anë*, *dhunë*).

32. In the anlaut, Alb **kl*, **gl* yielded *q*, *gj* in standard literary Albanian and some dialects (*qaj*, *qetë*, *qesh*, *gjatë*, *gjemb*) while other dialects have [tʃ], [dʒ] or [kɪ], [gɪ] or even depalatalized [k], [g]. The

same change was applied to loanwords (*gjëndër*) including those from Slavic (*gjobë*). In other positions **gl* changed to *gull* (*mjegull*). Proto-Albanian clusters **lk*, **lg* fluctuate between *lk*, *lg* (*shelg*, *balgë*) and *jk*, *yg* (*bujk*, *bajgë*).

33. Clusters **sw*, **sm* and **sn* lost their first element (*vjehërr*, *vjerr*, *mjekër*, *mug*, *thaj* < **sausnja*). Clusters **sr* and **sl* yielded *rr* and *ll* (*rrymë*, *korr*, *kollë*). Clusters **rs* and **ls* gave the same results (*djerr*, *kalli*) but the group **lst* changed to **st* > *sht* (*kashhtë*).

34. PALb **sp* underwent a metathesis into **ps* and yielded *f* (*fâj*, *fal*, *farë*, *ferrë*, *fier*) while in loanwords *sp* is reflected as *shp* (*shpatull*, *shpuze*). PALb **st* changed to *sht* both in Indo-European words and loanwords (*shteg*, *shtatë*, *shtyj*, *shtallue*, *shtat*). The voiced cluster *zd* was metathesized to **dz* and changed to *dh* (*pidh*) and, occasionally, to *th* (*drithë*).

35. PALb **sk* < IE **sk*, **skʷ* changed to *shk* (*shkak*, *shkal*, *shkas*, *shkep*) and, before front vowels, to *shq* (*shqarr*, *shqerr*, *shqyej*). In other cases, PALb **sk* (apparently, continuing also **sk̑*) underwent a metathesis into **ks* and yielded *h* (*halë*, *hap*, *harr*, *hedh*) thus coinciding with the original **ks* (*huaj*). No obvious distribution between *shk* and *h* as reflecting **sk* has been found. Moreover, in some words the initial **sk* (preceded by a prefix **eks*?) yielded *ç* before a front vowel (*çaj*, *çalë*).

36. The rare but diagnostically important cluster **tt* gave PALb **tʃt* > **tʃ* > *s* (*pasur*, part. of *kam*). Other clusters consisting of two stops lost their first element (*dritë*, *natë*, *dhe*, *dje*). In Latin loanwords clusters of two stops were represented mainly by *ct* and *cs* = *x*. Their development was twofold. When borrowed from East Balkan Romance of the Rumanian type, *ct* coincided with *pt* in *ft* (*prift*, *qift*, *ftua*, *luftë*, *troftë*) and *cs* gave *fsh* (*kofshue*, *lafshë*). When borrowed from Dalmatian (i.e. Western) Romance, *ct* yielded *jt* (*drejtë*, *trajtë*, *pajtoj*) while *cs* developed to *sh* (*frashër*, *ushunjëz*).

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

Akk - Akkadian	Iran - Iranian
Alb - Albanian	Langob - Langobardian (Lombard)
Arag - Aragon	Latv - Latvian
Arm - Armenian	LGerm - Low German
Arum - Arumanian	Lith - Lithuanian
Av - Avestan	Lomb - Lombard
Balk - Balkanic	Lyc - Lycian
Balt - Baltic	Lyd - Lydian
Bret - Breton	M - Middle (as a first component)
Bulg - Bulgarian	Maced - Macedonian
Calabr - Calabrian	MBret - Middle Breton
Catal - Catalan	MDu - Middle Dutch
Celt - Celtic	ME - Middle English
Chag - Chagatai	Messap - Messapic
Class. Pers - Classical Persian	MFr - Middle French
Copt - Coptic	MGk - Middle Greek
CS - Church Slavic	MHG - Middle High German
Cyren - Cyrenean	Mingr - Mingrelian
Dac - Dacian	MLat - Medieval Latin
Dalm - Dalmatian	MLG - Middle Low German
Dor - Doric	MPers - Middle Persian
E - English	MW - Middle Welsh
Eg - Egyptian	N - New (as a first component, = Modern)
Engad - Engadine	Neapol - Neapolitan
Epidaur - Epidaurian	NGk - Modern Greek
Etr - Etruscan	NItal - North Italian
Fr - French	Norw - Norwegian
Friul - Friulan	NPers - New Persian
Gaul - Gaulish	O - Old (as a first component)
Georg - Georgian	OBavar - Old Bavarian
Germ - German	OBret - Old Breton
Gk - Greek	OCorn - Old Cornish
Gmc - Germanic	OCS - Old Church Slavic
Goth - Gothic	OE - Old English
Hbr - Hebrew	OFr - Old French
Hisp-Celt - Hispano-Celtic	Ofris - Old Frisian
Hitt - Hittite	OHG - Old High German
Hung - Hungarian	OIr - Old Irish
IE - Indo-European	OItal - Old Italian
Illyr - Illyrian	OLith - Old Lithuanian
Ir - Irish	ON - Old Norse

OPers - Old Persian
OPort - Old Portuguese
OPrus - Old Prussian
ORuss - Old Russian
OS - Old Saxon
OSard - Old Sardinian
Osc - Oscan
Osset - Ossetic
Pers - Persian
Phryg - Phrygian
Piem - Piemontan
Pol - Polish
Port - Portuguese
Prov - Provençal
Rom - Romance
Rum - Rumanian
Russ - Russian

Sard - Sardinian
SCr - Serbo-Croatian
Sicil - Sicilian
Skt - Sanskrit
Slav - Slavic
Sogd - Sogdian
Sp - Spanish
Swed - Swedish
Thr - Thracian
Tokh - Tokharian
Turk - Turkish
Ukr - Ukrainian
Venet - Venetian
W - Welsh
Yagn - Yagnob
Yazg - Yazgulam

A

a part. 'whether', conj 'or'. The particle is etymologically identical with the conjunction (ÇABEJ *St.* I 27-28). From PALb **a* connected with Gk ἄ *indeed* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322) or with the pronominal stem **e-/o*. ◇ BOPP 498 (to Skt *a-*, demonstrative particle); CAMARDA I 313-314 (to Gk ἄ, interjection); MEYER *Wb.* 1 (borrowing from Lat *an* 'whether' but the nasal could not be lost without any traces; conjunction *a* continues Lat *aut* 'or'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1057; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 19; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67 (follows PEDERSEN); FRISK I 619; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 27-28 (from an exclamation), *Etim.* II 5-6 (follows MEYER); HULD 36 (accepts MEYER's view); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 69 (to Lat *an*, Gk ἄ, from PALb **an* < IE **Hen*).

acar m, pl. *acare* 'steel'. From PALb **atsara* 'sharp' with *c* preserving the old affricate. Further connected with OIr *aicher* 'sharp', Gk ἄκ-pov 'point, top', Lith *aštrūs* 'sharp', Slav **ostrъ* id. ◇ POKORNY I 21.

acar m 'frost, strong cold'. Historically identical with *acar* 'steel', with a semantic development 'strong cold' < 'sharp'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 20 (explains the derivative *acëroj* 'to fester [of a wound]' as a borrowing from Slav **čirъ*, **čirъjъ* 'wound, furuncle'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 28 (suggests a division *a-car* with prefix *a-* and the root identified with that of *cirris*), *Etim.* II 9 (to *ther*).

adhuroj aor. *adhurova* 'to adore'. Borrowed from (learned) Lat *adorāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 1). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 11 (from Italian); LANDI *Lat.* 79.

afër adv., prep. 'near'. From PALb **apsera* representing a contamination of **aps*, a variant of IE **apo* reflected by Gk ἄψ 'backwards', and of **apero*, a derivative of **apo-*: Skt *āpara* 'posterior, later', Goth *afar* 'after' and the like. Thus, PALb **apsera* reflects IE **apero* influenced by **aps* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). Possible but less probable is the borrowing of *afër* from Germanic: Goth *afar*, OHG *avar* 'again' and the like. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *āpara-*); MIKLOSICH *Rom.*

Elemente 26 (from Lat *finis*); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (borrowed from Rom **affināre* 'to approach' ~ Lat *affinis* 'near' with Geg < Tosk); JOKL *Studien* 103-104 (preposition *a* followed by *-fēr* borrowed from Goth *fera* 'side'); BARIĆ *Lingv. Studien* 87 (links *afēr* to Lat *spērno* 'to sever, to separate, to remove', Gk *σπείρω* 'to gasp, to pant, to quiver'), *Hymje* 71; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 87-88; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67; FRISK I 204; POKORNY I 53-54; MAYRHOFER I 38; ÇABEJ *St.* I 28-29 (privative *a-* < **n-* and *-fēr* compared with E *far*), *Etim.* II 11-12; HULD 36; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70-71.

afsh m, pl. *afshe* 'heat, hot breath, smell'. From PALb **aweisa*, a suffixal derivative of IE **auēi-* 'to blow' structurally close to MW *awyð* 'gust of wind', OCorne *awit* 'air' < **auēido-* (OREL *Fort.* 78). Another derivative of the same root is PALb **aweita* > *aft* 'blow of wind' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 72). ♦ CAMARDA I 305, II 100, 150 (*aft* to Gk *ἄχνη* 'chaff'); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (from Ital *afa* 'heat coming from the ground'); JOKL *IF* XLIII 63 (to *ēnj*); POKORNY I 82; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 13 (to *avull*).

aftë adj. 'capable, proper'. Borrowed from Lat *aptus* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 13). ♦ MANN *Comp.* 29 (related to Lat *aptus*).

ag m, pl. *agje* 'twilight, dusk'. From PALb **auga* etymologically related to Gk *αὐγή* 'ray of light' and further based on IE **aug-* 'to increase' (MEYER *Wb.* 4, *Alb. St.* III 37). The verb *agoj* 'to dawn' is derived from *ag*. ♦ CAMARDA I 94 (to Gk *ἠώς* 'dawn'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 60 (wavers between MEYER's and CAMARDA's etymologies); PERSSON *Beiträge* 369; GONDA *Anc.* 73-83; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; PISANI *Saggi* 99; CHANTRAINE 137; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ego* 'light'); TRUBAČEV *Ėtnogenez* 151 (identifies the first element of *Ἀγάθουρσοι* with *ag*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 30 (to Gk *ὄρφνη* 'darkness, night'), *Etim.* II 16-17; DEMIRAJ *AE* 72.

agjëroj ~ **agjënoj** aor. *agjërova* ~ *agjënova* 'to fast'. Borrowed from Rom **adjūnāre* id., cf. Rum *ajuna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 4). ♦ CAMARDA I 80 (to Lat *jejūnium* 'fast'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 5; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 18-19 (from *jejūnāre*).

ah m, pl. *ahe, aha* 'beech-tree'. Goes back to PALb **aksa* identical with IE **osk-*: Gk *ὄξυα* 'beech', Arm *hač'i* 'ash-tree', ON *askr* id., Maced

ᾗξος· ὕλη (MEYER *Wb.* 4; PEDERSEN *IF* V 44). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; BÜGA II 286; BARIÇ *Hymje* 24; AČAREAN *HAB* III 65; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 782; FRISK II 400; CHANTRAINE 806; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 36-37; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 19-20; DEMIRAJ *AE* 73.

ai, ay pron. 'he', f. **ajo** 'she; that'. Masc. *ai* goes back to PALb **a-ei* consisting of a proclitic particle **a* and a demonstrative **ei*, identical with IE **ei-* in Skt *ayám* 'he', Lat *is* (*eis* in early inscriptions) and the like. The feminine form is from PALb **a-jā* continuing IE **jā* id., fem. sg. of the demonstrative **jo-* (BOPP 519; CAMARDA I 209; MEYER *Wb.* 5). ◇ MEYER *ZfromPh* XI 268-269 (*a-* from Lat *atque*); Alb. *St.* III 40, 63, 79, IV 24; JOKL *Studien* 4 (*a-* from Lat *ad*), LKUBA 271 (*a-* from IE **ad* or **ō*), *IF* XXXVI 98-100; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 248-252, KZ XXXIV 288, XXXVI 309 (derives *-jo* from IE **sā* treating *-j-* as a hiatus filler), *Pron.* 315 (*a-* from IE **au-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68; POKORNY I 282-283; CAMAJ 103 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 31, *Etim.* II 22-23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 81 (on neut. *ata* in comparison with Mes-sapic); DEMIRAJ *Gr.* 467-468 (interaction of IE **e-* and **so-*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43; HULD 38 (repeats PEDERSEN's version); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 224-225 (*-jo* < IE **ijā* or **ejā*), XXIII 174; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70, 73.

aj m 'bite'. Borrowed from Lat *alium* (MEYER *Wb.* 6). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 23-24 (to *anëzë*).

ajkë f 'cream, wool fat'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *alkë* has been preserved. Goes back to PALb **alkā* related to Lith *álkti* 'be hungry', *ālka* 'hunger', Slav **olkti* 'be hungry' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 5 (from Lat *alica* 'kind of grain, spelt' with an obvious discrepancy of meaning); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 165-167 (to Lat *sēbum* 'lard'); FRAENKEL 8; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57-58 (to *lule*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 31-32 (reconstructs **olka* and compares *ajkë* with Lat *alga* 'sea-weed'), *Etim.* II 26-28 (to IE **ol-* 'fat, dirt'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

akull m, pl *akuj* 'ice'. Loanword from Gmc **jakulaz* 'icicle, glacier', cf. ON *jökull* 'icicle', OE *gicel* id. (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 171). In Albanian, the source may be East Germanic (Balkan Gothic?). The loss of the anlaut **j-*, probably, shows that the loan penetrated into Proto-Albanian at a stage when there was no *j*-like sound there. ◇ CAMARDA

161 (suffix *-ull-*); MEYER *Alb. Studien* I 66, *Wb.* 7 (comparison with Gk ἀχλὺς 'fog', Lat *aquilō* 'North wind' and the like; these forms, however, reflect IE **aghlu-*, cf. FRISK I 55), *Alb. St.* III 5; JOKL *Studien* 112 (suffix *-ull*), *LKUBA* 268-269 (negative **n* added to *-kull* related to the semantically misinterpreted Slav **kaliti* 'to make hot, to harden (of iron)' and not 'to be cold'); WALDE-HOFMANN I 60; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68 (agrees with JOKL); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* 40-41 (< *a-* + **kel-* 'to strike'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 53-54 (to *ehull*); HULD 38-39 (follows JOKL); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 31-32; DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

amě f, pl. *ama* 'source, river-bed'. A metaphoric use of *amě* 'mother' (VASMER *ZfslavPh* XVI 337; TAGLIAVINI *Mélanges Pedersen* 162-163),

vessel for sacrifici-

bed' (to **mati* 'mother'). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.*

daj conj. 'therefore'. A compound of *a* (as in *ai*) and *ndaj* (MEYER *b.* 11).

ě f, pl. *aně* 'side'. From PALb **antā* related to Skt *ānta-* 'end', Goth *anteis* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 35, IV 56-57) with **-nt-* > *-n-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* (reconstructs **ausnā* related to IE **ōus-* 'mouth'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 3, 90; JOKL *Studien* 12; FEIST *Goth.* 49; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (same as MEYER); MAYRHOFFER I 90; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 211; OLÁK *Orbis* XVI 127 (to Georg *hana* 'field'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 47-49; ANSON *Unt.* 90-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 77-78 (supports ÇABEJ).

ng m 'fear, nightmare'. From PALb **anga* corresponding to Skt *anhas-* 'fear', Lat *angor* 'unrest, fear', OIr *cumcae* gl. 'angor' < Celt *kom-ong-iā* (OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 32; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/2 147) and further connected with IE **anǵhu-* 'narrow', **anǵhos* 'narrowness, oppression' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 36). ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIII 61 f. (links *ang*, *ankth* to Skt *āiti* 'to breathe' < IE **anā-*); OŠTIR *AarbSt* I 104 (fantastic comparisons with Slav **mora* '(mythic incarnation of) fear', Gk λῆμια and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; POKORNY I 42-43; HAMP *Èriu* XVIII 147-148, *LB* XXX 131-132; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

g) angërr f, pl. *angrra* 'skin; intestines'. From PALb **angarā* < IE

amull as 'burning'); WEIGAND 2 (*amull* 'very hot' borrowed from Turkish); JOKL *LKUBA* 270-272 (to *mbulim*); LA PIANA *Studi* 99 (to *avull*); FRAENKEL 471; NEVSKAJA *BGT* 53; TRUBACEV *ÈSSJa* IX 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 34; MANN *Comp.* 20 (to Arm *amul* 'barren', OIr *ambal* 'dark'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75 (to *amě*).

an m 'uterus'. A metaphoric transformation of *eně*, singularized plural of dialectal *an*, *aně* 'vessel'. As to the latter, it is identical with *aně* 'side' (KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 223). ◇ CAMARDA II 31 (comparison of *eně* with Gk ἀγγεῖον 'vessel'), 71 (to Gk ἔντεα 'vessel'); MEYER *Wb.* 12 (identifies *eně* with *aně* 'side'), *Alb. St.* IV 9; JOKL *Studien* 3 (compares *aně*, *eně* with Skt *ukhá-* 'vessel, boiler' and/or Goth *auhns* 'oven', reconstructing **augnā*); BARIĆ I *ARSt* 86 (to Lat *auxilla*); MAYRHOFFER I 98; ÇABEJ *St.* I 34 (links *aně*, *aně* to Gk ἄντρον 'vessel');

MANN *Comp.* 20 (*an* 'caul' related to Gk ἀμνίον 'vessel for sacrifici-

bed' (to **mati* 'mother'). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* 380 (follows JOKL); CHANTRAINE 70; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 39 (agrees with TAGLIAVINI); GAMKRELIDZE - IVANOV II 886 (to Gk ἀμάρη 'pit, canal'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75-76.

amě f, pl. *ama* 'mother'. In Tosk where *amě* comes from Geg, there exists *ëmě* as well. A widespread *Lallname* (MEYER *Wb.* 5). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; SAINÉAN *ZfslavPh* XXX 314 (borrowed from Lat *amma*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 170.

aměz f 'odour, aroma'. Derivative in *-ěz* from (G) *amě* < PALb **admā* connected with Gk ὀδμή id., Lat *odor* id., Lith *úosti* 'to smell' (JOKL *Studien* 3; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Mélanges Pedersen* 162; FRISK II 352-353; FRAENKEL 1167-1168; WALDE-HOFMANN II 203; POKORNY I 772-773; CHANTRAINE 777; DURIDANOV *BE* XVI 66 (reconstructs **am-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 40-41 (derived from *amě* 'mother', cf. Fr *mère de vinaigre*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76.

amull adj. 'stagnant (of water)'. As to *amull* 'very hot', it is the same word (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 42) reflecting a specific way of iron tempering, first made hot and then cold by means of water or dirt. The same development is attested in Slav **kaliti* 'to temper iron' based on **kalъ* 'dirt'. Continues PALb **amulwa* with a prothetic *a-* etymologically related to Lith *mulvė* 'silt, marsh', *mūlti* 'to get dirty'. ◇ CAMARDA I 61 (comparison with *avull*); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (follows CAMARDA and translates

**anǵhn̥rā* related to Arm *anjn* 'soul, person', ON *angi* 'smell, odor'.
 ◇ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 127-129 (zero-grade derivative of IE **ǵer-* 'to eat, to swallow'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 86; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232 (follows JOKL); AČAREAN *HAB* I 202-203; POKORNY I 42; ÇABEJ *St.* I 35 (identifies *angërr* with the participle *hangër* 'eating'), *Etim.* II 50; LUKA *HD* XXIV 41-42; DEMIRAJ *AE* 78.

angullij aor. *angullita* 'to howl'. Deverbative of **angull* < PALb **ankula*, related to Gk ὀγκόμαι 'to cry', Lat *uncō* 'to growl (of bears)'.
 ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *ankth*); POKORNY I 322; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 51 (follows MEYER).

(G) **ankoj** aor. *ankova* 'to cry, to weep'. This verb also appears as *nëkoj*, *rëkoj* and *rënkoj*. A denominative verb that is probably based on PALb **anaka* borrowed from Gk ἀνάγκη 'grief, distress'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *angullij* and Slav **jęcati* 'to groan'); LUKA *HD* XXIV 44-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 78-79.

ankth m, pl. *ankthe* 'fear, nightmare, restlessness'. Derived from *ang*. If *-th* may be treated as a continuation of *-*st-*, *ankth* goes back to PALb **angasta* and is identical with IE **anǵhosto-* ~ **anǵhosti-*: Lat *angustus* 'narrow', OHG *angust* 'fear' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; ÇABEJ *St.* I 36). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 13, 304 (compares with *ankoj* and its variants); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 16-17 (to *emakth* id., *ëmë* 'mother'); JOKL *IF* XLIII 61-62 (to Lat *animus*, Skt *ániti*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* I 104 (to Basque *amets* 'dream'); POKORNY I 43; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 53-54; BEEKES *CIEL* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 79.

apë m 'elder brother; dad'. A typical *Lallname*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 39 n.1 (from Hung *apa* 'father'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 56 (to *abej* 'term of respect to elder brother' borrowed from Turkish).

aq adj., adv. 'so, such'. Goes back to PALb **akja* opposed to *kaq* 'so' < PALb **kakja* in the same way as Slav **ako* 'as, if' is opposed to **kako* 'how' (MEYER *Wb.* 7). Hence, the analysis of these forms as compounds beginning with pronominal **a-* and **ka-* (as in *ai* vs. *ky*) and another stem or a suffix *-*kja* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 36-37). ◇ PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315 (to Gk αὖ 'again'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJA* I 64-65; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 58-59; HAMP *Numerals* 836 (-*q* identical with OPrus *quai*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 80.

ar m 'gold'. Borrowed from Lat *aurum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 14). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1056; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 59-60; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

arbër ~ arbën m, pl. *arbër ~ arbën* 'Albanian (particularly, of Italy and Greece)'. A Proto-Albanian loanword with the assimilation of liquids, from Rom **albanus* rendering the West Balkan ethnonym attested as Illyr 'Ἀλβανοί (Ptol.). The form *arbëresh ~ arbënes* 'Italo- or Graeco-Albanian' reflects Rom **albanensis* (JOKL *Arch. Rom.* XXIV 137). ◇ CAMARDA I 30; MEYER *Wb.* 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 299 (to Gk ὀρφανός 'orphan'); ΦΟΥΡΙΚΙΣ 'Ἀθηνᾶ XLIII 3-7, XLVI 9-12 (to the name of the Alps and Illyr *Arbona*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 334; TROMBETTI *AArbSt* III 1-6 (from proto-Indo-European); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 71-72 ("sicuramente indigeno"); MAYER *Illyrier* II 4 (to Gk ὀρφνός 'dark'); LANGE-KOWAL *ZfBalk* XVIII/2 134-136 (< **arb-* parallel to **alb-*); KACORI *EB* 1977/1 122-129; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 327; LUKA *KKF* 281-291; ÇABEJ *St.* I 37-38, V 62-67; *Etim.* II 61-68 (to Lat *arvum*); LUKA *HD* XXIV 47-51.

ardhi f 'vine, grapes'. The word is known in many phonetic variants: *hardhi, erdhi, rdhi, dhri, urdhi, orli*. It may go back to **ardhē* and, further, to PALb **ardz-* related to the aorist stem *erdha* (see *vij*), cf. CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 65-66. Semantically, 'vine' < 'climbing, going' as in Slav **loza* 'vine' ~ **loziti, *lezi* 'to climb' (cf. BRÜCKNER *AfslPh* XXXIX 4; VASMER II 512). An alternative etymology (MEYER *Wb.* 147) is based on the variant *rdhi* and connects it with IE **urēg-* 'to break, to cut'. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 161-162 (to Arm *ort* 'vine'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXVI 341 (follows BUGGE); JOKL *Sprache* IX 152; PISANI *Saggi* 120; BARIÇ *Hymje* 43, 57 (compares *ardhi* with Basque *ardao* 'wine'); POKORNY I 1181-1182; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ardao* 'wine'); WEITENBERG *KZ* LXXXIX 68-70; ÇABEJ *St.* I 38 (a phonetically difficult comparison with *urth*), *Etim.* II 69-70; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; DEMIRAJ *AE* 195-196.

arē f, pl. *ara* 'field'. From PALb **arā* etymologically connected with Latv *āra* id. (GÄTERS *KZ* LXXIII 108-109) and, probably, with Hitt *arḫa-* 'border, area', Lyd *aara-* 'farmstead, land', Mess *aran* (HAMP *KZ* LXXV 237-238). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ἄρουρα 'tilled land'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3 (from Lat *ārea* 'ground, space, thresh-

ing-floor'); MEYER *Wb.* 14 (from Lat *ārea* or from *arvum* 'plowed land' but -rv- would be rendered as -rr-); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041, 1048 (from Lat *ārea*); FRAENKEL 518; ÇABEJ *St.* 1 39 (follows GÄTERS), ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 71-72; HAARMAN 111 (from Lat *ārea*); POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 128 (to Georg *are* 'field'); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 688-689 (to Gk ἀργός 'field, land'); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77, *RRL* XXI 51 (same as ÖLBERG, reconstructs *arĕ* < *ager in view of the dialectal long *a*: in the anlaut); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; HULD 38; TISCHLER I/1 55-56; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (adds Arm *arawr* 'plow'); KARULIS *LEV* I 76; DEMIRAJ *AE* 80-81.

arĕz ~ anĕz f, pl. *arĕza ~ anza* 'wasp'. Continues PALb **aunā* derived from IE **au(ə)-* 'to weave' similarly to Lith *vapsà*, Slav **osa* and the like based on IE **uebh-* 'to weave'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 14 (borrowing from Turk *ari* 'bee' with a suffix -ĕz - but how to explain the rhotacism in Tosk?), Alb. *St.* V 68; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 83-84 (reconstructs **aknā* compared with Lat *aculeus* 'sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; ÇABEJ *St.* 40-41 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 87-88 (from **ak-* 'sharp').

arĕžĕ f, pl. *arĕza* 'nape'. Note a more phonetically conservative variant *arrĕžĕ*. Another derivative of the same stem is represented by *arrĕ* 'upper jugular vertebra'. Both words are based on *arrĕ* in its metaphoric sense of a round protuberance (CAMARDA I 181; MEYER *Wb.* 7). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41, *Etim.* II 90.

argĕsh m 'crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of cross-bars, harrow'. From PALb **argusa* related to Skt *argala-* 'bolt', OE *reced* 'building, house'. ◇ POKORNY I 65; ÇABEJ *St.* I 39 (comparison with IE **uerĝ-* 'to work, to do').

argjend ~ argjand m 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◇ CAMARDA I 55 (unspecified comparison with Lat *argentum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MANN *Language* XVII 22; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 75-76; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 79, 116.

ari m, pl. *arinj* 'bear'. From PALb **arina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 310) derived from **ara* > OAlb *ar* (BOGDANI). The feminine forms are *arushĕ* and *areshĕ*. A tabooistic transformation of IE **rkso-* ~ **rkto-* id.: Hitt *hartag-*

ga-, Skt *ṛkṣa-*, Gk ἄρκτος, Lat *ursus* and the like (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER Wb. 15, Alb. St. IV 20). The expected Alb **arth* must have been treated as a diminutive in *-th*, from where the existing form *ar* was later derived (DEMIRAJ AE 82). ◇ STIER KZ XI 146; MEYER Gr. Gr. 232, 344; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 106, Kelt. Gr. I 89, BB XX 231; JOKL LKUBA 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 132-133; MANN *Language* XVII 16; POKORNY I 875; MAYRHOFER I 118; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140-141; WATKINS *IESI* II 504-539; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 66 (erroneously connects *ari* with Gk ἄρτυμαι 'to obtain, to get, to receive' and the like); HULD 38; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 77; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66.

ark m, pl. *arqe* 'bow'. Borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER Wb. 15). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 148-149.

arkë f, pl. *arka* 'chest, box, coffin'. Borrowed from Lat *arca* id. (CAMARDA I 186; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER Wb. 15). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL LKUBA 126; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 72; HAARMANN 111; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 78-79; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

armë f, pl. *armë* 'weapon'. Borrowed from Lat *arma* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER Wb. 15). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 81; LANDI *Lat.* 79.

armik ~ **anëmik** m, pl. *armiq* ~ *anëmiq* 'enemy'. Borrowed from Lat *inimicus* id. (CAMARDA I 38; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER Wb. 15). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (derived from *armë*); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131; JANSON *Unt.* 49; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 81.

arnoj aor. *arnova* 'to mend, to repair'. Note a more conservative form *arënoj* as well as a back formation *arnë* 'patch'. The source is Lat *renovāre* 'to renew' (MEYER Wb. 16). ◇ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk ἀραρίσκω 'to produce, to make'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* I 40 (to *harr* 'to weed'), *Etim.* II 83-84; HAARMANN 145; MANN *Comp.* 34-35 (related to Gmc **armiz* 'arm').

arqitë f, pl. *arqita* 'rod (for basket weaving)'. Borrowed from Slav **orkyta* 'broom (plant), kind of willow' (cf. in particular SCr *rakita*, Bulg *rakita*) in its form preceding the metathesis in the **TorT*- group (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 85). ◇ SVANE 128.

arsye f, pl. *arsye* 'reason, understanding'. From Lat *rationem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 14). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; JOKL *Stud.* 10; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 85-86; HAARMANN 145.

arrç m, pl. *arrça* 'cricket'. Derived from *ar* 'bear', cf. *ari*. For the semantic development cf. Russ *medvedka* 'cricket' based on *medved* 'bear'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41 (identifies *arrç* with *harç* 'uncastrated pig' and *arrç* 'thorny bush'), *Etim.* II 89.

arrç m, pl. *arrça* 'kind of thorny bush, Rhamnus'. Derived from *arrë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41 (identifies *arrç* with *harç* 'uncastrated pig'), *Etim.* II 89.

arrë f, pl. *arra*, *arrë* 'walnut-tree, walnut'. The rare Germanic

is opposed to *ashu* (CANARIAS 1 102), where enclitic particle *a* in the form of locative in -*ai* = 'in' identical with *ai* in 'but' (VASSMER *Alt. Wort- u. Wk.* 18 (compares *ashu* with *ashu*), *Alt. St.* I 181 199-201; *ashu* from IE **as-as*); TALLAVIN *St.* I 43-43 (compares *in* with *ucl*, *St.* II

ashu 'father'. From Pāli *asā* 'father' connected with *as* and *at*, Slav **asac* id. and similar *Lalimor* (Larentz *LXV*). In Albanian, the replacement with **as* may be related to another shift effect: MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PERICAK *Festkr. Thessalon* 139; TALLAVIN *Strophomena* 11; ERNOLD-LEWIS *YANNA* III 170; TALLAVIN 1/1 93-95; RUD *LA/g.* 103-103; DIMITRI *Alt. St.*

and of *a* - (*as* in *as*) and -*as* (MEYER *Wb.* 20, *Alt.*

is secondary, from
by identical with the
17). Further links, in
99), are dubious. § J
-*as* (TALLAVIN *St.*
CANARIAS 119; PER
St. II 89-90; DIMITRI

arrç as *arrç*, *arrç*
**arrç* id. (DIMITRI
from *arrç* *arrç*, I

as *as* "mother, mother"
12). ◇ ERNOLD-LEWIS
taken explanation of
-*as*), from *as* *as* *as*
-*as* (DIMITRI *St.*
II 93-93 (agrees with

arrç *as* *as* "mother" was

St. III 25), cf. *tutje*. ◇ PEDERSEN *Pzon.* 315 (-tje < -teje); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 108.

aty adv. 'there'. A compound of *a* and *ty* < **tū* with a lengthening, etymologically close to *-tu* of *ashtu*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 20 (-ty connected with the pronominal stem **to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 109.

athët adj. 'harsh, sour, rancid'. From PALb **ats-eta* etymologically related to IE **aḱ-* 'sharp', with some derivatives developing the meaning 'sour' as Lat *acidus* (MEYER *Wb.* 2, *Alb. St.* III 13). ◇ CAMARDA I 161 (compares *athët* with *uthull*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *LKUBA* 49; OREL *Ėtnogenez* 110-114 (*athët* as a source of Slav **ocъtъ* 'vinegar'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 109-110; MANN *Comp.* 12 (identical with Gk ἄκτις 'ray of light'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 83-84.

avdos m 'chaffinch'. Identical with *avdos* 'ice-floe' (see *avër*), for the semantic development cf. *bors*. ◇ POKORNY I 86; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 110 (related to *bors*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 84-85 (compound of two elements: *av-* related to Lat *avis* 'bird' and *dosë*).

avër f, pl. *avra* 'ice-floe'. Cf. also *avdos* id. Probably, connected with IE **ayer-*, **ayed-* 'to make wet'. ◇ POKORNY I 78-79; ÇABEJ *St.* I 45 (to *varrë*), *Etim.* II 112-113 (*avdos* derived from *borë*); LUKA *HD* XXIV 60-61.

avull m, pl. *avuj* 'steam, vapor'. From PALb **abula* continuing an earlier **ṇbh(u)lo-* (HAMP *RRL* XX 499-500: reconstructs **ṇbhlo-* but erroneously compares it with Skt *abhrá-* 'cloud' with a definite *-*r-* > -*r-*). Thus, **abula* is close to OHG *nebul* 'fog', OS *nifol* < Gmc **nebulaz* < **nebh^helo*. Etymologically, belongs to IE **nebh-* 'wet, water; fog, cloud'. As to -*v-*, it reflects the unfinished process of spirantization and loss of intervocalic voiced stops; the expected change of -*v-* to zero did not occur as it preceded a back rounded vowel. Rum *abur* 'fog' was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◇ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk ἀέλλα 'tempest'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69 (from Lat *vapor* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (comparison with Skt *abhrá-* 'cloud'; ultimately, to **nebh-*), *Alb. St.* III 36, 81; JOHANSON *IF* IV 139; JOKL *LKUBA* 270-271 (particle *a-* and -*vull* connected with *valë*); WEIGAND *BA* III 210 (of Thra-

cian origin); HASDEU *EMR* I 106; PASCU *RE* 21 (reconstructs Rom **vapulus*); PUȘCARIU *EWR* I; BARIĆ *ARSt* 107-108, *Lingv. stud.* 39 (*avull* < **o-g^hl-* compared with Germ *Qualm* 'fumes, smoke'); LA PIANA *Studi* 99; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 14 (comparison with Messap *atabulus* 'sirocco'); PISANI *REIE* IV 17 (from Rom **nebla*, a variant of Lat *nebula* 'mist, fog'); ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 175; PETROVICI *CL* X 357-358 (to Lat *Boreas* 'North wind'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 271; ÇABEJ *St.* I 45-46 (follows JOKL); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80-81 (same as SCHMIDT), *ŽA* XXIX 90; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; HULD 39-40; MANN *Comp.* 46 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 116-117; DEMIRAJ *AE* 85 (to *aft* and *afsh*).

B

babë f 'old woman'. Borrowed from Slav **baba* 'woman' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111-112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 120; SVANE 189.

bac m, pl. *baca* 'elder brother, uncle'. From PALb **batja*, a *Lallwort* similar and, perhaps, related to Slav **bat'a* ~ **batja* 'elder brother, father' (OREL *Subst.* 4). The Albanian word is the source of Rum *baci* 'chief shepherd, cheese-maker', Megleno-Rum *batš* id. from where Slavic and Hungarian words for 'shepherd' were borrowed (MEYER *Wb.* 29). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15; BARIĆ *ARSt* 2-3 (from **bar-c*, to *bari*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; TRUBAČEV *Term. rodstva* 21, 195-196, *ĖSSJa* I 163-164; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 122-124; SVANE 188.

badër f, pl. *badra* 'narcissus, daffodil'. More phonetically advanced variants are *badhër* and, especially, *bathër* (HAHN). The word is identical with Skt *bhāstrā* 'bellows', further based on **bhes-* 'to blow'. Alb -*d(ë)r-* goes back to IE *-*str-* as in *thadër* (OREL *Fort.* 78-79). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 22 (borrowed from Turk *badruk* 'basil'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 46-47 (with a metathesis, from *bardhë*), *Etim.* II 124-125; MURATI *Probleme* 63-66 (same as ÇABEJ).

bagëm m 'oil for anointment'. Borrowed from Gk βάπτισμα 'baptism' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 48, *Etim.* II 128). For the phonetic development of the inlaut cf. *pagëz*oj.

bagěti ~ **bakti** f, pl. 'domestic animal, (head of) cattle'. Based on an unattested adjective borrowed from Slav **bogatъ* 'rich' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165) or going back to the otherwise unregistered Slav **bogatjъ* 'richness' (OREL *ZfSlav* XXX/6 912, *Ėtimologija* 1983 137-138). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *paśu-* 'cattle'); MEYER *Wb.* 22 (compares with OFr *bague* 'bundle' and the like); JOKL *Studien* 5-6 (links *bagěti* with Skt *bhāga-* 'prosperity, happiness', Slav **събожье* 'property, cattle'), *Slavia* XIII 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77, *Stratificazione* 147; HOLUB-KOPEČNÝ 261 (to OHG *packe* 'pack' and the like); SKOK I 179; ÇABEJ *St.* I 48, *Etim.* II 129-130.

bahe f, pl. *bahe* 'sling'. A singularized plural based on a more archaic form *bahě* < PALb **bajā* etymologically close to Slav **bojъ* 'fight'. Both forms are further related to IE **bhei-* 'to strike, to beat' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 22-23 (to ON *baugr* 'ring', IE **bheugh-* 'to bend'), *Alb. St.* III 35; ÇABEJ *St.* I 47 (compares with Gmc **bautan* 'to beat', Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel'), *Etim.* II 126-127; POKORNY I 117-118.

bajgě f, pl. *bajga* 'dung'. A more archaic form is *balěg(ě)*, *balgě*. The word is also attested in a metathesized form *bagěl*. Goes back to PALb **balgā* probably related to Gk βόλβιτον 'cow dung' if the latter is based on **bolg-* (OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 370). It is the source of Rum *balegā* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 23, *IF* VI 116 (from NItal *bagola*, *bagula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77 (from SCr *balega* id.); LA PIANA *Studi* I 77; CAPIDAN *DR* II 467-470 (borrowed from substratum); BARIĆ *IF* II 297-298 (reconstructs **bəlno-g^hā*, cf. Slav **govъno* 'dung' < IE **g^hōu-* 'cattle'), *AArbSt* II 80-81, *Hymje* 22; IL'INSKIJ *JF* V 183-185 (*bajgě* borrowed from Slavic); HASDEU *EMR* III 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* X/2 68-72 (from NGk γ(κ)άβαλα < Lat *caballus* 'horse (dung)'); ROHR *ZfBalk* XVII/1 80; ÇABEJ *St.* I 49 (agrees with OŠTIR), *Etim.* II 132-133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 86-87.

bajzě f, pl. *bajza* 'coot, kind of water-fowl'. The same word is attested as *balzě* and may be interpreted as a derivative of **bal-* 'white' (DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 256). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 50, *Etim.* II 134-135 (to Lat *fulica*).

bakull adj. 'robust, vigorous'. Derived from *bakě* 'belly', a variant of

bark (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 137). ◇ MANN *Comp.* 62 (to Gk φαῖκελος 'bunch').

bal m, p. *bala* 'dog with a white spot on its forehead', adj. 'white-haired'. Also *balė* 'white spot'. From PALb **bala* etymologically close to Lith *bālas* 'white', Latv *bāls* 'pale', Gk φαλός·λευκός (Hes.) and the like. As to *balash*, *balosh* 'horse or ox with a white spot on its forehead', it was borrowed from Slav **bělašъ*, **bělošъ* 'white animal' (MEYER *Wb.* 25; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 133-134) with *-ě- rendered as -a- under the influence of *bal*. ◇ MEYER *NGriech. St.* II 69 (treats *balash*, *balosh* as cognates of Lith *bālas* and the like); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Bret *bal* id.), XXVIII 36; FRAENKEL 32; FRISK II 988-989; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 65; HAMP *Anc. IE* 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 50-51, *Etim.* II 138-140; KALUŽSKAJA *Slavjanovedenie* 1992/2 80-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87.

balçëm m 'balm'. Attested in a more archaic form *balshëm* in Old Albanian (BUZUKU). Borrowed from Lat *balsamum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 25; JOKL *LKUBA* 115 n.1). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 24-25 (together with *balsam* id. treated as a Turkish loanword); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 51, *Etim.* II 143-144; LANDI *Lat.* 111.

balė f, pl. 'badger'. Related to *bal* taking into account the light-colored spots on the badger's snout.

baltė f, pl. *baltė* 'swamp, marsh, dirt, earth'. Goes back to PALb **baltā* (singularized pl. neut.) closely related to Slav **bolto* with which it continues IE **bholātom* (MEYER *Wb.* 25). This form belongs to the paradigm of the adjective **bholāto-* 'white' represented in Lith *bāltas* further derived from IE **bhelā-* 'shining, white'. Rum *baltă* 'swamp', NGk βάλτος id. seem to be borrowed from Albanian. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *pṛthvī* 'earth'); BRÜCH *Glotta* VII 83 f. (*baltė* as an autochthonous Illyrian word in Albanian); MEYER *BB* XIX 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242 (from Lomb *palta*); TREIMER *ZfromPhil.* XXXVIII 392 (borrowed from Slav **bolto*); SKOK *A ArbSt.* II 114, *Slavia* III 115 (accepts the Slavic origin of *baltė*); BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 386; TROMBETTI *A ArbSt.* III 21-22; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78, *Origini* 309; HASDEU *EMR* III 135; MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (from Slavic); PORZIG *Gliederung* 159, 175; FRAENKEL 32, *KZ* LIV

294-295; VASMER I 190; PISANI *Saggi* 123 (isogloss uniting Albanian with Balto-Slavic); POKORNY I 118-120; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272, *Ist. limb. rom.* II 97 (Slavic **bolto* in Balkan languages); HUBSCHMID *RRL* XXIV/4 343-352; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14, *Anc. IE* 109; TOPOROV *PJa* I 189 (reconstructs OPrus **balt-*); SOLTA *Balkanlinguistik* 47, 100; ÇABEJ *St.* I 51-52, *Etim.* II 144-147; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; MURATI *Probleme* 127; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87-88.

ballë m/n, pl. *ballë* 'forehead'. Singularized pl. neut. **balā* related to Skt *bhāla-* id., OPrus *ballo* id. (GILFERDING *Otn.* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 24, *Alb. St.* III 33). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *ZONF* X 194, *Sprache* IX 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78, *Stratificazione* 86; MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (reconstructs an *i*-stem); MAYRHOFFER II 496-497; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; POKORNY I 118-119; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; ÇABEJ *St.* I 53, *Etim.* II 148-150; HULD 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 88-89.

ballungë f, pl. *ballunga* 'bump, swelling'. With a secondary assimilation of vowels, also *bullungë*. A derivative in *-ungë* based on *ballë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (borrowed from Rom **bulluca* and related to *bulë* and/or to *mëllë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to *bulë* < **bhulnā* in connection with Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 144-145 (follows MEYER's comparison with *mëllë*). ÇABEJ *St.* I 82 (agrees with BARIĆ).

bares aor. *barita* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'. From PAIb **bar-ōtja* derived from **bar* 'shepherd' preserved in *bari* (WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253). ◇ JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 144 (to *mbaj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 164 (denominative of *bar* 'grass').

bari m, pl. *barinj* 'shepherd'. Based on an unattested **bar* < PAIb **bara* (the derivation is similar to that of *ari*, *njeri*, cf. DEMIRAJ *AE* 91) related to OHG *baro* '(free) man'. As to OAIb *bëruo* 'shepherd' (BUZUKU, BUDI), it is not connected with *bari* and should be rather analyzed as a loanword from Lat *bārōnem* 'simpleton'. ◇ CAMARDA I 341 (mistaken translation of *bari* as 'bestiame'; comparison with Gk βάρητοι ἄρνες, Hes.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 69, *Wb.* 27, 33 (to *berr*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 156 (follows MEYER); WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253 (compares *bari* with *bares* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 191 (to *bar*); HAMP

related to Lat *far* 'sort of grain, spelt' < **bhars-*, ON *barr* 'spelt' and the like (CAMARDA I 336; MEYER *Wb.* 26, *Alb. St.* III 71). ◇ POTT *KZ* VI 321 (to Lat *herba* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 33 (to Gk φόπος 'agricultural' yield'); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* III 338-339, VI 96 (to Gk φάρμακον 'drug, healing remedy'); JOKL *Vox Rom.* VIII 192 (Alpine Romance parallels); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (to NPers *bar* 'fruit'); MANN *Language* XVII 16; CHANTRAINE 1179; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 90 (close to KRETSCHMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 54 (agrees with KRETSCHMER), *Etim.* II 156-158; DEMIRAJ *AE* 89-90 (from IE **bheu-* 'to grow').

bardhë adj. 'white'. From PAIb **bardza* continuing **bhorāgo-*, a derivative of IE **bherag-* 'to shine; white', cf. Skt *bhrājate* '(he) shines, beams, glitters', Goth *bairhts* 'light, shining' and also the word for 'birch': Lith *bērzas*, Slav **berza* (MEYER *Wb.* 29, *Alb. St.* III 17, 33, 72). PAIb **bardza* is particularly close to Skt *bhārga-* 'shining' with an irregular development of *-ḡ-. The Albanian word is the source of Rum *barză* 'stork'. ◇ HASDEU *EMR* III 216; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 79; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; FRAENKEL 40-41; MAYRHOFER II 479-480, 529-530; POKORNY I 139-140; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 68-69; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 336; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272-273; ÖLBERG *Beitr. Idg.* 57; GREPPIN *JIES* V/2-3 203-207 (Dac **barđo-* 'stork' related to Arm *brdoṛ* 'lammergeyer'); HULD 40; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 161-164 (to Gk μαρκόν· *banë* f, pl. *hana* 'dwelling'). From PAIb **banti*, a *nti*-derivative of *běj* 'to make, to do' (for semantic parallels see ÇABEJ I 52). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 6-8 (from IE **bhoyono-*, cf. Skt *bhavana-* 'dwelling, home' despite the irregularity of Tosk -n- < *-n-); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; ÇABEJ I 51-52 (explains *banë* as a Geg participle of *běj* identical with Tosk *bërë* but *hanë* is well attested in both dialects of Albanian), *Etim.* II 151-153; MAYRHOFER II 485-486; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 148 (explains *banë* as a phonetic variant of adv. *mhanë* 'near, nearby'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 89.

banjë f, pl. *banja* 'bath'. Borrowed from Slav **banja* id.: OCS *banja*, Bulg *ban'a*, SCr *banja* and the like (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 24; WEIGAND 4). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; (from Latin); HELBIG 90 (from Italian); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 155 (from Rom **banea* or Ital *bagno*).

bar m, pl. *barëra* ~ *barëna* 'grass'. From PAIb **bara* etymologically

ZfceltPh XXXIX 212 (same as CIMOCHOWSKI); ÇABEJ *St.* I 55-56 (suggests an etymological link to *bie*, *mbar*), 64 (compares *bari* with *bëruo*), *Etim.* II 165-167; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (both *bari* and *bëruo* borrowed from Lat *barō*, *barōnis*).

bark m, pl. *barqe* 'belly, womb, abdomen'. From PALb **haruka* identical with βαρ(υ)κα· αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραντίνοις (DURANTE *Ric. Ling.* III 158; KRAHE *Spr. Illyr.* 41) and, further, continuing **bhor-uko-*, a derivative of IE **bher-* 'to carry' (MEYER *Wb.* 27). The loss of the inlaut *-u-* points to the stress on the first syllable in PALb **báruka*, cf. *barukë* < **barúkā*. ◇ CAMARDA I 58 (correctly compares *bark* and *barrë*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327 (follows MEYER), *BB* XX 238, *Pron.* 344 (to Gk φάρυξ); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVIII 231 (to Lat *farciō* 'to cram, to stuff'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 22; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 79, *Stratificazione* 86; MANN *Language* XVII 7 (comparison with W *brych* 'afterbirth', W *bru* 'belly'); FRISK I 221; CAMAJ 29, 114 (accepts MEYER's view); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; ÇABEJ *St.* I 56-57, *Etim.* II 167-169; HULD 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92.

barkë f, pl. *barka* 'boat'. Borrowed from Lat *barca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042); LANDI *Lat.* 93.

barmë f 'bast'. A parallel form is masculine *barm*. From PALb **bardzmā* ~ **bardzma* derived from **bardza* > *bardhë* 'white', with a typical semantic pattern for the nomination of bark and bast (ÇABEJ *St.* I 57, *Etim.* II 170), cf. Slav **lyko* 'bast' from IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white'. ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk φορμός); TRUBACEV *Rem. term.* 164-166; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 90.

barukë f 'fleece'. From PALb **barukā* derived from **barwa* > *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). ◇ DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (to *barrë*).

barrë f, pl. *barrë* 'load, burden'. From PALb **barā* further related to *bie* and *mbar* (BOPP 471; MEYER *Wb.* 28, *Alb. St.* III 73) and particularly close to Gk φορά 'load' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 174). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; BUGGE *KZ* XXXII 4; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78-79; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; BARIĆ *Lingv. stud.* 34 (stresses the similarity with Gk φέρνῃ 'dowry'); MANN *Language* XVII 19; FRISK II 1003-1005; POKORNY

I 128-132; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (from **bhornā*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 57; MANN *Comp.* 94 (from IE **bhornā*); HULD 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92-93 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

barrě f. pl. *barrě* 'fetus'. From PALb **barnā*, a singularized plural cognate with Gmc **barnan* 'child'. The word must be strictly differentiated from *barrě* 'load, burden'. ◇ ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 139; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 173-174.

bashkĕ f 'fleece'. From PALb **bar(u)škā* etymologically connected with *barukĕ* id. and derived from *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). For a similar semantic development cf. Skt *ajāna-* 'skin, hide' ~ *ajā-* 'goat'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *bască* id. ◇ BARTHOLOMAE *IF* IX 252 (to Av *varāsa-* 'hair'); MEYER *Wb.* 28 (from **vars-kĕ* connected with Cyren βασσάρα 'fox'); JOKL *LKUBA* 170; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3236; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 467 (to Germ *Bürste*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 566; MANN *Language* XVII 13, *Comp.* 67 (identical with *bashkĕ* 'together'; was borrowed from Thracian or ancient Macedonian); VRACIU *LB* VIII 20 (from substratum); ÇABEJ I 58 (to Gk φάρσος 'piece, part' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 178-180; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93 (identical with *bashkĕ* 'together').

bashkĕ adv. 'together'. Goes back to PALb **bakskā* related to Lat *fascis* 'bundle', *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 80, *IF* VI 106). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paścā-* 'back, posterior'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 95, *AArbSt* III 215 (follows MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; JOKL *LKUBA* 170 (to Skt *bādhate*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80 (agrees with JOKL); MANN *Language* XVII 13; WALDE-HOFMANN I 459-460; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; ÇABEJ I 58-59 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* II 180-181; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93-94.

batis aor. *batisa* 'to press together'. Borrowed from Slav **batiti* 'to beat', presently preserved in South Slavic only as SCr *batiti* 'to rebound, to jump away'.

bathĕ f. pl. *bathĕ* 'broad bean'. Continues PALb **batsā* < IE **bhakā* also preserved in Gk φακή 'dish of lentils', φακός 'lentil' (MEYER *Wb.* 22, *Alb. St.* III 13, 33). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muséon* LXXVIII 445; POKORNY I 106; FRISK II 985; CHANTRAINE 1173, 1180;

CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 18; HULD 41-42 (finds a parallel in Burushaski *bu:kak* 'beans'); OREL *Ėtimologija* 1985 181; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 184-185; DEMIRAJ *AE* 94.

be f, pl. *be* 'oath'. From PALb **baidā* connected with Slav **bēda* 'disaster', Lat *foedus* 'league, treaty' and other nominal derivatives of IE **bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' (MEYER *Wb.* 30, *Alb. St.* III 33). ◇ ERNOUT-MEILLET 233; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* II 54-56; POKORNY I 117; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252-253; HULD 42; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 186-187 (to Gk πίστις, Lat *fidēs* 'belief'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 94-95.

begatë adj. 'rich'. Other variants are *bëgatë* and *bugatë*. Borrowed from Slav **bogatъ* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic: OCS *bogatъ*, Bulg *bogat*, SCr *bogat* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 50). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 326; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 190-191; SVANE 267.

bejkë f 'white sheep'. Borrowed from Slav **bělъka* 'white animal, white sheep' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 192).

bekoj aor. *bekova* 'to bless'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *bënkøj*. Borrowed from Lat *benedicere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6; MEYER *Wb.* 31). ◇ CAMARDA I 141 (to *be* and *besë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81; KÖDDERITZSCH *Asp. Alb.* 121-130; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 193.

belbë adj. 'stammering, dumb'. Borrowed from Lat *balbus* 'stammering, stuttering' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 31). From *belbë* such synonymous forms as *belbër* and *belbët* were derived. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 194-195 (onomatopoeia).

belbicë f, pl. *belbica* 'kind of trout'. Another variant is *belvice*. Borrowed from Bulg *belvica* id. (WEIGAND 6, JOKL *Slavia* XIII 311). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 32 (from Lat *barbus* 'barbel'); KRISTOFORIDHI 43; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 7; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 195, *St.* IV 97-98; SVANE 150.

belčë f 'wool cover'. Borrowed from Slav **bělica* 'white object' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 195).

beng m, pl. *bengje*, *bengë* 'oriole, finch'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of (West) Gmc **finkan* 'finch', cf. especially Bavarian *pienk* (MEYER *Wb.* 32). ◇ HAHN 13 (to *zbehem*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 198 (agrees with MEYER).

ber m 'bow, arrow, spear'. From PALb **bōra*, derivative of *bie* < **bera* 'to strike, to fall' (JOKL *LKUBA* 244). ◇ ÇABEJ I 61, *Etim.* II 199-200 (to Gk φάρος 'plow'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (to *bri*).

berk m 'bast'. From PALb **bardz(i)ka* derived from PALb **bardza* > *bardhë* 'white' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172). For the semantic evolution cf. *barmë*. ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix -*k*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201 (from Slav **ob(ъ)vrтка* > Russ *obertka*).

beronjë f, pl. *beronja* 'barren woman; holly; kind of serpent'. Another phonetic variant is *buronjë*. A derivative with a feminine suffix -*onjë* of an unattested **ber* < PALb **bara* 'naked, barren', borrowed from Gmc **bazaz*: OHG *bar* 'bare', ON *berr* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (comparison with *berr* and Slav **baranъ* 'ram'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (from Romance, cf. OFr *baraigne* 'barren'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201-202; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (derived, as two separate words for 'barren woman' and 'holly', from *ber* and *berr*).

berr m, pl. *berra* 'sheep, goat'. From PALb **barwa* etymologically connected with ON *borgr* 'hog', OHG *barug*, *baruh* id., Slav **borvъ* 'boar' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173; MANN *Comp.* 95). Note a diminutive *berk* 'goat' only in *era berk* 'stench of a goat' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 208 (to Gk βάρηχοι ἄρνες, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 33 (an Alpine *Wanderwort*); JOKL *LKUBA* 242 (from an interjection used to address the sheep); HASDEU *EMR* III 637; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (to Engad *bar* and other Alpine words); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81, *Stratificazione* 132-133; HUBSCHMID *Vox Romanica* XIV 195; TRAUTMANN 27 (**bhoru-* as an areal word for 'sheep and goats'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3237; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273 (to Rum *bîr*, cry with which the shep-

herd calls the sheep); ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXXVI 50, *St.* I 61, *Etim.* II 202-204; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95-96.

besë f, pl. *besa* 'pledge, truce, trust'. From PALb **bait̥sā* traced back to IE **bhoidh-tā* (HAMP KZ LXXVII 252-253 follows STIER KZ VII 160 and CAMARDA I 43 in reconstructing **bhidh-tā* as an exact equivalent of Gk πιστός 'faithful, trustworthy') or **bhoidh-tiā* (PISANI *Saggi* 129) further connected with IE **bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' and Alb *be*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (compares with Alb *bind* and reconstructs **bhendht̥iā*), Alb. *St.* II 50, III 25, IV 97; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 308 (thinks of **bhendht̥iā*); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163; JOKL *LKUBA* 262 n. 2; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 26 (derivative of **bheidh-* in **-atiā*); TREIMER KZ LXV 110; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; PISANI *Saggi* 129; FRISK II 487-488; POKORNY I 117; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÇABEJ *St.* I 61-62, *Etim.* II 204-206; HULD 42; WATKINS *Dragon* 83; DEMIRAJ *AE* 96-97.

běj ~ bāj aor. *bëra ~ bana* 'to do, to make'. From PALb **banja* compared with Gk φαίνω 'to appear' (MEYER *Wb.* 23-24, Alb. *St.* III 33), a zero grade further connected with IE **bhā-*. For the semantic development cf. OIr *bann* 'deed' of the same root (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 162). ◇ CAMARDA I 48 (to IE **bhū-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84-85; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; HULD 43; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 207-208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 97-98.

bërcel m 'kind of wheat, *Triticum monococcum*'. Derived from an unattested **bërcë ~ *bricë* borrowed from Slav **bъrica* > Bulg *brica* 'kind of white wheat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◇ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 62 (related to *bardhë*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 209-210 (from Maced *pčenica* 'wheat' < Slav **pъšenica*).

bërçik m *bërçikë* 'span (between thumb and index)'. Borrowed from Slav **bъrčikъ*, cf. Bulg *brъčka* 'fold, wrinkle'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (to an unattested Bulg *prъža*); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* I 7 (borrowed from SCr **brčik* related to Pol *bark* 'arm'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 210; SVANE 89.

bërkoq m 'little pig'. Another variant is *bërkuq*. Derived from *berk*, see *berr*. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIV 56 (borrowed from Lat *porcus*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 211 (to *koqe*).

běrsi f, pl. *běrsi* 'husks of grapes, marc'. Borrowed from Rom **brūtea* reflecting Thracian βρούτεα. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Lat *brīsa*); BRÜCH *IF* XL 241-244 (from "Illyrian", cf. Thr βρῦτον 'beer'); HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 212 (reconstructs **bris-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 98 (borrowed from Thracian).

(G) **běrshtë** m 'juniper'. Continues **eburusa*, a form somehow connected with OIr *ibar* id., Gaulish *eburo-* (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235-237). ◇ BERTOLD *WuS* XI 155 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 212-213; DEMIRAJ *AE* 98-99 (critical of the Celtic parallels).

běrtas aor. *brita* 'to shout, to cry'. Borrowed from Slav **bъrtvati* ~ **bъrtviti* 'to babble', cf. Bulg *brъtv'a*. ◇ CAMARDA I 68 (compares *běrtas* with Gk βρυχάομαι 'to bellow'); MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *věrras*), Alb. *St.* III 38; MACHEK *LP* V 59-60 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* III 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 63 (to Latv *brēkt* 'to cry', OIr *bressim* id.), *Etim.* II 213.

běrthamě f, pl. *běrthama* '(fruit) stone'. A compound consisting of *běrth* < *birth* (with a vocalic shift in the unstressed position) and *amě*; thus, *běrth-amě* is something like 'mother of the fruit'. Its synonym, *běrthokěl* is to be analyzed as a formation with two suffixes *-ok-* and *-ěl* of the same root. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Rom **petramen* derived from *petra* 'stone'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (divides *běrthamě* into *běr* and *tha(l)mě*, the latter to be compared with *thelb*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 63-64 (a derivative of *bathě* > **barthě*), *Etim.* II 213-214; MURATI *Probleme* 66-67 (root *běr-*).

běrrakě f, pl. *běrraka* 'muddy pool, pond, swamp'. Derivative of *birě*. Note a similar change of *-r-* > *-rr-* in *běrryl*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (to Slav **bara* 'pool, rivulet'; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 84-87 (identifies the root of *běrrakě* with the ancient Balkan stem *bar-* in river-names); MLADE-NOV *IORJaS* XVII/4 228-230 (to Skt *barburá-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 64 (to βράγος· ἔλος, Hes.), *Etim.* II 215-217.

běrryl m, pl. *běrryla*, *běrryle* 'elbow, forearm'. Other variants reflect an original *-ll* in the auslaut. From Palb **bōrei ul(e)nā* 'turn of the bow' > 'elbow' (for the first element - ÇABEJ I 65, *Etim.* II 217-219). Thus, the structure of the word is close to that of Gmc **alinobogon* 'elbow': OHG *elinbogo*, ON *olnbogi* and the like (OREL *ZfBalk*

apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 495 (to Skt *bādhate* 'to push, to press'); PISANI *Saggi* 129; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; HAMP KZ LXXVII 253 (agrees with BOPP); ÇABEJ *St.* I 66-67, *Etim.* II 235-236 (from IE **bhedh-nō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 101.

bir m, pl. *bij* 'son'. From PALb **bira* compared with Goth *baur* 'son' < IE **bhero-* (PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 295; KZ XXXIII 541), with further link to IE **bher-* 'to give birth'. ◇ CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk *υἱός* 'son'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from IE **bhū-l-*, cf. Gk *φῶλον* 'race, tribe'), *Alb. St.* III 33; SOLMSEN KZ XXXIV 4; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 220; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 109, *LKUBA* 194 (to Lat *filius* 'son'); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* I 136 (*bir* as a secondary formation based on *bijē*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112-113; PISANI *Saggi* 226; BARIĆ *Hymje* 57; HAMP *BSL* LXVII 213-217 follows PEDERSEN); HULD 44-45; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 239-240; KLINGENSMITT *LIdg.* 103 (to *bij*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 102 (agrees with KLINGENSMITT).

birë f, pl. *bira* 'hole'. From PALb **birā*, a zero-grade derivative of IE **bher-*: Lat *forō* 'to bore, to pierce', OHG *borōn* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 541; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83; ERNOUT-MEILLET 249; WALDE-HOFMANN I 481-482; HAMP *RRL* XXI 51 (from IE **bhid-rā*), *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 211 (from IE **bherHuā*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 241-242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 102-103 (to *brej*).

birko adv. 'good, fine, excellent'. Related to *birq* (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 37 (compares with *mirë*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 3 (compound of **bher-* as in *mbarë* and *ko-* < *kohë*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 242 (derived from *bir*).

birq m 'heap, heap of sand, sand-dune'. In Tosk also *berq*. Diminutive *birth* 'pimple' is derived from *birq*. A singularized plural of PALb **birka* formally identical with an isolated Slav **bъrkъ* 'moustache, hair, trunk'. Thus, the original meaning of the Albanian word could be 'upright, vertical (heap)'. ◇ CAMARDA 59 (identical with *pirg* 'tower' < NGk *πύργος* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 98 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 128-129; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173-174 (to IE **bher-* 'to bring', cf. Russ *borona* 'many, a great amount' going back to the same root according to VARBOT *Praslav.* 170-171); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 242.

bisedë f, pl. *biseda* 'talk, conversation, speech'. Borrowing from Slav **besěda* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *besěda*, Bulg *beseda*, SCr *beseda* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 33). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143, 192; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 243; SVANE 1220, 230.

bisk m, pl. *bisq, bisqe* 'branch, twig'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav **bičьkъ* derived from **bičь* 'whip' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). As to *bisk* 'rivulet', it may also belong here. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from NGk βίτσα 'switch, rod' borrowed from Bulg *vica* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 243-245 (borrowed from Slav **bičь* or derived from *mbij*); MANN *Comp.* 78 (to Lith *biskis, biškis* 'bit, fragment' - a German [East Prussian] loanword); PAGLIARO *Shêjzat* X 315-317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 101 (derived from *mbij*).

bistër adj. 'agile, nimble, sour'. Borrowed from Slav **bystrъ* 'agile, quick', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bystrъ*, Bulg *bistъr*, SCr *bistar* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 246; SVANE 150.

bishë f, pl. *bisha* 'beast, wild animal'. Borrowed from Lat *hēstia* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 246-247; LANDI *Lat.* 119.

bisht m, pl. *bishta, bishtra ~ bishtna* 'tail'. From PALb **būšta*, derivative of IE **bhū-* 'to grow'. The metaphor views the tail as a bodily outgrowth. ◇ XYLANDER 287 (to Basque *bustan* id.); CAMARDA I 58 (to Gk ὀπίσθεν 'back, behind'); MEYER *Wb.* 38; JOHANNSSON *IF* XIV 268 (from **bhid-to-* and, further, to Lat *findere* 'to cleave'); JOKL *LKUBA* 261 n. 2; OŠTIR *AArbSt.* I 127; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 109 (follows JOHANNSSON); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 429; TAGLIAVINI *RIEB* I 165 n. 1, *Dalmazia* 83-84 (against JOHANNSSON), *Stratificazione* 143; BARIÇ *Hymje* 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 67-68 (from **mb-ith-sht*, to *ith*), *Etim.* II 248-250; HULD 45 (disagrees with ÇABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 103 (to *bij*).

bishtajë f, pl. *bishtaja* 'pod, hull, pea, green bean'. Borrowed from Rom **pistălia* > Rum *păstaie* 'pod, hull', cf. Lat *pistāre* 'to pound' (CANDREA - DENSUȘIANU I 204). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 68 (to *bisht*), *Etim.* II 250.

bjerr aor. *borra* 'to lose'. Numerous phonetic variants of the anlaut are attested in dialects: *djerr*, *dëbjerr*, *vdjerr*, *dzjerr*. They seem to go back to PAIb **diš-bera* or **diš-berna* further related to *bie* 'to fall' (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 325). ◇ MEYER Wb. 70 (to Gk δέπω 'to skin', Slav **dbrati* 'to tear' and the like), Alb. St. III 73; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83; LA PIANA *Varia* 21 (related to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk φθείρω 'to destroy' or Lat *feriō* 'to strike'); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (to Lith *beŕti* 'to disperse'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 253-255; DEMIRAJ *AE* 104 (follows HAMP).

bjeshkë f, pl. *bjeshkë* 'mountain pasture'. Borrowed from Rom **pastica* based on Lat *pastus* 'pasture'. Note that this word belongs to a compact group of Latin loans with *p-* rendered as *b-*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 58 (identifies *bjeshkë* with *byshkë* and connects it with Romance words for 'splinter', cf. Ital *busca*); SKOK *ZfslavPhil* II 396-397 (from Lat *basilica* 'church' despite the differences in meaning); JOKL *LKUBA* 165-167 (from **bjershkë* as a derivative of *bie* 'to fall'); CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 114; TRUBACEV *Nazv.* 281 (against the connection with the name of the Beskidy); ÇABEJ St. I 68 (follows JOKL and derives the name of the Beskidy Mountains from *bjeshkë*), *Etim.* II 255-256; OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 32 (from **bheug-iskā*).

blanë f, pl. *blana* 'heart of tree; sapwood; scar, mark, pockmark'. Borrowed from Slav **bolna*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *blana* 'turf, piece of dried dung', SCr *blana* 'coopers instrument' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 134-135). Closer meanings have been preserved in East Slavic: Russ *holona* 'young wood between the bark and the trunk; lump or scar on the bark'. ◇ TRUBACEV *ĖSSJa* II 175-177; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 257; SVANE 120.

blatë f, pl. *blatë* 'wafer'. Borrowed from Lat *oblāta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER Wb. 38). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1040, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMAN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 109, 158.

bleĖerij ~ blegërij aor. *bleĖeriva* 'to bleat'. Onomatopoeia (MEYER Wb. 38-39, cf. Gk βληχάομαι id.). ◇ POKORNY I 102; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 258 (same as MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104.

blehurě adj. 'pale'. From PALb **blaid-ura* related to Slav **blědъ* id., OE *blāt* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◇ POKORNY I 160; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* II 111-112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105.

blej aor. *bleva* 'to buy'. Borrowed from Rom **ablevāre* 'to lift up, to relieve (from)' (MEYER *Wb.* 39). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 44 (divides *blej* into a prefix *b-* < *mb-* and a root identical with that of *laj* in its meaning 'to pay'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84; BORGEAUD *RRL* 4 (1973) 327-331; HAMP *St. albanica* X/2 83-85; ÇABEJ *St.* I 71 (to Latv *blēnst* 'to see badly; to look' and its other Baltic cognates), *Etim.* II 259-260.

blertě adj. 'green'. There exists a derivationally more archaic variant Italo-Alb *blerě*. The word goes back to PALb **blōra* related to Lat *flōrus* 'shining, bright', OIr *blár* 'gray', W *blawr* id. < IE **bhlōros* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 260-261). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 38 (compares with Slav **blědъ* 'pale'); WALDE-HOFMANN I 513-514; HULD 45 (from **bhlēudhro-*, to IE **bhlēyo-* 'light-colored'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104-105.

bletě f, pl. *bletě* 'bee, swarm, hive'. Goes back to **mbletě* borrowed from Rom **melettum*, cf. *mellārium* 'beehive, apiary' (JOKL *LKUBA* 284-296). ◇ POTT *KZ* VI 321 (comparison with Gk μέλιττα 'bee'); CAMARDA I 44 (the same); MEYER *Alb. St.* II 79 (from Rom **albietus*, cf. Rum *albină* 'bee'), *Wb.* 39 (from Rom **apetta* ~ **abetta* 'bee'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 235 (follows CAMARDA in deriving *bletě* from **melit*); SKOK *AArbSt* I 225 (from Rom **albeāta*), *Arch. Roman.* VIII 148-150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84 (agrees with JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from Gk *μέλιτjα); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (follows POTT); ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 38 (borrowed from Gk μελίσσειον 'beehive'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 69-70 (borrowed from Gk μέλιττα with a shift of accent), *Etim.* II 261-263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105 (from PALb **m(e)litā*).

blënděs ~ **blanděs** m, pl. *blënděsa* ~ *blanděsa* 'paunch, stomach'. Another form is *blĕnxě* ~ *blanxě*. Variants of *plënděs* ~ *planděs*.

bli ~ **blî** m, pl. *blirě*, *blinj* 'linden'. From PALb **blina* further connected with Lith *blindis*, *blendis* 'Salix caprea' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 70-71, *Etim.* II 264) and derived from **bhlen-* 'to shine', semantically motivated by the color of the bast and bark typical of linden (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 40 (treats *bli* as a loanword from Rom *(*li*)*brinum*); FRAENKEL 49.

- related to the moti- (XVI 174). Gk φάλλη SK I 242-60; ÇABEJ aut variant A *Prefisso* ntical with I from IE LA PIANA 60; ÇABEJ ong grade N *blekkja* POKORNY lb. *Worth*. black', Gk ÇABEJ St. I 71, 0 (to Lat e id. (MIK- derivatives ER-LÜBKE *mazia* 84; (from IE orm *bludē*, cf. South IKLOSICH
- the word stands for a clay vessel rather than for a wooden one. V SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 73.
- bludē** f ' (film of) mould, scum on wine, skin on milk'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic continuant of Slav **blōda* reflected in Bulg dial. *blōda* 'unclean pimples' and Slovene *blōda* 'mistake'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 40 (from SCr *bluta* 'mould'); MEYER-LÜBKE *REW* 32 (from Rom **abluta* 'rinse water'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 72, *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 117; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* II 125.
- boj** aor. *bova* 'to mate'. Usually, attested in passive as *bohet*. Metaphoric use of *boj* 'to drive' attested in North Geg. From PALb **bagnja* related to Lith *bēgti* 'to run', Latv *bēgt* id., OPrus *begeyte* id., Slav **bēgti* id., Gk φέβομαι id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 119). For the semantic development in Albanian cf. Russ *gon* 'heat (of animals)' < *gnat* 'to drive'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41-42 (to NGk *μαίνω*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 373-375 (to Germ *Bahn* 'road'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (from Rom **disbinō*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 68-69 (from **bhōrejō*); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 103, 118 (related to *mbaj*, *bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (from **dēboj* further connected with Lith *vyti* 'to drive (away)' and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk *πτοέω* 'to frighten'); FRAENKEL 38; FRISK II 998-999; ÇABEJ *St.* I 73 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 105-106.
- bolbē** f 'accident, disaster, sorrow'. Borrowed from the otherwise unattested Slav **bolьba*, derivative of **bolь* 'pain' (KRISTOFORIDHI 487; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 8 (against Slavic etymology); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 322 (from Rom **volva* or from IE **bhēl-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 73, IV 98, *Etim.* II 281-282 (to Lat *bullā*, OIr *bolach*).
- bolle** pl. 'testicles'. From PALb **bālnai* connected with IE **bh₂lno-*: Gk φαλλός 'phallus', Lat *foliis* 'bellows', OIr *hall* 'limb, member' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67-68). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41 (from Ital *bolla* 'lump, knob' or *balla* 'testicle'); ROHR *ZfBalk* XVII/1 80; FRISK II 987-988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 524-525; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 23; VENDRYES B-12; POKORNY I 120; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 282 ('elementary creation'); MANN *Comp.* 63-64 (to Skt *bhāla-* 'forehead').
- bolle** f, pl. *holla* 'kind of harmless snake'. Borrowed from Rom **bola*,

Class. *Elementa* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 40). It is interesting that in South Slavic

Gk βλέννoς id. (MEYER *Wb.* 40; ÇABEJ *St.* I 71). Further the same IE *bhlen- 'to shine' as *bli* 'linden'; in this case variation is based on the color of the fish (OREL *Linguistica* X 1967; ÇIMOCHOWSKI *LP* I 165-182 (further connections of *bli* with 'whale' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; FR 243; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk βάλiv *Etim.* II 264-265 (identical with *bli* 'linden')).

bligě f 'forked piece of wood'. From PALb *bligā, a zero abl related to Gk φάλαγξ 'stem', ON *bialki* 'log'. ◇ LA PIANA 14 (from *le-bigě); POKORNY I 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 265 (ide bigě).

blokër f 'rubbish, trash'. Continues PALb *blāukā derive *bhlēyos 'blue, yellow', cf. Lat *flāvus* 'yellow' and the like. ◇ *Prefisso* 15 (prefixal form related to Lat *bāca*); POKORNY I 122; *Etim.* 267 (to *bluaj*).

blorě f 'sling'. Continues PALb *blāgrā, a form reflecting a variant comparable with Lat *flagrum* 'whip', cf. further C 'to beat, to strike'. ◇ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (from *le-borě); I 154; ÇABEJ *Etim.* 268 (derivative of *bahe*).

blozě f, pl. *blozě, bloza* 'soot'. Derivative of *bluaj* (CAMAJ *A* 124). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 40; JOKL *Studien* 8-9 (to Skt *malinā-* 'μέλας id.); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 13-14 (from *le-bozě); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 269-270 (agrees with CAMAJ); MANN *Comp.* 8 *flamma* 'flame').

bluaj = **bluej** aor. *blova* 'to grind'. Borrowed from Lat *moler* LOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 40). Among various note *bluashkě, blloshkě* 'splinter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 71). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; JOKL *IF* XLIX 291; TAGLIAVINI *Da* KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 146; HAMP *IF* LXVII 147 *mel-); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 270-271.

blude f, pl. *blude* 'wooden bowl'. Singularized plural of the attested in dialects. Borrowed from Slav *bl'udo 'dish, plate' Slavic forms: OCS *bljudo*, Bulg *bl'udo*, SCr *bljudo* (M

cf. Lat *bolea* 'salamander' (JOKL *ZRomPh* XLI 228-230). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41 (borrowed from Lat *bēlua* 'beast, monster'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 295 n. 1 (to Skt *bhāla-* 'with shining skin'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85, *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 283-285 (from IE **bhul-* 'to swell'); LANDI *Lat.* 126.

borë f, pl. *borë, borëra ~ borna* 'snow'. Dialectal variants *dëbor, vdor, zborë, xborë* and the like reflect PALb **diš-bārā* with a borrowed suffix (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 193) or, rather, **iš-bārā* with a Proto-Albanian suffix. The semantic structure of the word is similar to Rum *zapadā* 'snow' < Slav **zapada* 'falling down (snow)' and, therefore, **-bārā* is linked to *bie* 'to fall' (ibid.; CIORANESCU *DER* II 910). In fact, *borë* may be a calque of the Slavic word (TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz.* XI 19). Its verbal correlate is *zhjerr* 'to lose' < **-her-na*. ◇ CAMARDA I 100 (to Gk βορέας 'North wind'); MEYER *Wb.* 42 (to Rum *bora* 'North wind' and - at the same time! - Slav **bur'a* 'storm'); THUMB *IF* XXVI 5 (from Gk βορέας 'North wind'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85; HASDEU *EMR* I 106; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 24-25 (to *var*); KRAHE *IF* LVII 113-114 (to Maced *Bora*); CAMAJ 38; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210; ÇABEJ *St.* I 73-74 (follows JOKL), *Etim.* II 287-289; HULD 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 106-107.

borigë f, pl. *boriga* 'kind of pine; splinter'. Another variant is *borikë*. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *borika* 'fir-tree', SCr *borika* 'pine' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 42). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94-95 (related to Gk φάρυγξ 'throat' and IE **bher-* 'to cut'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 206 (follows JOKL); GAMKRELIDZE - IVANOV II 707 (follow ÖLBERG); ÇABEJ *St.* I 74 (supports MEYER), *Etim.* II 289; SVANE 125; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

bors m, pl. *borsa* 'chaffinch, Fringilla'. Derived from *borë* as shown by names of chaffinch in other languages, cf. Fr *pinson de neige*, Germ *Schneefink* and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* I 75, *Etim.* II 290-291). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 482 (borrowed from Slav **skvorьсь* 'starling').

bosht m, pl. *boshte, boshtinj* 'spindle, axis, axle'. From PALb **bāsta* close to Gmc **bōsta* > OHG *buost* 'rope made of bast'. Further related to Gmc **bastaz* 'bast' as well as Lat *fascis*, Alb *bashkë* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). The spindle is, thus, described as 'junc-

ture'. Note that *boshtër* 'Forsythia' is derived from *bosht* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 75). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 42 (derived from Ital *bosso* 'box-tree'); GUYON *St. Glott. Ital.* V 11 (borrowed from Slav **bodьсь* 'thorn, sharp stick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 86; KLUGE 55; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 166; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 102 (prefixal *b-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 292-293 (to *bie* 'to carry' or to Skt *bhr̥ṣti-*).

botĕ f, pl. *bota* 'earth; world'. From PALb **bwātā* based on IE **bheu-* ~ **bhū-* 'to be, to grow' (JOKL *Studien* 7). Among derivatives of *botĕ* note *botĕm* 'pale'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 43 (comparison with Lat *bētere*, *baetere* 'to go'); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Skt *bhāta-* 'shining', cf. *Rum lume*), *Comp.* 67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 294-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

bram m 'residue, scoria, rust, ear-wax'. From PALb **bradma* connected with Skt *bradhnā-* 'reddish, yellow', Slav **bronъ* 'colored' < **brodnъ* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 300; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). For the semantic development cf. OHG *rost* 'rust' based on IE **reudh-* 'red'. ◇ MAYRHOFFER II 451; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 41-42; MANN *Comp.* 98 (to Lat *fragmen* 'scrap, fragment').

branĕ f, pl. *brana* 'harrow'. Continues a South Slavic reflex of Slav **borna* id.: Bulg *brana*, SCr *brana* (MEYER *Wb.* 44-45, mistakenly claims the Bulgarian form non-existent). The verb *branis* 'to harrow' is borrowed from Slav **borniti*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 156; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 301; SVANE 31, 253.

bravĕ f 'herd'. Borrowed from Slav **borvъ* ~ **borva* 'cattle', cf. in particular Bulg *brava*, SCr pl. *bravi* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 45). ◇ SKOK I 203; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 301-302; SVANE 134.

bravĕ f, pl. *brava* 'door-lock'. A relatively late borrowing from SCr *brava* id. (SKOK I 203) which might be connected with Rom **barra* 'bar' (MEYER *Wb.* 45). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150, 306; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 302; SVANE 83.

brazĕ f, pl. *braza* 'furrow'. Another (and more conservative) variant is *brazdĕ*. Borrowed from Slav **borzda* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *brazda*, SCr *brazda* (WEIGAND 9; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158, 322) ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 302.; SVANE 37.

brymës id. (derivative of *brymĕ*) under the influence of *brej* (DEMIRAJ AE 111). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 50 (derived from *brej*).

brukĕ f 'tamarind'. From PALb **brukā* identical with Slav **bъrkъ* 'twig, stalk, sharp end'. ◇ HAMP *Anc. IE* 102; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 128-129; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 332 (borrowed from Gk μυρίκη via Dor *βρύκη).

brumĕ m, pl. *brumĕ* 'dough'. Derived from *mbruaj* ~ *mbruej*, *mbryj* 'to knead' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 333-334). From PALb **bruma* related to Gmc **barma* 'yeast' (OE *beorma*) and Lat *fermentum* 'leaven, yeast' (MEYER *Wb.* 49). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 11, LKUBA 263; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; ERNOUT-MEILLET 230; PISANI *Saggi* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (reconstructs **bhreumo-*); KLUGE 52; DEMIRAJ AE 111.

brushtull f, pl. *brushtulla* 'heather'. From PALb **brust-ula* related to Slav **brъstъ* 'sprout, bud' and OS *brustian* 'to shoot, to sprout'. ◇ VAN WIJK *IF* XXIV 235; PUDIĆ *IX ICL* 862-864 (from EGmc **brustilō*, cf. E *bristle*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 329 (to Dac *riborasta*, plant name); NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 197 (follows POGHIRC); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 58; GINDIN - KALUŽSKAJA - OREL *Blssl.* 249; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 335-336 (borrowed from Slav **bl'uščъ*).

bruz adj. 'blue, indigo'. From PALb **brudja* comparable with Slav **brudъ* 'dirt', **brudъnъ* 'dirty' < IE **bhrou-dh-*, cf. **bhrou-t-* in Thrac βροῦτος 'barley beer' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 175). ◇ DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 93; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 336 (to *barrĕ*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* II 44.

brydh adj. 'weak, pliant, mild'. From PALb **brūdza* related to Lat *frūx* 'fruit', Goth *brukjan* 'to use' (where IE **g̑* should be reconstructed) The meaning in Albanian is based on the original notion of 'used, worn out'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Slav **bъrзъ*), *Comp.* 54, 111 (to W *brydd* 'feeble, ailing'); POKORNY I 173; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 175 (to Slav **brydъkъ* 'disgusting, sharp'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 337-338 (to *bredh* 'to jump').

brymĕ f. 'frost'. Borrowed from Lat *brūma* 'cold, frost' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 49). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Lat *pruīna* id.); CAMAJ 47 (to IE **bher-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN I 13; HULD 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 338; LANDI *Lat.* 68-69.

buall ~ **buell** m, pl. *buaj* ~ *buej* 'buffalo'. An early borrowing from Slav **byvolъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 243) with the diphthongization of the group *-yvo- similar to that in *patkua*. The feminine form *buallicë* ~ *buellicë* goes back to Slav **byvolica*. ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 150 (borrowed from Lat *būbalus* id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7 (from Lat *būbalus* or Gk βούβαλος); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 64, *Wh.* 50 (same etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, 541; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *St.* I 79 (questions the phonetic validity of MEYER's etymology), *Etim.* II 339-340 (identical with Thracian βόλιθος 'bull'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 158-159; LANDI *Lat.* 107, 137.

buças aor. *buçita* 'to roar, to thunder'. Borrowed from Slav **bučati* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *buča*, SCr *bučati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 345 (from SCr *bučati*); SVANE 260.

buj ~ **bûj** aor. *bujta* ~ *bûjta* 'to accommodate (a guest); to stay overnight'. From PAIb **bunja* related to Goth *bauan* 'to stay' and other derivatives of IE **bheu-* ~ **bhû-* 'to be, to grow' (CAMARDA I 59; MEYER *Wh.* 51, *Alb. St.* III 33). As to *bunë* 'alpine hut', it continues **buntā* derived from *buj*, cf. Lith *būtas* 'dwelling' and OIr *both* 'hut' derived from IE **bhû-*. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163; MEYER *Alb. St.* V 71 (from IE **bheug(h)-* 'to bend'); FEIST *Goth.* 83-84; HASDEU *EMR* I 101; JOKL *Studien* 7-8, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 117, 121; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 119 (*bunë* to Thrac -βουνov); ÇABEJ *St.* I 80-81 (reconstructs **budnja* and connects it with Slav **buditi* 'to wake up' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 351-353; DEMIRAJ *AE* 111-112.

bujk m, pl. *bujq* 'peasant'. Also attested as *bulk*. Borrowed from Lat *bubulcus* 'ploughman, herdsman' (CAMARDA I 180; MEYER *Wb.* 53). From this stem, *bulk*, *bulkth*, *burkth* 'cricket' is derived. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 55 (*burkth* to **murk-* 'black'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *LB* VI 99-100 (to *murk*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30-31; HAARMAN 113; MANN *Comp.* 112 (*burkth* related to OE *beorcan* 'to bark'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 356; LANDI *Lat.* 89, 135-136.

bukë f, pl. *bukë* 'bread; meal, meal-time'. Borrowed from Lat *bucca* 'mouth' which in Balkan Romance means 'food' as in Rum *bucă*, cf.

also Rom **buccella* 'bread', Ital *buccella* 'mouthful' (CAMARDA I 132; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 51). This semantic shift is typical of all the Carpatho-Balkan area (HAMP *RRL* XXIV 315). ◇ XYLANDER 277 (to Phryg βέκος 'bread'); PUȘCARIU *EW* 19; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 46, *Stratificazione* 133; OȘTIR *A ArbSt* I 84; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90, *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMAN I 13; HAMP *RomPh* XXXIV/4 434; HULD 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 357-358; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 317-323; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 134.

bukĕl f, pl. *bukla* 'weasel'. From PALb **buklā* connected with *bukur* (MEYER *Wb.* 51-52). The variant *bungĕl* seems to be secondary (influenced by *bung*?). Taking into account the lust as a specific feature of weasel (cf. *bukur*), to be further connected with IE **bheu-* 'to swell', with its characteristic semantic development in Slavic (OCS *bui* μωρός, ἄφρων, Slav **bujъnъ* 'violent, wild, lusty, fertile'), and in particular with Germanic formations in **-k-*: OHG *buhil* 'hill' < **bhukl-*, ON *bōla* 'lump, knob' < **bhukl-ōn-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70). ◇ BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Mlr *bocc*, Skt *bhugna-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133 (thinks of a Romance loanword); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPh* XXXIV 215 (to MFr *bacoule* id.); POKORNY I 98 f.; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119; MANN *Comp.* 124; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 358.

bukur adj. 'beautiful, fine, nice, pretty; good, noble; dim'. From PALb **bukura* etymologically connected with *bukĕl*, cf. Slav **laska* 'weasel' ~ 'caress', Lith *lokšnùs* 'tender' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254; MEYER *Wb.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70). The semantic *tertium comparationis* is the weasel's remarkable lust occasionally related to the notion of beauty and good (TRUBAČEV in VASMER II 462; TOPOROV *PJa* III 279-280: on OPrus *caune* 'marten'). From (Proto-)Albanian the word was borrowed to Rum *bucur* (MEYER *Wb.* 52). ◇ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (identical with Lat *pulcher*); CIHAC II 715 (borrowed from Turk *buhur* 'incense'); BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Ir *boce* 'ark'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; HAAS *LB* I 35, 43, III 51 (to Gk βαυκρός); ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338 (explains both Albanian and Rumanian words from the Balkan substratum); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 360-362.

bulbĕr m 'street dust'. Borrowed from Lat *pulverem* 'dust'. Note the

irregular voiced anlaut. ◇ MEYER *Alb.St* V 71 (from Ital *polvere* id.); HELBIG 39; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 362.

bulĕ f, pl. *bula* 'bud'. Borrowed from Lat *bullā* 'bubble, boss, knob' (MEYER *Wb.* 53). ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 145; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (follows SCHMIDT); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 113; MANN *Comp.* 122 (to MHG *bolle* 'bud'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 81 (accepts MEYER's etymology), *Etim.* II 362-363; LANDI *Lat.* 93.

bulĕ f 'soft flesh (on the rear side of the finger)'. Borrowed from MLat *bullā* 'seal' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 363). ◇ HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla*, Venet *bola* id.).

bullar m, pl. *bullarĕ* 'blindworm'. Together with its variant *bollar* this word is derived from *bollĕ* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90). It is the source of Rum *bālaur* 'dragon' from where other Balkan forms were borrowed. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41; BARIĆ *ARSt* 3-5 (from **bala* 'water, marsh' and **var* 'snake'); PASCU *RE* 25 (reconstructs Rom **belluārius*); DURANTE *Ric. Ling.* 1950, 270-271; SKOK *ZfromPh* L 513-517; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; OREL *Vestnik MGU. Filologija* 1981/2 72-76 (ancient Balkan ties of *bullar*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 366-367.

bullog m 'dragon's dwelling'. Transformed from **burlog* under the influence of *bullar*. Borrowed from South Slav **bъrlogъ* < Slav **bъrlogъ* 'den, dwelling', cf. Bulg *bъrlog*, Slovene *brlog*. Alb *-ur-* < South Slav *-ъr-* indicates an early loanword. Another trace of Slav **bъrlogъ* is *bĕrllok* 'den' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16 on *bĕrllok*). ◇ OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 211; SVANE 43.

bullungĕ f, pl. *bullunga* 'lump, knob'. Formation in *-ungĕ* (JOKL *RIEt-Balk.* II 76) derived from **bull* < PALb **bulna*, etymologically connected with IE **bhela-* 'to swell' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom **bullūca*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (compares with Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 144-145 (< *bu-* + *lungĕ*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 82 (connects *bullungĕ* with *ballĕ*), *Etim.* II 368-370 (to *mullā* ~ *mullĕ*).

bung m, pl. *bunga* 'kind of oak, *Quercus sessiflora*'. From PALb

**bun(i)ka* derived from IE **bheu-* 'to grow' and closely related to Arm

Trakite 74 (same as GEORGIEV); ÇABEJ *St.* I 84-85 (accepts WIEDEMANN's etymology), *Etim.* II 389-391; KLUGE 57; HULD 46-47; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from PALb **burnas*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 113-114.

bush m 'boxwood'. Borrowed from Lat *buxus* id. (WEIGAND 10). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 56 (from SCr *bus* id.); HELBIG 43, 76 (from Ital *bosso*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 392 (follows WEIGAND 10).

bushtë f, pl. *bushtra* 'bitch', adj. 'raging, wild'. An early borrowing from Slav **bystrъ*, fem. **bystra* 'quick' (TREIMER *AArbSt* I 27), cf. Russ *borzoi* 'borzoi' < 'fast'. ◇ CAMARDA I 162 (to Lat *bustum*); MEYER *Wb.* 56 (to ON *bikkja* id., E *bitch* or to Lat *bēstia*); JOHANSSON *IF* IV 268 (to Lat *findō*); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14-15 (to *bush* 'bogy, werewolf'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 394-395 (same as LA PIANA); MANN *Comp.* 127 (related to Slav **bystrъ*).

but m, pl. *bute* 'big barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *buttis* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Ital *botte*); HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 396; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

butë adj. 'soft, smooth'. From PALb **buta* < IE **bhugh-to-* comparable with Nlr *bog* 'soft' < **bhughō-*, Arm *but* 'blunt' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341). The source of both forms is IE **bheugh-* 'to bend'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 57; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 159; JOKL *IF* XLIV 54; MLADENOV *IF* XXXVIII 169-171; POKORNY I 152-153; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 70 (to *buj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 397-398; MANN *Comp.* 121; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 114; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114.

buzë f, pl *buzë* 'lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock'. The word goes back to PALb **budjā* identical with Lith *budė* 'tree-fungus, tinder, whetstone' (OREL *LB* XXVII 49 f.); semantically, cf. Slav **gōba* 'lip, tree-fungus' (TOPOROV *Balkanica* 243 f.) and Rum *buză* (see below). Both the Lithuanian and the Albanian words are related to IE **bhudh-men* 'bottom' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 86, KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Leksikol.* 152 f.); the development of meaning is paralleled in Alb *fund* 'bottom, end, edge'. Alb *buzë* is the source of Rum *buză* 'lip, edge, sharp edge, top of a rock', Arum *budză* 'lip, edge'. The latter forms were borrowed into Slavic: Bulg *buza* 'cheek', Maced *buza* 'lip', SCr *budza* 'mouth, lip', *buza*

200 (reconstructs **bharH-*, **bhārH-*); CAMAJ 230; DUBIDANOV *dun* ГРУНК (ÇABEJ *Sl.* 163, *Eum.* II 373-375). The Albanian *v* borrowed to Rum *hunet* 'thicket'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 54 (compare Slav **buky*, **bukъ* 'beech' which, however, is a Germanic loan); BARIĆ I 103 f. (to Lith *bingùs* 'brave, courageous' or Gk παχύς); JOKL *LKUBA* 177-179 (to Skt *bhunákti* 'to enjoy, to use, to eat' because of the edible nature of acorns!); LA PIANA *Studi* I 1 (to Gk φάγος and Phryg Βαγαῖος); ACAREAN *HAB* I 483-48 (to OHG *bunga* 'lump'); POKORNY I 146-147; *LB* XX 117 (to the Indo-European name of 'beech' **bhāgnā*); FRIEDL *Trees* 108; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* 197; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; HAMP *LB* XX/1-2 117 (from **bhāg-n-*); ORLANDI *XXIII*/1 70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 112-113 (supports HAMP).

burdhë f 'kind of sack'. Attested in Albanian of Greece. Fr **burdā* < IE **bhr̥dh-* further related to ON *borð* 'board, e.g. *bord* id. ◇ POKORNY I 138; ÇABEJ *SCL* X 556 (to Germ *Bürde*); RRL IV 335 (reconstructs **bhorH-dā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 113.

burg m, pl. *burgje* 'prison, stable'. Borrowed from Gm **burg* 'borough, fenced area': Goth *baurgs*, OHG *burg* and the lil *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◇ CAMARDA II 145 (to Gk πόρυος); BACH apud MEYER *Wb.* 54-55 (from MLat *burica*); MIKLOS *Elemente* 7 (from Rom **burgus*); MEYER *Wb.* 54-55 (various secondary guesses); ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 206; ÇABEJ *Etimologjia* 383 (follows CAMARDA).

burrë m, pl. *burra* 'man, husband'. Borrowed from OHG **burro* 'peasant, villager' with the simplification of the anlaut clust *b-*. Cf. a similar source of Hung *pör* id. < OBavar **pour*. ◇ DING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *púruṣa-* 'man'); MEYER *Wb.* 55 (etymology identifies *burrë* with OHG *gibūro*, Germ *Bauer*), Alb. *Si* SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254 (from MLat *barro*); PISANI *Saggi* 197; MEYER; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 219 (reconstructs **bhorno-* connected with OHG *baro* '(free) man'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230; WIEDEMANN and reconstructs **bherno-*; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 9 (with JOKL), TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; VASMER *ZfslavF* 369 (to Illyr Βοῦρο); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* II 135 note 1; PISANI 121; MANN *Language* XVII 13 (reconstructs **bh̥r̥njo-*); GEORG *dovanija* 119 (to Thrac -βουρ); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 76, *ZfceltP*

'mouth, lip, kiss'. The status of Pol *buzia* 'mouth, face' and Ukr *buz'a* id. (< Polish?) is dubious. Alb *buzëm* 'edge, stone at the edge of the hearth, piece of wood burned down at Christmas' is a late derivative of *buzë* and, therefore, cannot be a base for a deep semantic reconstruction as suggested by TOPOROV (*Ėtimologija* 1976 136 f.) in connection with SCr *badnjak*. ◇ CAMARDA I 52 (cognate of Lat *bucca* 'mouth'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Lat *basium* 'kiss'); MEYER *Wb.* 57 (from **bus-zë* compared with Lat *bucca* 'mouth' and derived from IE **buk-*); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 21, *LR* I 177; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 114 (compares with Lith *burnà* 'mouth', Arm *heran* id.); JOKL *Studien* 11-12, *LKUBA* 143, 278 (follows PEDERSEN; identifies *-zë* as a collective suffix); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87 (onomatopoeia); LA PIANA *Studi* I 103 (from IE **bheǵ-* 'to swell'); PISANI *Paideia* XXI 343; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 329; POKORNY I 174 (to IE **bu-* 'lip, kiss'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 86-87 (derives *buzë* from **bhrdhjā* and compares it with E *board*!), *Etim.* II 400-402; NIKOLAEV *Antič. balk.* 5 30 (*buzë* borrowed from North Caucasian); BÜGA I 324 (identifies Lith *budẽ* 'fungus' and *būdẽ* 'whetstone'); FRAENKEL 61-62; BARIÇ *Hymje* 66; VAILLANT *BL* XIV 16 (Rum *buză* < Slav **lobъza*); BER I 87; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114-115.

byr aor. *byra* 'to carry out, to perform, to execute'. Continues PALb **būra* related (as a causative) to IE **bhū-* 'to be, to grow'. It is probable that the Proto-Albanian verb is a denominative based on an unattested abstract noun **bhūrom* > **būra*. ◇ XHUVANI *KLeTr* I/3 2 (based on *běj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 408-409 (derived from *bie*).

bythë f, pl. *bythë* 'backside, buttocks'. A Proto-Albanian compound of *mbë* and *vithe*, with *-y-* resulting from PALb **-iwi-* as in *qytet*. ◇ BARIÇ *AArbSt* I 141-142 (compound of *mbë* and *ith*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to IE **bhū-*); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 211-212; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 410-411; MANN *Comp.* 57-58 (from IE **busd(h)jā*, related to Gk βυσσός 'depth').

C

ca pron. 'some'. From the sequence of article *të* and pronoun *sa* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 20, *KZ* XXXVI 316). ◇ CAMARDA I 214 (links *ca* to

sa); MEYER *Wb.* 383 (connects *ca* with the pronominal stem *s-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 87 (follows PEDERSEN), *Etim.* III 3-4.

calik m, pl. *calikë* 'goat-skin'. Borrowed from Slav **cělikъ* 'whole object', in this case, 'whole skin' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 135). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 439; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 131 (to Gk θαλλίς); ÇABEJ *St.* I 87 (unacceptable comparison with *cull*), *Etim.* 6-7.

camërdhok m 'little boy'. Of unclear origin. ◇ GAZULLI 18 (prefix *ca-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* 8 (to *callok* id.).

carac m, pl. *caraca* 'nettle tree'. Of unknown origin. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 88 (cognate of *ther*).

carbë f, pl. *carba* 'scrap, rag'. Borrowed from Slav **čarьba* 'daub, dirt' attested only in Czech *čarba* but believed to be of much wider distribution originally. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 439 (to NGk τσερβούλια 'kind of shoe' and the like); ÇABEJ *St.* I 88 (to *carac* and *ther*).

care f, pl. *care* 'witch'. Borrowed from Slav **čara* 'witchcraft', cf. South Slavic forms: SCR *čara*, Slovene *čara* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 439; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 138). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 214.

carrok m, pl. *carrokë* 'lad, youth'. The etymology is uncertain. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 88-89 (to *carac* and *ther*).

cek aor. *ceka* 'to touch'. A variant of *cerk*. The noun *ceke* 'intention, aim' is a deverbative. ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 16-17 (onomatopoeia).

cemtë adj. 'cold (of water)'. Derived from *cermë* 'cold' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 18-19).

cenis aor. *cenita* 'to value'. Borrowed from Slav **cěniti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *cen'a*, SCR *ceniti* (JOKL *Studien* 103). ◇ SKOK *A ArbSt* II 343 n. 3 (identical with *cmof*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20 (follows JOKL).

cep m, pl. *cepe* 'angle, edge'. Phonetic variant of *thep* (JOKL *Balkangerm.* 125). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 446 (mistaken spelling *çep*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20-21 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 115-116.

cerk aor. *cerka* 'to hit'. From PALb **tserka* related to *ther*. The form *cerk* preserved the original affricate.

cermë f 'arthritis'. Borrowed from Slav **čermъ* 'inflammation' attested in South Slavic as Slovene *črm* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (historically identical with *thermë* - this view can be only accepted for *cërmë* 'cramp, spasm'), *Etim.* III 22-23.

cermë adj. 'cold, cool'. Continues PALb **tsermā* related to Lith *šarmà* 'frost', Latv *sarma* id. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (identical with *cermë* 'arthritis').

cëmoj aor. *cëmova* 'to hurt'. Derived from *thermë* with a dialectal change of *th-*. Thus, *cëmoj* < **thermoj*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (related to *thimh*, *thumb*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (same as JOKL), *Etim.* III 24-25.

cërij aor. *cërita* 'to melt butter'. Based on PALb **tsira* related to Skt *śrāyati* 'to cook, to fry', Gk κίρνημι 'to mix'. ◇ FRISK I 824-825; POKORNY I 582; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 25 (onomatopoeia *cër cër* of boiling oil).

cëril m 'thrush'. Another variant is *cërlle*. An early Slavic loanword, borrowed from **čl̥rnidlo* 'black (object)' (MEYER *Wb.* 440). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 202; SKOK I 278 (same as MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 62-63 (from Romance, cf. Ital *merla* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 25-27 (onomatopoeia).

cfurk m, pl. *cfurqe* 'pitchfork'. Derived from *furkë* (MEYER *Wb.* 114).

cicë f, pl. *cica* 'breast, nipple'. An element of the child language, cf. *thithë* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 90 (adduces Slavic and Romance parallels), *Alb. St.* III 44; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (from Romance); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127-128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; ÇABEJ *St.* I 91 (follows TAGLIAVINI), *Etim.* III 30-31.

cili pron. 'which'. Together with its older variant *cilë*, *cili* continues **të silë*, cf. *ca* (MEYER *Wb.* 383). As to **silë*, it appears to be a recent formation based on *si* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 50 (derives *-l-* of *cili* from **-ln-*); LAMBERTZ *IF* XXXIV 113 n. 2 (reconstructs a suffix **-l-* in *cili* similar to that of Lat *tālis* 'such'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 91-92 (follows PEDERSEN), *Etim.* III 34-38.

cimb m, pl. *cimba* 'sting'. A dialectal form related to *thimth* as well as *cimak* id. (JOKL *Idg. Jb.* XXIV 217). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 92, *Etim.* III 39.

cip m 'point, tip; upper part'. A dialectal form standing for **thip* and connected with *thep* id. ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20-21.

cipë f, pl. *cipa* 'thin skin; milk skin'. Derived from *cip* in its meaning of 'upper part' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 44-45). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 441 (borrowed from Slavic).

cirlë f, pl. *cirla* 'blackbird'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Slav **čirьkъ* 'teal'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 440 (mistakenly reconstructs **čërnle* as borrowed from Slav **čьrnidlo*).

citë adj. 'full, brim-full'. From PALb **tseita* etymologically identical with Slav **čitъ* 'whole', Lith *kietas* 'hard' and continuing IE **k^hejatos*. The verb *cis* 'to saturate, to stuff' < **tsitja* also belongs here. ◇ CAMARDA I 87-88 (*cis* to Gk σιτεύω 'to feed'); MEYER *Wb.* 441 (compared with NGk τσιτώνω 'to fill holes with lime'); VAILLANT *RÉS* VI 106-107; FRAENKEL 252; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 124-125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 48-49 (from Slavic).

cjap m, pl. *cjep* 'he-goat'. Various forms including *cap* and *sqap* continue PALb **tsapa* which, together with Slavic **capъ* id., Rum *țap* id. and Ital *zappo* id., reflects an Oriental *Wanderwort* of Iranian or Altaic origin, cf. NPers *čapiš* 'one year old goat', Osset *cæw* 'goat', OTurk *čäbiš* 'six-months old kid'. ◇ POTT *KZ* IV 70 (connected with Lat *caper* 'he-goat'); MEYER *Wb.* 387-388 (the same); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 738 (Rum *țap* from Albanian); DENSUSIANU *GS* I 243-244 (against the Latin etymology of Rum *țap*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 292 (Rumanian loanword); ROZWADOWSKI *Roczn. Sław.* II 109 (Iranian parallels); ROHLFS *ZfromPh* XLV 662-664 (independent sources of Romance, Albanian and other words for 'goat'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133-134; ABAEV I 307; HUBSCHMID *Pyren.* 49, *Kult. SOE* 89; RUSSU *TD* 203 (Rum *țap* from Dacian); TRUBAČEV *Živ.* 89; ROHLFS *ZfromPh* XIV 624 (pre-Romance nature of Rum *țap* = Ital dial. *zappo* id.); ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 48-50; MEIER *Etim.* 56; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 172-173; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 49-51 (follows MEYER).

cmag m, pl. *cmagë* 'peg'. Another variant is *cmak*. Together with

cimak this word is related to *cimb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 93, *Etim.* III 51-52). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 62-63.

cub adj. 'with a short tail, with a tail cut off'. An early borrowing from Slav **čubъ* 'tuft of hair' and also 'stump, a cut off piece'. ◇ MEYER 442 (to SCr *čupa* 'tuft of hair'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 58-59 (to *cup*).

cub m 'robber, brigand'. Borrowed from a Germanic source, cf. Goth *þiubs* 'thief', OHG *diob* (MANN *Language* XXVI 384). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 58 (to *cub* 'with a short tail').

cucë f, pl. *cuca* 'girl, maiden'. An onomatopoeic form with parallel formations in Slavic as well as in Hung *csucsa* 'loved one' (MEYER *Wb.* 443). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 93-94 (from **cull-cë* to *cull*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 384-385 (to Goth *þiwi*); BRÎNCUŞ *SCL* 1 (1961) 25-28; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 59-60.

cull m, pl. *cullë* 'youth, boy'. A relatively recent loanword from Ital *ciullo* 'nincompoop' < *fnaciullo* (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 315-316). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 95 (reconstructs the original meaning as 'skin'), *Etim.* III 63-65.

cup adj. 'odd (uneven)'. Continues PALb **tsupa* from IE **k̑(e)u-po-*, based on **k̑eu(ə)-* 'to swell', cf. in particular Skt *sūnyá-* 'empty'. As far as the suffix is concerned, cf. Skt *śō-pha-* 'swelling'. ◇ POKORNY I 592-593; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 67 (identical with *sup*).

curr aor. *curra* 'to prick up (ears)'. A phonetic and semantic variant of *thur*.

curr m, pl. *curra* 'high rock'. A nominal derivative of the verb *curr*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 115-116 (borrowed from Hbr *šôr* 'rock'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (reconstructs **k̑rno-*, to OIr *carn*), *AArbSt.* II 388; ÇABEJ *St.* I 96 (to Arm *sur* 'sword', Goth *hairus* id.), *Etim.* III 68-69.

cys aor. *cyta* 'to spur on, to tease'. A difficult word. Maybe, a secondary formation in -s based on *thyej*. ◇ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 105-106, 149 (to *qoj* and, further, to Lat *ciēre* 'to move'); MANN *Language* XXVIII

31-32 (from **teudjō*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 96-97, II 327 (related to *nxis*), *Etim.* III 71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 116.

cyth aor. *cytha* 'to prick'. An onomatopoeia or an unusual derivative of *thyej*. Not at all clear.

Ç

çafkë f, pl. *çafka* 'heron'. Borrowed from Slav **čavъka* 'daw, magpie', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *čavka*, SCr *čavka* (MEYER *Wb.* 443). A homonymic *çafkë* 'glass, cup' is borrowed from Slav **čašъka* 'small bowl'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 97 (adducing dialectal *cap* id., reconstructs **capkë* > *çafkë*), *Etim.* III 75-76 (from *çap*); SVANE 145.

çaj aor. *çava* 'to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up'. A parallel variant is NGeg *shaj*. From PALb **tšenja*, formed on the basis of IE **sked-* 'to split': Skt *skhadate* id., Gk σκεδάω id. and the like (JOKL *IF* XXX 196). Note *çazë* 'leaf' representing a derivative in *-zë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 444 (to Gk σχάζω 'to cut, to incise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 97; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 918-919; MAYRHOFFER III 507; FRISK II 721; CAMAJ *Alb. Woth.* 60; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 71; ÇABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 77; HULD 47-48 (reconstructs **-a-* in the Proto-Albanian root); DEMIRAJ *AE* 116-117 (*çaj* < **dë-shaj*, related to Lat *sariō* 'to weed').

çajme f, pl. *çajme* 'red-backed shrike, heron'. Derived from Slav **čaja*, **čajъka* 'gull, lapwing', cf. South Slavic forms: Maced *čajka*, Slovene *čajka* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 77). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 443 (uncertain relation to Slav **čapja* 'heron').

çalë adj. 'lame'. From PALb **štšala* related to Gk σκολιός 'crooked', Lat *scelus* and their cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 443). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXX 194 (from IE **skel-no-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from IE **ek-skolijōs*); PISANI *Saggi* 128; FRISK II 723-724; CHANTRAINE 1013; POKORNY I 928; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 80 (to *shalë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 117-118 (reconstructs **dë-shalë*).

çam m, pl. *çamë*, *çamër* 'Chamerian, inhabitant of the western part of Epirus'. Borrowed from early dial. Slav **čamъ* or **čama* rendering

an earlier **tjama*, the latter reflecting the Greek river-name Θύαμις of Epirus. ◇ LEAKE *Greece* 13 (establishes the connection between *çam* and Θύαμις); ÇABEJ *St.* I 98 (treats *çam* as a direct continuation of Θύαμις), *Etim.* III 82-83.

çandër f, pl. *çandra* 'prop, support'. From **štšentra* reflecting a singularized plural of the Indo-European neut. **skēntrom* with *s*-mobile, close to IE **kēntrom* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259): Gk κέντρον 'goad, spur', cf. also Latv *sīts* 'spear, lance' < Balt **šintas*. The anlaut *ç(a)*- excludes the possibility of a borrowing from Latin or a Romance language, cf. *qendër*. ◇ POKORNY I 567; FRISK I 820-821; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 71 (mistaken comparison with *çaj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 84 (variant of dialectal *qandër* < *qendër*).

çap aor. *çapa* 'to chew'. From PALb **štšepa* connected with IE **skēp-* 'to cut, to split' (JOKL *IF* XXX 192-193). Note that *çapë* 'step', *çap* 'to step, to pace, to go' represent a metaphoric usage of *çapë* 'bite, piece', *çap* 'to chew'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 444 (connects *çapë* 'step' with Turk *çapmak* 'to run' as well as with Slav **stopiti* 'to step'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (prefix **eks-* followed by *hap*); POKORNY I 930-932; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 84-85.

çapua ~ **çapue** m, pl. *çaponj* 'spur (of a rooster)'. Derivative of *çapë* 'step' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 89).

çarë f, pl. *çara* 'fissure, crack'. Borrowed from Slav **cara* 'line, rent, cleft', presently attested in South Slavic only in Slovene *cára* (OREL *Ètimologija* 1983 135-136). ◇ OREL *ZfSlav* XXX/6 914.

çars aor. *çarta* 'to destroy, to spoil'. From PALb **štšertja* based on IE **sker-tj-*, cf. ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skirti* id. and the like (JOKL *IF* XXX 195-196, XXXVII, 100-101, *LKUBA* 156). ◇ FRAENKEL 803; POKORNY I 938-942; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 118 (originally, from **dē-shart-*).

čas m, pl. *çase* 'moment, time'. Another variant is *çast* (with *-t* generalized from locative as in *në çast*, cf. ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 93-94). Borrowed from Slav **časъ* 'time', cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *časъ*, Bulg *čas*, SCr *čas* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wh.* 445). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

çek aor. *çeka* 'to touch'. An onomatopoeia existing in many phonetic variants, cf. *cek* id., *cik* id. and *cok* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 98).

çel aor. *çela* 'to open'. From PALb **ššela* etymologically related to Hitt *iškallāi-* 'to tear up', ON *skilja* 'to split', Lith *skeliū*, *skélti* id. (JOKL *IF* XXX 194-195, WuS XII 70). ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 125; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from IE **ek̑s-skeliō*); FRAENKEL 800; BORETZKY *ZfBalk* VIII/1-2 21-26 (on *çelës* 'key' < 'opener' as an Oriental semantic calque); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 100-101; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 52 (< **dz-šel-* < IE **sel-* 'to put').

çelë f 'best part'. Borrowed from Slav **čelo* 'head', its South Slavic reflexes (Bulg *čelo* and SCr *čelo*) having a specific meaning of a 'front, visible place' and 'end, edge' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 101). ◇ SVANE 180.

çelitet refl. 'to recover, to get well'. Borrowed from Slav **čeliti* 'to heal', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *čeliti*, Bulg *cel'a*, SCr *cijeliti*.

çelnik m, pl. *çelnikë* 'senior shepherd'. Borrowed from Slav **čelъnikъ* 'leader, head', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *čelnik*, SCr *čeonik* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 179). As to *çeling* 'senior shepherd', it goes back to NGK τσέλινγκος id., ultimately, from the same Slavic source (ÇABEJ *St.* I 98). The variant *çelik* was influenced by an Albanian Turkism *çelik* 'steel'. ◇ SVANE 194; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 102.

çem aor. *çema* 'to bring to light, to disclose, to reveal, to broach'. From PALb **štšepna* etymologically connected with *çap* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72). For the semantic development cf. ON *skilja* 'to separate, to divide' > 'to understand' (BUCK 1207). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 91 (divides *çem* into prefix *ç-* and *-em* < **apniō* compared with Lat *apiō* 'to fasten, to attach'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 98-99, *Etim.* III 103.

çerdhe f, pl. *çerdhe* 'nest'. A singularised plural of the original **çerdhë*. An early borrowing from Slav **čerda* 'row, herd, flock' (Bulg *čreda*, SCr *čreda*) with a particularly interesting shift of meaning (MEYER *Wb.* 446). ◇ JOKL *AArbSt* I 38 (reconstructs **skerdh-* related to Lith *skerdzius* 'shepherd' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *LP* VII 199, *St.* I 99, *Etim.* III 108-109.

çerr m, pl. *çerra* 'wren'. A substantivized use of a borrowed Slavic adjective **čьrnъ* 'black' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 111 (onomatopoeia).

çetë f, pl. *çeta* 'clan, armed group'. Borrowed from Slav **četa* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *četa*, SCr *četa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 446-447). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184; SVANE 202; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

çetinë f, pl. *çetina* 'pine-tree'. Borrowed from Slav **četina* 'bristle, needles', cf. in particular South Slavic: Bulg *četina*, SCr *četina* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 99). ◇ SVANE 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

çë pron. 'what'. With a full reduction of vowel, also is used in the form of *ç*. From PALb **tši* continuing IE **k'id*: Hitt *kuit*, Gk *τί*, Lat *quid* and the like (BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 206, II 399; HULD 47). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 218 (borrowed from Rum *ce* id.); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 328 (from **qish*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 388 (borrowed from SCr *ča* id.); MANN *Language XXVIII* 35; FRISK II 903-904; WALDE-HOFMANN II 404-405; ÇABEJ *St.* I 97 (identical with *që*), *Etim.* III 73-74.

çimkë f, pl. *çimka* 'bug'. Another variant is *qimkë*. Borrowed from Lat *cimicem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14). Another word for 'bug', *çimërr*, seems to be an expressive formation based on *çimkë*. ◇ STIER *KZ XI* 137; MEYER *Wb.* 227 (from SCr *kimak* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 119-120 (follows MIKLOSICH).

çjerr aor. *çorra* 'to tear up'. From PALb **štšera* etymologically related to OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skiriù*, *skirti* 'to separate' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 410-411). ◇ MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (from **ek̑s-skerjō*); FRAENKEL 808; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 124.

çmoj aor. *çmova* 'to estimate'. Borrowed from Lat *aestimāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 448). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; MANN *Language XXVIII* 35 (related to Gk *τιμάω*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 12; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 126-127.

çnderoj aor. *çnderova* 'to dishonor'. Borrowed from Lat *exhonorāre* id.

çoj aor. *çova* 'to bring, to rise, to send'. Borrowed from Lat *excīre, exciēre* 'to call out, to cause, to wake'. ◇ CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk κίω); MEYER *Wb.* 448 (from Lat *excitāre*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 341 (against MEYER, reconstructs **skē-* in the anlaut); JOKL *Studien* 81 (accepts the view of CAMARDA), *Mélanges Pedersen* 145 (close to CAMARDA's view, from **ds-qoj*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to go'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 8-10 (to Lat *sāgiō* 'to feel'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (from **eks-skēujō*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119.

çotillë f, pl. *çotilla* 'stamp, kind of long blender'. A metathesized form of *toçillë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 102, *Etim.* III 134). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73, *AArbSt* I 156-157 (compares with Lat *quatiō* 'to wield, to beat'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 145 n. 1 (to *çutër* 'stream, brook').

çubë f, pl. *çuba* 'bush, shrubbery'. Borrowed from Slav **čuba* 'lock, forelock, curl' (SCr *čuba*) with a semantic innovation. ◇ MANN *Language XXVI* 380 (related to Slav **čuba*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 135-136 (related to *kaçubë*).

çudis aor. *çudita* 'to astonish'. Borrowed from Slav **čuditi* id. as well as Geg *çudë* 'wonder' - from Slav **čudo* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 449). As to *çudi* id., it is an Albanian derivative of *çudis*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 323; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 127-129; SVANE 231; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 136-137.

çukë f, pl. *çuka* 'peak'. Borrowed from South Slav **čuka* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 449; MLADENOV *AfslPh XXXIV* 385 (borrowed from Bulgarian); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275 (comparison with Rum *ciucă*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 103, *Etim.* III 138-140; SVANE 161, 181.

çullë f 'sheep with little ears'. Borrowed from Slav **čulъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *čula*, SCr *čula*. ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 141-142 (Balkan parallels).

çun m, pl. *çuna* 'boy, youth'. Together with *çunë* 'penis', borrowed from

Ital *cionno* 'penis' (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450). ◇ CAMARDA II 67 (from Ital *ciullo* 'little'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 77 (from **qun* borrowed from Slav **čędo* 'child'); MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* VII 101 (*čuně* borrowed from NGk τσουυῖ 'branch, twig, penis'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 103-104 (related to *cung* 'stump'), *Etim.* III 142-143; SVANE 88.

D

dac m, pl. *daca* 'cat'. An onomatopoeic formation or a hypocoristic based on a personal name (MEYER *Wb.* 62). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134.

daj aor. *dava* 'to divide'. Often used with prefix *n-* as *ndaj* id. Goes back to PALb **danja*, transformed from **daja* under the influence of other verbs in *-nja*. Further connected with Gk δαίωμα 'to divide', Skt *dáyate* id. (BOPP 483; CAMARDA I 144; MEYER *Wb.* 59, *Alb. St.* III 26). ◇ JOKL *Ide. Jb.* IX 58 (to Skt *dālavati* 'to split'), *Sprache* IX 128 (followed by PEDERSEN).

XCII 4/1-4/2; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; CAMAJ *Alb.* MOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (verb in *-*njō*); FRISK I 341-342; MITT *Verbum* 117; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 150-151; DEMIRAJ *AE*

m'. From PALb **dauka* further related to Lith *dvėkti* 'to breathe', *das* 'breath' and other derivatives of **dheu-* on which *dash* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 153; related to *dash*).

'to go out'. From PALb **dala* etymologically related to 'to bloom', i.e. 'to appear, to come out' (MEYER *Wb.* 60, 61). ◇ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* I 14-115, *Kelt. Gr.* II 648 (to KZ XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 99; MANN *Lan-* 380, XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 121; POKORNY *Vox Rom.* *daille* < Gaul **dal(l)jā*); FRISK I 649-650; CIMOCHOWSKI, *St. IE* 43 (from **dalnō*); CAMAJ *Alt. Wortb.* 37; 421; HAMP *Sprache* XXX/2 156-157 (< IE **dhalnjō*); OREL 6-77; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; ÇABEJ *St.* 104 (reconstructs and compares *dal* with Lat *dolō* 'to cut'), *Etim.* III 153-154; ON *LR* 118; DEMIRAJ *AE* 120.

'chisel'. An early borrowing from Slav **dolbto* id., pre-th Slavic as Bulg *dlato* and also borrowed as Rum *daltă*

(MEYER *Wb.* 60). ◇ SKOK *Slavia* III 115-116; BARIÇ *Hymje* 75; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 319; ÇABEJ *St.* 105 (treats *daltě* as a cognate of Slav **delbto* or of Skt *dālayati* 'to split'), *Etim.* III 154-156; SVANE 78; MURATI *Probleme* 129-130.

dallëndyshe f, pl. *dallëndyshe* 'swallow'. A relatively recent compound motivated by the swallow's forked or "double" tail - **dalluan dyshe* 'appearing to be double', with **dalluan* > Tosk *dalluar*, Geg *dalluen* representing the participle of *dalloj* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72-73 with some differences). ◇ CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk τάλαντεύω 'to swing, to rock, to shake'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *hirundō*); MEYER *Wb.* 59-60 (from Lat *hirundinem* 'swallow' + suffix *-yshē*, influenced by *dallëndis* 'to take heart, to be brave'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 544 (to Gk χελιδών 'swallow'); BARIÇ *ARSt* I 5 (contamination of Lat *hirundō* and **dallē*, to Germ *Schwalbe* 'swallow'); SCHMIDT KZ L 236-237 (to Germ *Schwalbe*); MAYER KZ LXVI 89-96 (comparison with Illyr *Taulan-*

Χελιδονίσις, Hecat.); HASDEU *EMR* II 51; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134; HALIMI *GJA* (1972) 124 (from **da-ně-dyshe*); KNOBLOCH *AIK* 335-337 (agrees with PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* I 105-106, *Etim.* III 157-159.

dallgë f, pl. *dallgë, dallga* 'wave'.

dalloj aor. *dallova* 'to discern, to recognize'. Continues PALb **dalnānja* based on an adjective in *-*no-* - **dalna* related to Skt *dālayati* 'to split', Lat *dolō* 'to chip, to hew' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 12). ◇ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MAYRHOFER II 24; WALDE-HOFMANN I 364-366; XHUVANI *KLetr.* I/11 2 (to *daj*); ÇABEJ *St. Etim.* III 159-160; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121.

dangë f 'belly'. Another variant is *dëngë*. Goes back to PALb **dangā* etymologically identical with Lith *dangà* 'table-cloth, cover', Latv *dañga* 'puddle, marshland', Slav **doga* 'arc' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). All these forms are deverbatives related to Lith *dengiū, deñgti* 'to cover'. Adjectival *dëng* 'full, stuffed up' continues PALb **danga* and also belongs here. As to *deng* 'bundle, full sack', it is rather a borrowing from Turk *denk* 'bale' (MEYER *Wb.* 63) than a cognate of the above forms. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 61 (to Slovene *danka* 'rectum'); FRAENKEL 88-89; ÇABEJ *St.* I 106 (to *deng*), 121, *Etim.* III 162 (back formation

RESTELLI *KL Wortb.* 54; C KLINGENSCHMITT 119-120.

dak m 'big ra breathe', *dvā* is also based

dal aor. *dola* Gk θάλλω 'to bloom', *Alb. St.* III 2 OIr *dul* 'go') *guage* XXVI X 241 (to Fr KI *LP* II 24 CHANTRAINE *ZfBalk* XXII 7 constructs **daln* 154; CLACKS

daltě f, pl. *daltě* served in Sou

of Turk *dangalak* 'stupid' > Alb *dëngallak*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 98-99.

dardhě f, pl. *dardha* 'pear, pear-tree'. From PALb **dardā*, a derivative of *derdh* 'to tip out, to pour' < PALb **derda* (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1986-1987 220-221) with a semantic motivation established for Slav **gruša*, **kruša* 'pear, pear-tree' < **grušiti*, **krušiti* 'to crumble, to break', IE **peisom* 'pear' < **peis-* (TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 156). ◇ HAHN I 236 (connects *dardhě* with the name of Dardania); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (follows HAHN), *Gr. Gr.* 50; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (to Gk ἄχερδος, ἄχρᾶς 'wild pear, wild pear-tree'); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 89-90 (to IE **gher(s)-* 'to stiffen'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs **nghrdis*), XXVIII 34 (from IE **ghard-*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muséon* LXXVIII 440; FRISK I 199, 203; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 121 (to **der-* 'to split'); GINDIN *Onom.* 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 107 (to OIr *draigen* 'wild pear'), *Etim.* III 165-167; HULD 48; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121-122.

darě ~ daně f, pl. *darě ~ daně* 'pincers, tongs'. From PALb **dana*, a participial form related to *daj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 107-108, *Etim.* III 1167-168). ◇ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite'); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (considers the unchanged Tosk *-a-* to indicate a lost consonant before *-r-* ~ *-n-*); JOKL *Studien* 12-13 (develops CAMARDA's etymology based on IE **denk-*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (to OHG *zanga* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; HAMP *LP* XXVIII 78 (same as CIMOCHOWSKI); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 442; LEHMANN *GED* 338 (follows JOKL); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to IE **dhau-*); JANSON *Unt.* 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122.

darkě f, pl. *darka* 'supper'. From PALb **darkā*, originally a singularize neut. pl. of IE **dork^hom* reflected in Gk δόρπον id. (CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *Wb.* 61). On the other hand, the connection with *drekě* is doubtless. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 3, 26, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 245; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (reconstructs **drak^h-* in order to explain *drekě*); KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 101 n. 3; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 99-100; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 384; PISANI *Saggi* 118; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; POKORNY *Vox Rom.* X 239 (to Illyr Δρακούινᾱ < **darkuinā*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; HAMP *Anc. IE* 116 (adds Bret *dibri* 'to eat'); FRISK I 410-411; CHANTRAINE 294; ANTTILA *Schw.* 29, 100; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 563; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108, *Etim.* III 168-169; HULD 48-49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122-123.

darově 'bride's gift'. Borrowed from Slav **darovъ* 'gratuitous'. The

corresponding verb *darovis* 'to make a present, to give money as a gift' seems to continue an unattested Slav **daroviti*, cf. the widespread **darovati* 'to make a present' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 61) while *dari* 'dowry' is based on **dar* borrowed from Slav **darъ* 'gift, present'. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; SVANE 212, 231, 252; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 169.

dasmě pl. *dasma* 'wedding'. Another widespread and historically important variant is *darsmĕ*. Goes back to Palb **dartsimā*, originally, **wedding feast*, derived from *darkĕ* (ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108-109, *Etim.* III 169-170). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 62 (to Rum *zestre* 'dowry'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 309 (reconstructs **dam-ēsĕ* to be compared with Gk γάμος 'marriage, wedding'); JOKL *LKUBA* 14; HULD 49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 123-124.

dash m, pl *desh* 'ram'. From Palb **dauša* reflecting IE **dhouso-* 'breath, breathing, animal' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387), cf. Gmc **deuzan* 'wild animal' (Goth *dīus*, ON *dýr*), Lith pl. *daūsos* 'paradise', Slav **duxъ* 'breath, spirit'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *daş*. ◇ CAMARDA II 70 (to Gk δάσκιλλος 'kind of fish'); MEYER *Wb.* 62; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 6 (*dash* < **dalsh* connected with *dele*); JOKL *LKUBA* 240-241, 329 f. (compares *dash* < **dhyosj-* with Lat *bĕstia* 'animal'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134-135; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91 (*dash* ~ Lat *dĕnsus*, difficult both semantically and phonetically); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (links *dash* to *deshā*); IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; POKORNY I 270; FRAENKEL 115-116; FEIST *Goth.* 121-122; ZALIZN'AK *Etimologija* 139; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351, 356; ÇABEJ *St.* I 109-110, *Etim.* III 171-173 (to Goth *tagl* 'hair'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 153-154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 124-125 (related to *dem*).

degĕ f, pl. *degĕ*, *dega* 'twig, branch'. From Palb **dwaigā* etymologically related to OHG *zwīg* id., Germ *Zweig* (MEYER *Wb.* 62, *Alb. St.* III 9, 26, 39). ◇ CAMARDA I 80 (to Gk τέκνον 'child, sprout'); BÜGA II 319; JOKL *Studien* 15; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; KLUGE 897; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; HULD 145 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 179-180 (dubious Alpine-Romance parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 125-126.

deh aor. *deha* 'to inebriate'. From Palb **degška*. At the same time, con-

tinuants of **degnja* are attested in *dej* ~ *dēnj* id. Both **degška* and **degnja* are related to *djeg*. ◇ BOPP 539 (to IE **dhē(i)-* 'to suckle'); MEYER Wb. 62-63 (to Goth *dauns* 'vapor'), Alb. St. III 29, 90; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *dyllē*); SCHMIDT KZ LVII 6-7; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 110; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to IE **dhues-* 'to destroy'); ÇABEJ St. I 111 (compares *deh* with *dend*), *Etim.* III 182-183; DEMIRAJ AE 125-126.

dej adv. 'the day after tomorrow'. From PALb **daja* continuing IE loc. dual **duo-i-ous* (DEMIRAJ AE 127). For the development of IE **duo-* > PALb **da-* see OREL *Antič. balk.* 3 37-39. ◇ CAMARDA I 310 (to Gk δῆν); MEYER Wb. 62, Alb. St. III 39 (to IE **duoin-/dyein-*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; OŠTIR AArbSt. II 307; FRAENKEL 108; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 73 (close to MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 183-184 (back formation based on *andej*).

(G) **dêjē** f 'place where the snow melts, low place'. Denominative forms: *dejet* ~ *dêjet*. From PALb **danjā* related to Skt *dhánvan-* 'dry land', OHG *tenni* 'threshing-floor' (DEMIRAJ AE 127). ◇ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *deh*); SCHMIDT LVII 6-7 (to Skt *ádhanīt* 'to burn out, to fade away'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to IE **dhues-*); POKORNY I 249; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 180-182 (to *ndej*).

dele f, pl *dele*, *dhen*, *dhën* 'sheep'. The Geg variant *delme* represents a formation in **-mā* (and hardly has anything in common with the name of Dalmatia *pace* MEYER Wb. 63 and ÇABEJ St. I 111). The word is based on PALb **dailā* 'sheep' < 'suckling' and related to various *l*-derivatives from IE **dhē(i)-* 'to suckle' (MEYER Wb. 63, Alb. St. III 29 operates with **dailjā* < IE **dhailjā* or **dhoiljā*), cf., in particular, Arm *dayl* 'colostrum' < IE **dhailo-*. Suppletive plural forms *dhen*, *dhën* should be treated separately as a Proto-Albanian (collective) derivative in **-anti* based on *dhi* 'she-goat'. Thus, the source of *dhen*, *dhën* is to be reconstructed as **aiganti-*, with apheresis of the anlaut vowel (OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357). ◇ BRUGMANN 117; PETERSSON *LUÅ* XIX/6 12; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 6 (*dhën* compared with IE **dhē(i)-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 239 (mistakenly explains *-l-* from **-ln-*), 251-253 (compares *dhen*, *dhën* with Celt **damatos* 'sheep' > W *dafad*, Bret *dauat* or with *n*-derivatives of IE **dhē(i)-* 'to suckle', in particular, with Skt *dhenā* 'milk cow', cf. also OIr *dínu* 'lamb' and the like), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87 (traces of this root in Balkan place names); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101, *Stratificazione* 135; LA PIANA St. *Varia* 77-78; SCHMIDT KZ L 238; PORZIG

Gliederung 150; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240-241; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*dhen* to Lat *gēns* 'kin, tribe'); POKORNY I 241-242; DURIDANOV *ŽA* XVIII 37 (*dhen* - to Thr *Δανδαλῆται*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 152 (comparison of *dhen*, *dhën* with Gk *σημός* 'fat'), *Etim.* III 184-186 (follows MEYER); HULD 143; KÖDDERITZSCH *LB* XXXI 108; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 52; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; DEMIRAJ *AE* 127-128, 157-158 (agrees with MANN).

deltině f 'clay'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **delbtina* further connected with **delbto* ~ **dolbto* 'chisel'. The semantic development seems possible but not quite obvious: 'clay' < **'pounded mass'?* ∅ JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 24 (from **ndě-baltině*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 112 (compares *deltině* with *daltě*), *Etim.* III 187-188 (to *dyllě*).

dell m, pl. *dej* 'tendon'. From PAIb **daisla* probably related to Lith *gyšla* 'blood-vessel, tendon', Slav **žila* 'tendon' (MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 18) if the latter are treated separately from Skt *jiyá-* 'bow-string', Gk *βίος* 'bow' (BRUGMANN *Grundr.* I 345). ∅ CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk *δέω* 'to tie'); PEDERSEN *IF* V 68 (to Lat *filum* 'thread'), *KZ* XXXVI 326 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 13 (comparison with Gk *δέω* 'to bind'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87-88; FRAENKEL 150; FRISK I 237; MAYRHOFER I 448; VASMER II 57-58; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; ÇABEJ *St.* I 112-113 (connects *dell* with Slav **dolъ* 'valley' and Gk *θόλος* 'mud' - those two having nothing in common), *Etim.* III 189-190; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128 (against ÇABEJ).

dem m, pl. *dema* 'young bull'. From PAIb **dama* etymologically related to OIr *dam* 'ox' and, probably, to Gk *δάμαλος* 'calf' (CAMARDA I 73; MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 26, 64). ∅ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 164; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; FRISK I 345; ÇABEJ *St.* I 113, *Etim.* III 190-191; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128-129.

dend aor. *denda* 'to stuff'. An archaic non-assimilated variant is NGeg *tend*. From PAIb **tenda* related to Skt *tandate* 'to weaken', Lat *tendō* 'to stretch'. ∅ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21 (based on Lat *dēnsus*); MEYER *Wb.* 65 (related to Lat *dēnsus*), *Alb. St.* V 72 (borrowed from Lat *tendere*); BARTHOLOMAE *IF* I 300 (to Lat *dēnsus* 'thick'); JOKI, apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 341 (to *gdhënd*); MANN *Language* XVII 19; CIMOCHOWSKI

NI *Dalmazia* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 118, *Etim.* III 209-210; POKORNY I 267-268; ONIONS 258; OREL *SBJa Lekiskol.* 148-149 (Baltic toponymic parallels: Lith *Duobýrė*, Latv *Daubīte*); HULD 50.

detyrē f, pl. *detyra* 'duty, debt'. Borrowing from Rom **debitūra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 66). The verb *detoj* ~ *detonj* reflects Rom **debitāre*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 118-119 (derived from *detorēs* 'debtor'), *Etim.* III 210-211; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 41, 82-83.

dėboj aor. *dėbova* 'to drive away'. Other variants are *zboj*, *xboj*, *choj*. Related to *boj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 119, *Etim.* III 212-214). ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (borrowed from Rom **disbināre*); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 44 (agrees with BUGGE); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 119 (reconstructs **bhōrejō* connected with *bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (to IE **uei-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk *πτοέω* < **de-bhojējō*).

dėfrej aor. *dėfreva* 'to enjoy oneself'. Based on the recombination of its antonym, *shėfrej*, *shufrej* 'to suffer' < Lat *sufferāre* id., as a prefixal formation in *shė-* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 214-215). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 111 (from Rom **disfrenāre* or **dėfrenāre*); KRISTOFORIDHI 98 (to *fryj*).

dėftoj aor. *dėftova* 'to show, to point'. Borrowed from Rom **indictāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 64-65, *Alb. St.* IV 41). ◇ CAMARDA I 64 (derives *dėftoj* from IE **deik-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054 (borrowed from Rom **doctāre*); JOKL *RIEB* II 65-67 (analyzes the verb as **dė-fėtoj*, its root borrowed from MGk *φωτίζω* 'to shine, to illuminate'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 63 (follows MEYER); JOKL *RIEB* II 65-67 (based on **ftoj*, to *foti* 'oil lamp'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 122, 130; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 16-24; ÇABEJ *St.* I 120 (to **f-tonj* further related to Gk *στέγω* 'to cover', Lat *tegō* id.), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 215-217 (from Lat *digitāre*).

dėgjoj aor. *dėgjoiva* 'to hear'. Dialectal forms *ndėgoj* and, particularly, *dėlgonj*, *diligonj* reflect the obvious Latin source - *intelligere* 'to perceive' (MEYER *Wb.* 66-67). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; BARIÇ *ARSt* 33-34 (related to Gk *ἀκούω* 'to hear', Goth *hausjan* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 217-218.

dėkoj aor. *dėkova* 'to hit, to strike'. Borrowed from Lat *indicere* in its specific meaning 'to impose, to inflict' > *'to inflict pain'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 65 (from Rom **dēcōleāre* based on *cōleus* 'bag, sack'); GAZULLI 19 (-*koj* to Gk χέω); PEDERSEN KZ XXXV 539-560 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ St. I 120-121 (connects *dėkoj* with *koj* and *mėkoj*); ÇABEJ Etim. III 218-200 (from **dėrkoj*, to *darkė*).

dėlir aor. *dėlira* 'to clean, to cleanse, to deliver'. The variant *dėliroj* is morphologically more regular. Continues Rom **deliberāre* and is connected with *lirė* (CAMARDA I 172; MEYER Wb. 247). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538 (derived from *lirė*); ÇABEJ Etim. III 221 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

dėllinjė f. pl. *dėllinja* 'juniper'. A more archaic variant *dėllėnjė* seems to reflect Palb **daislanjā* (for the derivational structure cf. *mėllėnjė*) related to *dell* < **daislā* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). Semantically, the juniper is described as a wiry, sinewy plant, cf. Russ *možževl'nik* id. derived from Slav **mozgъ* 'brain, marrow', Lith *māzgas* 'knot'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 65 (from Rom **cedrulanea* or **cedrulina* derived from *cedrus* 'cedar, juniper'); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 9-10 (to Lith *dūlis* 'fog', Skt *dhūli-* 'dust' and the like); JOKL LKUBA 191-193 (same as VASMER); JAGIĆ *AfsI Ph* VIII 654-655; CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 241; FRAENKEL 426-427; VASMER II 637; ÇABEJ St. I 121 (related to *daltė* and *dalloj*); ÇABEJ Etim. III 222; DEMIRAJ AE 132.

dėm ~ dam m. pl. *dėme ~ dame* 'damage'. Borrowed from Lat *damnum* 'hurt, harm, damage'. As to *dėnoj* 'to condemn, to punish', it is an Italian loanword (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 20; MEYER Wb. 60). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1047, 1050; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ St. I 121, Etim. III 222-224; LANDI Lat. 48, 94, 115.

dėrgoj aor. *dėrgova* 'to send'. Borrowed from Lat *dēlēgāre* id. with an irregular change of *liquida* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). ◇ CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk τρέχω 'to run'); MEYER Wb. 65 (borrowing from Lat *dirigere* 'to arrange, to lay straight'); JOKL IF L 43; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ Etim. III 226 (follows MEYER).

dėrmoj aor. *dėrmova* 'to cut into pieces, to plummet down'. Borrowed from Lat **dērāmāre*, cf. Rum *dārīma* 'to tear off' (MEYER Wb. 65, Alb.

St. IV 56). Note a derivative *dërmë* 'steep slope'. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EW* 42; ÇABEJ *St. I* 122 (reconstructs **dromoj* and connects it with *dromcë*), *Etim. III* 227-229.

dërrasë f, pl. *dërrasa* 'board, stone plate'. From PAIb **deratjā* based on IE **der-* 'to tear, to split', see *djerr* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP III* 158-161; to Slav **dъrati* 'to tear'). ◇ CAMARDA *II* 143 (to *dru*); MEYER *Wb.* 66 (from Ital *terrazza* 'terrace'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 33 (to Gk *χάραξ*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP III* 158-159; HELBIG 70; ÇABEJ *Etim. III* 230-231 (derived from *rrasë* 'flat stone').

dëshiroj aor. *dëshirova* 'to wish'. Borrowed from Lat *dēsīderāre* 'to long for, to desire' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 65). As to the noun *dëshirë* 'desire', it seems to be a deverbative rather than a continuant of Lat *dēsīderium* id. (ÇABEJ *St. I* 123, *Etim. III* 233). ◇ CAMARDA *I* 176 (wavers between the correct etymology and the comparison with *dashur*, participle of *dua*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² *I* 1048, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 122.

dëshmoj aor. *dëshmova* 'to testify'. Borrowed from Rom **testimōniāre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 64). ◇ ÇABEJ *St. I* 124, *Etim. III* 233-234 (denominative); HAARMANN 153.

dëshpëroj aor. *dëshpërova* 'to make desperate'. Borrowed from Lat *dēsperāre* 'to despair' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from Ital *disperare* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim. III* 235.

dështoj aor. *dështova* 'to have a miscarriage'. Borrowed from Rom **dēpositāre* used as a replacement of *dēpōnere* in its meaning 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St. V* 72). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² *I* 1049; SPITZER *MRIW I* 318-319 (connects *dështoj* with Ital *tosto* 'fast, quick'); BARIĆ *ARSt I* 38 (derives the verb *dështoj* from a noun **dushytë* 'miscarriage' explained as IE **dus-sūto-* 'badly born'); ÇABEJ *St. I* 124 (a prefixal derivative of *shtoj*), *Etim. III* 235-236.

di aor *dita* 'to know'. From PAIb **dīja* connected with IE **dhej(ə)-* 'to see', cf. Skt *dhyāti, dhyāyati* 'to observe, to feel, to think', Av *dā(y)-* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St. III* 29; OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 46). Aorist *dita* and participle *ditur ~ ditun* are based on PAIb **dita*, a formation in **-to-*, cf. Skt part. *dhyāta-* and *dhīta-*. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to

Skt *vid-* 'to know'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 29; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 112, *Sprache* IX 128; TAGLIAVINI 104; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; POKORNY 243; MAYRHOFER II 45; HULD 152; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125 (reconstructs PAIb **din-* < IE **ǵenā-* 'to know'), *Etim.* III 237-238; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132-133 (*di* < **dhiH-m*).

diç pron. 'something'. As all other pronouns in *di-*, contains an element identical with the verb *di* as the first part of the compound (CAMARDA I 214; MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 105; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125.

diel f 'Sunday'. Derivative in *-*jā* or in *-*nā* based on *diell*, a calque of Lat *diēs solis* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 43). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 240-241.

diell m, pl. *diej* 'sun'. From PAIb **delwa*, a tabooistic substitute of the original word for the sun based on a color adjective, cf. Skt *hāri-* 'pale, yellowish', Av *zairi-* id., Lat *helvus* 'yellowish', Lith *žėlvas* id. ◇ BOPP 513 n. 3 (to Skt *dīvā* 'by day'); CAMARDA I 123 (comparisons with Gk ἥλιος 'sun' and, on the other hand, with δίαλος· φανερός, λαμπρός); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (links *diell* to *dal* or, alternatively, reconstructs **dhegʰ-lo-*, cf. *djeg*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 (to IE **syel-* 'sun', cf. CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (follows MEYER in reconstructing **dhegʰhalos*); MAYRHOFER III 581; WALDE-HOFMANN I 639; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk σέλας 'light, shine'); FRAENKEL 1297; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125-126 (to OIr *dellrad* 'shine', OE *deall* 'bold, splendid', Arm *delin* 'green'), *Etim.* III 241-242; HULD 50-51 (accepts PEDERSEN's etymology).

dihās aor. *dihata* 'to pant'. Borrowed from Slav **dyxati* 'to breathe', cf. in particular South Slavic forms: OCS *dyxati*, Bulg *dixam*, SCr *dihati* (MEYER *Wb.* 67). ◇ SVANE 256; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 242.

dikë f 'desire, lust'. Continues PAIb **dikā*, a substantivized fem. adj. related to Lith *dýkas* 'idle, empty', Slav **dikъ* 'wild'. ◇ FRAENKEL 95; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 29-30; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 243 (borrowed from SCr *dika* 'pride').

diktoj aor. *diktova* 'to discover, to find out'. Borrowed from Rom **dēcaptāre*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 67 (from Lat *dētegere*); JOKL *RIEB* II 59-60

(from Rom **dis-captāre*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 243-244 (unclear).

dimër ~ **dimën** m, pl. *dimra* ~ *dimna* 'winter'. From PALb **deimena* related to IE **ǵheimen-* id.: Skt *heman* loc. 'in winter', Gk *χειμα* 'winter' and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.*; MEYER *Wb.* 67, *Alb. St.* III 18, 64). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk *ὄμβρος* 'rain', Lat *imber* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 130, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 66; LA PIANA *Studi* I 52-53 (to *tym*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 229; ERNOUT-MEILLET 294; PORZIG *Gliederung* 190; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (erroneous comparison with OE *tīma* 'time'); MAYRHOFER III 607; FRISK II 1079-1081; ANTTILA *Schw.* 35, 134; HAMP *IF* LXVI 52-55; HULD 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; JANSON *Unt.* 21-23; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 245; DEMIRAJ *AE* 133.

din (3 sg.) aor. *diu* 'to break (of the day)'. Also appears as refl. *dihet*

168; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 213.

a 'trace'. Borrowed from South Slav **dira* ~ **dir'a* id.: *dira*, SCr *dira* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 126). ◇ SVANE 141; ÇABEJ *Etim.*

ishta 'mill funnel'. Another variant is *dishkë*. Borrowed from *discus* 'disk' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 249-250). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb.* 'suffix *-shtë*).

dishuj 'kind of aromatic shrub, *Pistacia lentiscus*'. Other variants (*dhkull* and *dushkull* as well as *ndryshkull*) result from various etymology associating this plant with *dushk* and *ndryshk*, from a diminutive Rom **disculus* according to the shape (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 250 (derived from *dyllë*).

ditë 'day'. From PALb **dīnā* etymologically connected with 'time' (OHG *zīt*, OE *tīd*) and Skt *dīti* 'brightness, splendor' (ALB. *Wortforsch.* 10-11, 40). ◇ BOPP 513; GIL'FERDING *kt dīna-* 'day'); CAMARDA I 73 (to Lat *diēs* 'day'); MEYER *m *dīn-tē* related to Skt *dīna-* 'day', Slav **dъnъ* id., Lith

dienā id.), *Alb. St.* III 26; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 230 (to *-di* in *perëndi*), *KZ* XXXIV 546 (follows MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 22; MLADENOV *Ist.* 216; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ONIONS 923; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 190; MAYRHOFER II 44-45; ÇABEJ *St.* I 126-127, *Etim.* III 251-253; HULD 51-52.

djalë m, pl. *djem*, *djelm* 'boy, youth'. From PALb **dela* probably connected with Latv *dēls* 'son', Lat *filius* id. as a derivative of IE **dhēi-* 'to suck' (XYLANDER 317; ÇABEJ *St.* I 127-128). Note that the vocalism in Proto-Albanian is irregular so that a secondary transformation of the stem must be presumed. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 60 (derives *djalë* from *dal*), *Alb. St.* III 29; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 310-311 (to *dal*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 115; OŠTIR *AarbSt.* I 114 (to Gk *τᾶλις* 'maiden'); VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 269 (to Thr *-τελις*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113-114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; HULD 52; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 255-258; DEMIRAJ *Alb. St.* I 127-128, *Etim.* III 251-253; MEYER *Wb.* 68 (derivative of *ditë*); JOKL *Studien* 22 (a derivat

Rom. *Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* V 73). ◇ CAMARDA I 98 (connection with Gk *διάβολος* id.); THUMB *IF* XXVI 12-13 (from Gk *διάβολος*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; JOKL *LKUBA* 20 (from Greek); HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 258-259; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 137-138.

djathë m/n, pl. *djathëra* ~ *djathna* 'cheese'. A diminutive in *-thë* (CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 121) of **djadh* < PALb **dedi-*, the latter to be compared with Skt *dādhi* 'sour milk' and OPrus *dadan* 'milk', derivatives of **dhēi-* 'to suck' (JOKL *Studien* 15-16, *WuS* XII 70). For the irregular development of the root vowel cf. *djalë*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 102, *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 316; PISANI *Saggi* 123; MAYRHOFER II 15; POKORNY I 241; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 54, 91, 97 (from IE **ǵhesito-*); HAMP *Word* IX 140, *KZ* LXXXIV 140-141; TOPOROV *PJa* I 284-286; HULD 52-53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 259-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 135-136.

djathtë adj. 'right'. Old Albanian texts preserve *djathë* 'right (side)' (BUZUKU), thus showing that *djathtë* is a relatively new formation in *-të* based on PALb **detsa* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291; ÇABEJ *St.* I 128-129). The latter is etymologically connected with IE **deks-* 'right': Skt

IVANOV *Slav*

dirë f, pl. *dirë*
Bulg *dir'a* >
III 248.

dishtë f, pl. *dishtë*
from Lat *a*
Worth. 123

dishull m, pl. *dishull*
variants (*dy*;
types of foll
Borrowed f
of leaves. ◇

ditë f, pl. *ditë*
Gmc **tīdiz*
dor' (VASM
Otn. 22 (to
Wb. 68 (fro

dákšina-, Gk δεξιός, Lat *dexter* and the like (MEYER Wb. 69). ◇ MEYER Alb. St. II 17, III 13, 26; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 291, Kelt. Gr. I 36; CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 239; PISANI Saggi 131; MAYRHOFER II 10-11; WALDE-HOFMANN I 346-347; MANN Language XXVI 383; FRISK I 366-367; POKORNY I 190; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 445 (phonetically impossible **deksto-* with *-*kst-* reflected as Alb -*tht-*); HAMP RESEE XIX/1 141-145 (reconstructs **deksino-*); HULD 53; ÇABEJ Etim. III 260-261 (to Lat *decus* 'beauty, decoration'); DEMIRAJ AE 137-138.

dje adv. 'yesterday'. From PALb **de* etymologically identical with Skt *hyás* id., Gk χθές id., Lat. *heri* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER Wb. 69, Alb. St. III 18, 63). ◇ MEYER Gr. Gr. 37, 345; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 333, Kelt. Gr. I 89; JOKL LKUBA 26; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 103; ERNOUT-MEILLET 292; MAYRHOFER II 29; PISANI Saggi 101; FRISK II 1097-1098; HAMP BSL LXVI 222; HULD 53; ÇABEJ Etim. III 261; PUHVEL Festschr. Hoenigswald 317; DEMIRAJ AE 138.

djeg aor. *dogja* 'to burn'. From PALb **dega* etymologically related to IE **dhegʰ-* 'to burn': Skt *dáhati*, Tokh AB *tsak-*, *tsäk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti* and the like (BOPP 508; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; MEYER Wb. 69, Alb. St. III 9, 29). ◇ MEYER Gr. Gr. 275; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 323-324, Kelt. Gr. I 108; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 103; ERNOUT-MEILLET 250; MANN Language XXVI 382, XXVIII 36; CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 240; PISANI Saggi 125; FRAENKEL 85-85; IVANOV Slav. 129; HULD 53-54, KZ CVII 166; KLINGENSCHMITT Münch. St. Spr. XL 101, 127; ÇABEJ Etim. III 261-262; DEMIRAJ AE 138-139.

(G) **djemën** pl. 'demons, devils'. A lexicalized plural of *djall* similar to that of *djalë* ~ *djem* (SKOK AArbSt I 220-221). ◇ MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 20 (from Lat *daemōnem* 'demon'); MEYER Wb. 69 (same as MIKLOSICH - but the stress is placed differently); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1043; THUMB IF XXVI 13 (borrowed from Gk δαίμονες id. - but the development of -α1- > -je- would be quite unique); JOKL LKUBA 18 (agrees with THUMB), IF XLIV 13 n. 1 (follows SKOK); VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. I 10-11 (borrowed from OCS *demonъ* id.); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/3-4 350 (follows THUMB); ÇABEJ St. I 129 (repeats THUMB's etymology), Etim. III 262-264; LANDI Lat. 72, 83.

djep m, pl. *djepe*, *djepa* 'cradle'. Borrowed from Gk δέπας 'beaker, goblet' (CAMARDA II 191). For the semantic development cf. E *cradle* ~ OHG

kratto 'basket'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 69-70 (related to Slav **zybъka* id.), *Alb. St.* III 18, 36; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 158-159, *Mélanges Pedersen* 155 (reconstructs **ḡhoubhā* thus slightly correcting MEYER); BARIÇ *Hymje* 77; ÇABEJ *St.* I 129-130 (from IE **dheubh-* ~ **dheup-*; Gk δέπας is explained as an ancient Albanian loanword), *Etim.* III 264-265.

djersë f, pl. *djersë* 'perspiration'. Another variant is *dirsë*. From PALb **widertjā* with the loss of the unstressed first syllable. Further related to Gk ἰδρώς id. < **syidrōt-s*, cf. also Latv *sviēdri* id., Lat *sūdor* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 288-290). ◇ CAMARDA I 48, 96 (to Gk ἔρση 'dew'); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 81 (to Gk δρόσος 'dew'), *Wb.* 70 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to *zjarr*); JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (accepts PEDERSEN's etymology); FRISK I 710-711; CHANTRAINE 456; WALDE-HOFMANN II 623-624; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 265-266; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 139-140.

djerr aor. *dora* 'to destroy'. From PALb **dera* or **derna* related to Skt *dr̥nāti* 'to burst, to tear', Gk δέπω 'to skin', Goth *gatairan* 'to tear' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 70, *Alb. St.* III 26). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 8; FRISK I 368-370; MAYRHOFER II 59; FEIST *Goth.* 203.

djerr m, pl. *djerre* 'fallow land'. From PALb **dersa* etymologically identical with Gk χέρσος 'dry land' (CAMARDA I 96) < IE **ḡhersos*. ◇ RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 412 (same as CAMARDA); MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to *djerr* 'to destroy'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325-326 (to *bie* 'to bear'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 21-23 (to *var*, *vjerr*); FRISK II 1089-1090; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 266-268 (to *bie* 'to fall').

dobët adj. 'weak'. Derived from *dobë* id. The latter is borrowed from Slav **dobъ* 'good, fine' unattested in South Slavic where a more usual **dobrъ* id. is widespread. Note *dobi* 'profit, use' related to *dobë*. ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 129 (to Lat *dēbilis*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 131 (based on *udob*), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 272-273; SVANE 273.

dobis aor. *dobita* 'to win'. Borrowed from Slav **dobyti* 'to acquire, to win' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 70). The Albanian verb is semantically closer to SCr *dobiti* than to Bulg *dobija*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 136; SVANE 199-200; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 273.

dojkě f, pl. *dojka* 'nurse'. Borrowed from Slav **dojka* id., cf. in particular South Slavic continuants: Bulg *dojka*, SCr *dojka* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 131, *Etim.* III 277). ◇ SVANE 190.

doke f 'traditions'. Borrowed from Gk δοκή 'opinion, view, meaning'. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 53-56 (related to *duket*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 131 (agrees with JOKL), *Etim.* III 277-278.

dokërr f, pl. *dokrra* 'big bone, bone of arm or leg'. Derived from **dok* (for the formation pattern cf. *kokërr*), borrowed from Gk δοκός 'rafter, beam' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk δόκανα 'a structure of two joined upright bars'); MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to Turk *dogru* 'direct'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 8 (from **dorkr-* composed of *dorë* and *krah*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix -ërr); ÇABEJ *St.* I 132 (an expressive form compared with *doçkë* 'little hand' and the like).

dolinë f, pl. *dolina* 'valley'. Borrowed from Slav **dolina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *dolina*, SCr *dolina*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106 (borrowed from SCr *dolina*).

dorbëri f 'herd'. A secondary phonetic transformation of **dobëri* derived from Slav **dobro* 'property' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 12-13). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 71 (borrowed from Ital *turba* 'crowd'); JOKL *Studien* 16-17, *IF* XXXVII 100 (a compound consisting of *dor-* < IE **ǵhuer-* 'animal, beast' and -*bëri* compared with Lith *būrỹs* 'crowd'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 215; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; ÇABEJ *St.* I 133 (derived from **torbar* based on *torbë* 'shepherd's bag; knapsack'), *Etim.* III 286-287.

dorë f, pl. *duar ~ duer* 'hand'. A singularized neut. plural PAIb **dārā* < IE **ǵhesr-* (PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *Anc. IE Dial.* 115) related to Gk χεῖρ id., Hitt *keššar* id., Tokh A *tsar-* id., B *šar-* id., Arm *jeṛn* id. (BOPP 492; MEYER *Wb.* 72, *Alb. St.* III 18, 71). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 92 (to Gk δῶρον 'palm'); *Gr. Gr.* 81; JOKL *LKUBA* 90, *IF* XXXVI 132, XLIX 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101, *Stratificazione* 88; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 295, 300; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (from **ǵhærd-s-*); FRISK II 1082-1083; CHANTRAINE 305; PORZIG *Gliederung* 187; PISANI *Saggi* 99, 121; POKORNY I 203; VAN WINDEKENS I 521; HAMP *Anc. IE* 115; HULD 54; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 288-291; SCHRIJVER *BC* 58; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140.

došě f, pl. *dosa* 'pig, sow'. From PALb **dā(i)tjā*, a derivative of IE **dhē(i)-* 'to suckle' (ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; ÇABEJ *St.* I 134-135). ◇ CAMARDA II 203 (to Gk θῶς 'jackal'); JOKL *Studien* 17 (reconstructs IE **sūātiā* further connected with **sū-* 'pig'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 6-7 (from **dērgiā* related to *derk* < **dergo-* as *darkĕ* to *dasmĕ*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 393 (to *derk*, *dirk*, from **dērkiā*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 13 (borrowed from Bulgaro-Turk *doxs* 'pig'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 100 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 135; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140, II 144 (from **ḡhētiā*, to Maced γοτάν·ῥν); HULD 148 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 293-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140-141.

dot part. of irreal. A lexicalized sequence of two particles, *do* and *tĕ* (LAMBERTZ *LP* VII 92). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 72 (borrowed from Lat *in tōtō*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 233-235, *KZ* XXXVII 236-238 (reconstructs acc. **dhētim* of a deverbative related to IE **dhē-* 'to put'); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Lat *tōtum*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 135 (follows LAMBERTZ), *Etim.* III 296-297; MANN *Comp.* 129 (identical with Gk δῆτα); HAARMANN 154 (same as MIHĂESCU).

dra ~ drâ f 'oil-cake, melted butter'. Reflects PALb **dragā* (MEYER *Wb.* 72-73, *Alb. St.* III 29, 37, 72 with basic etymological parallels) with secondary nasalization in Geg and the loss of the consonant preserved in the variant with a long vowel *drā*. Close parallels are found in Germanic (ON pl. *dreggiar* 'yeast') and in Baltic: OPrus *dragios* 'yeast' (if not borrowed from Germanic), OLith *dragės* id. (if not from Old Prussian), Lett dial. *dradzi* 'sediment in melted butter'. Cf. also Slav **droždzi* 'yeast' (but Bulg *drožde* 'something easy to melt or break'!) and a corresponding verb **drozgati* 'to press, to knead'. The word seems to represent a North European innovation in Indo-European. ◇ CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk τρύξις 'must'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 69; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101; *Die Sprache* IX 149; PISANI *Saggi* 124; REICHEL *KZ* XLVI 322; DURIDANOV *Thr.-Dak.* 94 (reconstructs Dac **draga*); HIRT *BGDS* XXIII 349 f. (Old Prussian < Germanic); TOPOROV *PJa* I 363 f.; BÜGA *RR* III 206 (on Lett *dradzi*); TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 322; ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 65; FRAENKEL 100; PISANI *Saggi* 124; ANTTILA *Schw.* 122; POKORNY I 251; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 128 f. (on the Slavic form as derived from **drozg-*); VASMER I 540 (Slav **drozga* < **drogska*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 140, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; DEMIRAJ *AE* 141.

dragĕ f, pl. *draga* 'avalanche'. Borrowed from Slav **dorga* 'ravine' (ÇABEJ

St. I 136) unattested in the meaning 'avalanche'. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIII 47-49 (reconstructs **dě-ra-gě* and connects it with *rashě*); SVANE 81, 161; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 299-300.

dragua ~ dra(n)gue m, pl. *dragonj ~ drangoj* 'dragon'. Another variant is (T) *drangua*. It represents a borrowing from Rom **dracōnem*, a modification of Lat *dracōnem* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1050: also considers the possibility of borrowing from Italian). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 134 (borrowed from Gk δράκων id.); CAMARDA I 82 (to Gk δράκων id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 52, *Wh.* 73 (directly from *dracōnem* or from Ital *dragone*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 300-302 (from Latin).

drang m, pl. *drangje* 'barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub'. From PALb **dranga* further to be compared with ON *drangr* 'stone pillar', *drengr* 'thick trunk', Lith *drąga* 'perch, pole', Slav **drogъ ~ *droga*

(and also 'bug') ~ **bykati* 'to roar, to bellow'. ◇ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (to Messap βρένδον· ἔλαφον); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 297 (to Arm *erinj* 'heifer'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 432; VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 288 (to Thr Δρένις); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135-136; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to a Thracian name Δρένις); MAYRHOFER II 115-116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 136-137 (to OIr *darn* 'head', cf. Gk κάρα 'head' ~ κέρας 'horn' ~ Lat *cervus* 'deer'), *Etim.* III 305-307; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142-143 (from **d-ran-* based on IE **uṛHn-*).

dredh aor. *drodha* 'to turn, to rotate'. From PAIb **dredza* continuing IE **dreǵh-* closely related to Arm *daṛnam* 'to turn', *darj* 'curve, turn' < IE **drǵh-* (LIDÉN *Arm. Studien* 101-102). Note a derivative of *dredh* - *dridh* 'to shake, to vibrate'. As to *dredhëz* 'strawberry', it is identical with *dredhëz* 'cord, string' derived from *dredh*. ◇ CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk τρέω 'to flee'); MEYER *Wb.* 74 (secondary connection between *dredhëz* and *dredh*), *Alb. St.* III 18, 29, 72, *IF* V 181 (related to Gk τρέχω

dreġġ f, pl. *dreġġ* 'lunch, dinner, midday meal'. Connected with *darkġ* and reflecting PALb **drikā* related to *darkġ* (MEYER Wb. 61) and reflecting a zero-grade **drkʷā* close to Bret *dibri* 'lunch', OBret *diprim* 'to eat' (HAMP Anc. IE Dial. 116). However, the development of **-i-* > *-e-* remains unclear. ◇ MEYER Gr. Gr. 245; PEDERSEN BB XX 231 (reconstructs **drōkʷ-*); HIRT Ablaut 126; PORZIG Gliederung 178; CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 114 (suffix *-kġ*); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 314; HAMP KZ LXXVII 253; MANN HAED 61 (zero grade in the root); ANTTILA Schw. 29, 100; ÇABEJ St. I 108, Etim. III 315-316; HULD 48-49; KÖDDERITZSH Festschr. Mac Eoin 62-63; DEMIRAJ AE 144-145.

dremis aor. *dremita* 'to slumber'. Borrowed from South Slav **drġmiti* 'to doze, to slumber', cf. Maced *dremit*, SCr *dramiti*. Cf. also a Slavic derivative in *drġmkġ* 'nap'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 65 (borrowed from Slav **drġmati* id.); POLÁK ZfBalk I 78 (from SCr *drijemati*); SVANE 253; ÇABEJ Etim. III 484.

drenġġ f, pl. *drenja* 'quail'. From PALb **dranjā*, derivative from *dre* ~ *drġ* (ÇABEJ Etim. III 316). ◇ CAMARDA II 159 (to Gk τετραών); MEYER Wb. 74 (from Rom **tetraonem*, cf. Lat *tetraōnem* 'heath-cock'); SPITZER MRIW I 319-320 (to *dra*).

dreġ m, pl. *dreġġr* ~ *dreġġn* 'devil'. Borrowed from the nom. sg. or pl. of Lat *dracō* 'dragon' (MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 22; MEYER Wb. 73). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1043, 1051; JOKL IF XXX 291; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 246; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 107; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ St. I 140, Etim. III 316-317 (from Gk δράκων); LANDI Lat. 28, 112, 143-145.

drġnġġ f 'cornel-cherry', adj. 'healthy, sound'. From PALb **draunjā*, a derivative of IE **dreu-* 'tree'. For the evolution of meaning cf. Slav **sъ-dorvъ* 'healthy' ~ **dervo* 'tree' and Lat *rōbustus* 'healthy' ~ *rōbur* 'oak'. ◇ MEILLET Etudes I 88; BENVENISTE Word X 259, Inst. I 108-110 (semantic analysis of **dreu-*); VASMER II 90; ÇABEJ St. I 140 (derivation based on Bulg or Maced *dren* 'cornel-cherry', Etim. III 318).

drinġġ f, pl. *drinja* 'brushwood'. From PALb **drūnjā* related to *dru* and the Indo-European word for 'tree'. ◇ JOKL IF XXXVI 101 n. 1 (from SCr *drijen* 'cornel-cherry'); ÇABEJ Etim. III 320-321 (from Slavic).

dritě f, pl. *drita* 'light, luster, pupil (of an eye)'. From **drikta* based on IE **derk-* 'to look' and, in particular, close to OE *torht* 'bright', OHG *zoraht* (MEYER Wb. 74, Alb. St. III 27, 43). ◇ BRUGMANN 131; JOKL *Studien* 53, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90, *Sprache* IX 120; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 42; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 149; POKORNY I 213; CHANTRAINE 265; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 688; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140-141 (to Lith *žeriu*, *žerėti* 'to shine', Slav **zbrěti* 'to see' and the like), *Etim.* III 322-323; HULD 55; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 145.

drithë m/n, pl. *drithëra* ~ *drithna* 'grain'. From PALb **dritsā* etymologically connected with Lat *hordeum* 'barley', OHG *gersta* id. < IE **ǵhrzd-* (JOKL *IF* XXX 302). In Albanian, the development of the voiced Indo-European cluster seems to be surprising. ◇ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 351; SPITZER *MRIW* I 335 (from **ǵhrsyō-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 108; WALDE-HOFMANN I 656-657; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; ERNOUT-MEILLET 299; PISANI *Saggi* 118; PORZIG *Gliederung* 209; CHANTRAINE 583; POKORNY I 446; *SGGJa* I 88; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 277; ÇABEJ *BUSht* XV/3 57 (to IE **der-* 'to tear'), *Etim.* III 323-325; HULD 55-56; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 91; DEMIRAJ *AE* 145-146.

drizë f, pl. *driza* 'blackthorn, sloe'. From PALb **dridzjā* etymologically connected with IE **derǵh-* 'to hold, to be firm': Skt *dr̥hyati* 'to be firm', Slav **dbr̥zati* 'to hold' < **dbr̥zjati* and, in particular, **dbr̥za* > Russ *dereza* 'kind of thorny plant' (with a secondary *polnoglasie*), see KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk.* 3 27. ◇ MEYER Wb. 75 (related to *dru*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 248 (suffix *-zë*); MAYRHOFER II 61-62; VASMER I 502; MANN *Hist. gr.* 34 (to OIr *driss* 'blackthorn'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 231; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 275; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *δρῖος* 'bush'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 325-326 (to *drithë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 146.

drobis aor. *drobita* 'to tire'. Borrowed from Slav **drobiti* 'to break, to crush' in an otherwise unattested meaning (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 326-327 (from Maced *drobi*); SVANE 232.

drokth m, pl. *droktha* 'broom'. A diminutive based on **drok* probably borrowed from Slav **drokъ* 'genista' which, however, is not attested in South Slavic.

dromčě f, pl. *dromca* 'crumb, bit'. Borrowed from Slav **drobъnica* 'trifle, small object', cf. in particular South Slavic forms: Maced *drobnica* 'trifle', Bulg *drobnica* 'pear-tree with small fruit', SCr *drobnica* 'particle' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 82, *Wb.* 75). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 142 (connects *dromčě* with *drudhe* and IE **der-* 'to tear' or **dhreu-* 'to break'), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 329-331.

dru ~ drô m, pl. *drunj*, *drurë* ~ *drun* 'tree; wood (f, pl. *dru*)'. From PALb **druwa* etymologically compared with Slav **drъvo* 'wood', Skt *dru-* id., Av *dru-* id., Gk δρῦς 'tree, oak' (BOPP 541; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *Wb.* 75). The nasalization in Geg is secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 142-143) and, probably, influenced by the plural forms. The word was borrowed to Rum *druete* 'thick and short tree'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 27, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 232, 269; BRUGMANN - DELBRÜCK II/1 161 (borrowing from Slav **drъva*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIV* 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 144; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 100-102; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language XVII* 15 (from IE **drno-*); MAYRHOFFER II 36; FRISK I 421-422; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 330; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276-277; HAMP *KZ LXXVI* 275 (original *n*-stem), *LB XXV* 78 (collective **druwā*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 16; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa V* 141-142; HULD 56; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 332-334; DEMIRAJ *AE* 146-147.

druaj ~ druej aor. *druajta*, *drojta*, *drova* 'to be afraid'. From PALb **drāunja* derived from *dre*, *droe* 'fear' < PALb **drāwā*. The noun is related to Latv *druvas* 'fear' and, further, to Lith *draudžiù*, *drausti* 'to forbid, to deter, to scare off'. ◇ CAMARDA I 73 (to Skt *trāsati* 'to be afraid', Gk τρέω 'to flee in fright'); MEYER *Wb.* 75 (etymologically connected with OHG *droa* 'threat' but its anlaut continues IE **t-*), *Alb. St.* III 24 (explains Alb *d-* from **en-t-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 371 (to Gk ταρασσω 'to stir, to frighten'); MANN *Language XXVI* 382 (to Lith *drovà* 'self-consciousness, awkwardness' which is, in fact, a Germanic loanword); FRAENKEL 102; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276 (to Rum *droaie* 'band, gang; a lot'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 143-144 (to E *dread*), *Etim.* III 334-337.

drudhe f, pl. *drudhe* 'crumb'. A singularized plural of **drudhë*. From PALb **drudza* related to Lith *drūzgas* 'splinter, fragment', *drūžti* 'to become weak'. ◇ CAMARDA I 115 (to Gk θρύπτω 'to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 370 (to *rrudhë* 'wrinkle'); FRAENKEL 107; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26 (derived from *-rrudh* related to *rrjedh*); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 176 (to OIr *druidim*

'to close'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121 (suffix *-dhe*); ŠIROKOV *ZFL XXIV/1* 14 (to Lith *d̃irginti* 'to pull'); ÇABEJ *St. I* 144 (connects *drudhe* with *dromcë* and IE **dhreu-* 'to break'), *Etim. III* 231-233.

drugë f, pl. *druga* 'spindle, shuttle'. Borrowed from SCr *druga* id. < Slav **droga* (MEYER *Wb.* 75). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 295; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 313-314 (from NGk τρούγα, δρούγα 'thread'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 74, 79; POLÁK *ZfBalk I* 81; ÇABEJ *St. I* 144, *Etim. III* 337-338; SVANE 47, 81.

drushtë f, pl. *drushta* 'pole, mast'. From PALb **drustā* further connected with *dru*.

druth m 'wrath'. A derivative in *-th* of *droe, dre* 'fear', cf. *druaj ~ druenj*.

(G) **dry** m 'kind of lock, bolt'. From PALb **drūna* related to the Indo-European word for 'tree' and, probably, referring to the strength of the lock, cf. Gk δρoύv· ισχυρόv (BUGGE *BB XVIII* 165). The closest formal parallels of PALb **drūna* are Skt *druṇa-* 'bow', Iran **drūna-* 'bow' in Pers *durūna* 'rainbow', Ossetic *ærdyn* (HAMP *KZ LXXVI* 276) and Slav **drynъ* 'stick, pole'. ◇ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 165 (to OIr *dron* 'hard, strong'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109 (suggests Skt *dróna-* 'wooden trough' as an exact parallel); MILLER *Oss.* 30; FRISK I 419; MAYRHOFER II 78; ÇABEJ *St. I* 145, *Etim. III* 339-341; TRUBAČEV *VJa* 1975/1 135, *ÈSSJa* V 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148-149.

drydhët adj. 'easy to plane (of wood)'. Continues PALb **drūdza* (with a secondary suffix *-ët*) close to Slav **dryzgati, *druzgati* 'to squeeze, to crush'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 133, 145.

dryshk m 'rust'. From PALb **drūdz(i)ska* derived from **drūdza > drydh(ët)*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 76 (explains the verb *ndryshk* 'to rust' from Rom **in-russicō* based on *russus* 'rusty'); HAARMANN 131; ÇABEJ *St. I* 372-373 (a prefixal derivative of IE **reudh-* 'red').

dua ~ due aor. *desha* 'to love'. From PALb **dāusna* connected with IE **ǵeus-* 'to taste', cf. Skt *jōṣati* 'to be fond of', Gk γεύομαι and the like (JOKL *IF XXXVII* 101-102, *LKUBA* 127). The diphthongization of the root vowel into *-ua-* may be explained by the original long diphthong in Proto-Albanian **dāusna* (JOKL). The aorist goes back to PALb **deuša*.

◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *dēbeō* 'must'); MEYER *Wb.* 76, *Alb. St.* III 17, 61, 90; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 80; PISANI *Saggi* 99, 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; LA PIANA *Studi* I 49-51 (to Gk *δέομαι* 'to lack, to miss'); ERNOUT-MEILLET 286; MAYRHOFER I 441; FRISK I 302; POKORNY I 399-400; HULD 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 151, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 173-175; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-sh- < *-s- in *desha* < IE **ǵeusn* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149.

duaj ~ **duej** pl. 'sheaf'. Continues PALb **dōnja* related to Skt *dhāṇḍ* 'grain, cereals', *dhānyā-* 'grain', Lith *dúona* 'bread'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 26, 86 (to Gk *δέω* 'to tie'); JOKL *Sprache* IX 117; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 223, 239; POKORNY I 242; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 37; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 341-342 (plural of *dorë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149-150 (to Skt *dāman-* 'band').

dudë f, pl. *duda* 'gum'. An onomatopoeic formation (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 342-343).

its widespread variant *tuke* seems to be more conservative. In Old Albanian as well as in some dialects one also finds *tue* (BUZUKU) and *tu* (BOGDANI). All these particles reflect compounds of *tu* (for the etymology see *këtu*) and *ke* (identical with *ku*) or *e* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 120). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 146-147 (from *tuke* where *e* is a proclitic pronoun), *Etim.* III 349-352.

duket refl. 'to appear, to be visible'. Borrowed from MGk or NGk *δοκεῖ* 'to seem, to appear'. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk *δοκέω* 'to see, to observe'); MEYER *Wb.* 76-77 (follows CAMARDA and, alternatively, compares *duket* with Goth *þugkjan* 'to think'); THUMB *IF* XXVI 2 (against comparisons with Gk *δοκέω*); JOKL *Studien* I 8 (to Lith *žvākė* 'light', Lat *fax* 'torch' and the like), *LKUBA* 53-55; PISANI *Saggi* 118; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 352-354.

duq m, pl. *duqe* 'bung; cock (of a gun)'. Borrowed from Lat *ducem* appearing in similar meanings in several Romance languages (ÇABEJ *St.* I 148). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 77 (from Lat *ductus* 'connection', *'canal'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 359; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 112.

duroj aor. *durova* 'to be patient'. Borrowed from Lat *dūrāre* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 77). Note, however, that the reflex of Lat -*ūr-* is irregular. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 148 (from Ital *durare*), *Etim.* III 361-362.

dushk m, pl. *dushqe* 'oak'. Another variant of this word is *drushk*. It continues PALb **druška*, a derivative of *dru* (DIEFENBACH I 49; MEYER *Wb.* 77). ◇ CAMARDA I 50 (to Gk τόξον 'bow'); JOKL *LKUBA* 166, *Vox Rom.* VIII 151-152 (from Alpine Illyrian substratum); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLVIII 411, *AGIt* XXIV 19 (from Rom **drusculum*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254 (to Raeto-Rom *dāsa* 'branch of a conifer'); PISANI *KZ* LXXI 62-63 (to Lat *dūmus* 'smoke' < **dus-mos* and OHG *zūsach* 'bushes'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 148-149 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* III 363-365; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148, 150-151.

dy num. 'two'. From PALb **duwō*, fem. **duwai* with a contraction similar to that of *qytet* and *grykë*. Further parallels are reflexes of IE

**d(u)uō(u)*, fem. **d(u)uoi* (BOPP 511; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 27, III 26, IV 46). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 78 (thinks of IE **dū* and compares with Lith *dū*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282 (from IE **duōje*); SKOK *AarbSt* II 307 (from **dui*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 35 (from **dui* > **dui*); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; ÇABEJ *St.* I 149-150 (reconstructs **dui-*), *Etim.* III 366-369; HULD 56-57 (compares fem. *dy*: with Slav **dъvъ*); HAMP *Numerals* 905-906; DEMIRAJ *AE* 151-152.

dylle m/n 'wax'. From PALb **dūla* related to Gk χυλός 'juice' (MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 18, 76 but reconstructing **ghū-dlo-*). Both forms, going back to IE **ghēu-* 'to pour', appear to reflect **ghu-slo-* with a compensatory lengthening. ◇ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to IE **dheu-* 'to flow'), *Sprache* IX 154; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 110 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 54-55 (to Gk δαλός 'burning wood'); PISANI *Saggi* 118 (reconstructs **ghūlo-*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; BARIÇ *Hymje* 36; FRISK 1123-1124; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 132-133 (same as LA PIANA); ÇABEJ *St.* I 150-151 (compares *dylle* with IE **ghel-* 'yellow'), *Etim.* III 371-373 (to Gk θύος 'burning offering'); HULD 57, *KZ* XC 181; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (identical with Slav part. **daviľ* 'pressing, squeezing'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 152.

dynd aor. *dynda* 'to shake'. An onomatopoeia. Note a deverbative *dyn-*

dallë 'flood, inundation'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 150 (a variant of *dend*), *Etim.* III 373-375.

dysh m, pl. *dysha* 'two, pair'. A derivative based on *dy* (MEYER *Wb.* 78) and reflecting PALb **dwis* identical with Skt *dvīh* 'twice', Gk δῖς id., Lat *bis* id. ◇ MAYRHOFER II 86; FRISK I 398-399; WALDE-HOFMANN I 107; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 376-377.

Dh

dhallë ~ **dhalltë** f 'buttermilk'. From PALb **dzalā* related to Gk γάλα, gen. γάλακτος 'milk' (MEYER *Wb.* 83). Apparently, the Albanian form is the result of a deep morphological transformation as far as Gk γάλα continues *γάλακτ. Note that phonetically **dzalā* < **ġlākt-* is similar to **ara* 'bear' < **rkto-* (cf. *ari*). Rum *zarā* is an Albanian loanword. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows MEYER), *Sprache* IX 153 (to *dele*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147-148; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs **ġalākt-*); LA PIANA *Vocale* 33 (from **dlagos*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228; PISANI *Saggi* 118; FRISK I 283-284; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 354; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 419-421; REICHENKRON *Dakische* 170 (substratum word); HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276-277 (reconstructs **ġolH-*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HULD 57; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 41 (to *dele*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 153-154 (to Skt *jala-* 'water').

dhe m/f/n, pl. *dhera* ~ *dhena* 'earth, land'. From PALb **dzō* reflecting IE **dhǵhōm* 'earth': Hitt *tekan*, Tokh A *tkam*, B *kem*, Skt *kṣam-*, Gk χθών (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 18). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Gk γῆ 'earth', δῆ id.); CAMARDA I 46 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 83 (does not exclude the connection with γῆ); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 135-136; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 237-238 (equal to Arm **ti* 'earth'); MANN *Language* XXVI 382-383 (follows CAMARDA); LA PIANA *Vocale* 32; PISANI *Saggi* 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228, *ABS* III 37-40; MAYRHOFER I 288-289; FRISK II 1098-1099; POKORNY I 414-415; HAMP *Minos* IX 199 (different anlauts of *dje* and *dhe* make the connection with **dhǵhōm* less probable), *FLH* IV 137, *KZ* CIII 289-292 (from IE **dheǵHo-*); VAN WINDEKENS I 506-507; SCHINDLER *Sprache* XIII 200; HULD 58

(*dhe* < **dhoiǵho-*, to Gk τοῖχος 'wall'); OREL *Balcanica* 110-112, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to the first component of Δη-μήτηρ); DEMIRAJ AE 155-156.

dhel aor. *dhela* 'to fondle, to caress, to flatter'. Metathesis of *ledhë* (ÇABEJ St. I 151). Note that its derivatives *dhelatoj* id. and *dhelatar* 'only son' also have their counterparts in unmetathesized *ledhatoj* and *ledhatar*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 84 (treats *dhelatar* as a borrowing from Ital *diletto* 'delight, pleasure'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114-115.

dhelpeṛ ~ dhelpeṇ f, pl. *dhelpra ~ dhelpna* 'fox'. From PALb **dzelpinā* transformed by a taboo typical of words for 'fox' (MEILLET *BSL* XXVIII 45) from **welpinā*, a derivative connected with Lith *vilpišys* 'wild cat' (STIER KZ XI 143-144; VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* I 15) and, further, with other irregular forms: Lat *volpēs* 'fox', Gk ἄλωπιξ id. and the like. The development of **welpinā* to **dzelpinā* could be influenced by *dhel* or by *dhe*. ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ἄλωπά, ἄλώπηξ 'fox'); BUGGE BB XVIII 165 (from Lat *volpēs* or a modification of CAMARDA's etymology); MEYER Alb. St. IV 16 (against BUGGE); JOKL LKUBA 297-299 (to IE **ǵhel-* 'yellow'); BARIĆ AArbSt. I 214; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 229; FRAENKEL 1254; WALDE-HOFMANN II 830; FRISK I 83; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 119 (suffix -*p-*); ÇABEJ St. VII 217, 268; DEMIRAJ AE 156 (to Gk γαλέη 'weasel').

dhemb aor. *dhemba* 'to ache'. In Tosk also *dhëmb*. From PALb **dzemba* etymologically identical with Skt *jámbhate* 'to snap at', Lith *žembiù*, *žembti* 'to cut' and Slav **zëbq*, **zëbti* 'to freeze, to feel cold' (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 334). ◇ BOPP 460 (to Skt *dam-* 'to tame'); MEYER Wb. 84-85 (to Lat *gemō* 'to sigh, to groan'), Alb. St. III 16, 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173-174; FRAENKEL 1289; POKORNY I 369; MAYRHOFER I 419; VASMER II 111; DEMIRAJ AE 156-157.

dhemje f, pl. *dhemje* 'caterpillar'. Another variant is *vemje*. Derivative of *dhe* (MEYER Wb. 84; JOKL IF XXXVI 136) that may be reconstructed as PALb **dzōmjā*. ◇ LIDÉN *AfslPh* XXVIII 33; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL LKUBA 200; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 228-229, IV 189-191 (to δεμελέας, δεμβλεῖς· βδέλλαι, Hes.); XHUVANI *BUSht* XII 97-99 (analogical influence of *dhjes* and *dhemb* in the secondary form in *dh-*); ÇABEJ St. II 276-277 (to *ve* 'egg'); DEMIRAJ AE 157.

dheulë f. pl. *dheula* 'ant'. A recent derivative in *-lë* based on *dheu*, the definite form of *dhe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 153).

dhez aor. *dheza* 'to set on fire, to burn'. From PAIb **dagja* with a sandhial change of the initial **d-*, cf. *ndez* id. Further connected with *djeg*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (separates *dhez* from *djeg*); JOKL *LKUBA* 333; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 235; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38.

dhëmb ~ dhamb m, pl. *dhëmbë ~ dhambë* 'tooth'. From PAIb **dzamba*, a dialectal Indo-European word for 'tooth' shared by Albanian together with Tokh A *kam* 'tooth', B *keme* id., Latv *zūobs* id., Slav **zǫbъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 83, Alb. *St.* III 16, 35, 64). The original meaning seems to be preserved in Gk γόμφος 'peg', Skt *jāmbha-* 'bit, peg'. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *dānta-* 'tooth'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 264; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168, *Stratificazione* 88; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 185; PISANI *Saggi* 100, 128; FRISK I 319-321; FRAENKEL 1288-1289; MAYRHOFFER I 419; VAN WINDEKENS I 186; HULD 58; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 225; DEMIRAJ *AE* 158.

dhëndër ~ dhandër m, pl. *dhëndurë ~ dhandurë* 'bridegroom, son-in-law'. In the auslaut *-rr* is also possible. From PAIb **dzanra* with a secondary epenthesis in **-nr-* > *-nd(ë)r-*, cf. *ëndërr*. The plural form in *-ur-* is not clear. The word is etymologically identical with Skt *jārā-* 'suitor', Gk γαμβρός 'son-in-law', Lat *gener* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 33). PAIb **-an-* seems to continue IE **-emə-* or a similar cluster. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gener*); MEYER *Wb.* 85 (to Lith *žentas* 'son-in-law', Slav **zǫtъ* id.), Alb. *St.* III 16, 24, *Gr. Gr.* 250; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48 (to Skt *jāmātar-* 'son-in-law', Av *zāmātar-* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114 (combines MEYER's and JOKL's views); ERNOUT-MEILLET 270; LA PIANA *Studi* I 42 (reconstructs **genros*); PISANI *Saggi* 130 (*dhëndër* as a contamination of Skt *jāmātar-* and Lat *gener* 'son-in-law'); FRISK I 287; CHANTRAINE 209; MAYRHOFFER I 431; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228 (from **ġenātēr*); FRAENKEL *ZfslavPh* XXIII 348 (*-ërr* < **-urr* influenced by *vjehërr*); FRISK I 287; ANTILA *Schw.* 132-133 (from **ġenH-tr-*); HULD 58-59 (reconstructs IE **ġomH-ter-*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 159-160.

dhi f, pl *dhi* 'she-goat'. From PALb **aidzijā* corresponding to Gk αἴξ id. (CAMARDA 75 who also adduces Lacon δίζα· αἴξ and Arm ayc id.). The Albanian word may be an ancient adjective, cf. Gk αἴγ(ι)ος 'of a goat'. ◇ POTT KZ IV 70; MEYER Wb. 85 (compares with Skt *ajā-* 'goat', Lith *ožys* id. or with OHG *ziga*, Lacon δίζα· αἴξ), Alb. St. III 28, 37; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 320, 335; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 241, *Sprache* IX 149; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; AČAREAN *HAB* I 169-170; BONFANTE *REIE* II 61-63; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (to OHG *ziga*); BARIÇ *Hymje* 77; JOKL *Symb. gramm.* I 241; FRISK I 41-42; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140; HULD 59 (supports PISANI); KARULIS *LEV* I 56 (to Lith *oda* 'skin', Latv *āda* id.), 94 (to Lith *ožys* 'goat', Latv *āzis* id.); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 47, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 38; DEMIRAJ *AE* 160.

dhjamë f, pl. *dhjamëra* ~ *dhjamna* '(animal) fat, lard, suet, tallow'. The dialectal variant *vjam*, *vjamë* is secondary. From PALb **dzel-mā*, related to *dhallë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 86 (to Gk θημός 'fat' but how to explain the initial **d-*?), Alb. St. III 28; VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 15 (treats *vjam* as the original form); JOKL *Sprache* IX 153; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; CHANTRAINE 274; POKORNY I 175; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (follows MEYER but does not explain the short **ē* vs. Gk -η-); PORZIG *Gliederung* 126, 178; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 274; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 55; HULD 59-60; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 47 (borrowed from Late Gk ζέμα 'decoc-tion, cooking'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74 (derivative of *ve* as Slav **sadlo* 'fat' goes back to **saditi* 'to put, to place'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161.

dhjes aor. *dhjeva* 'to defecate'. From PALb **dzetša* or **dzetja* related to Skt *hadati* id., Gk χέζω id. (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER Wb. 86, Alb. St. III 18, 27). As far as neither *-tš- nor *-tj- could correspond to IE *-d-, the resulting form in Albanian may be explained either by a taboo transformation or as a reflex of a verbal form based on a participle **ghed-to-*; the latter would regularly yield **dzetša*. ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 274; JOKL *Studien* 61; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 160; LA PIANA *Studi* I 55-56 (to Gk δέισα 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; PISANI *Saggi* 117; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 237; FRISK I 1078-1079; CHANTRAINE 1250; MAYRHOFFER III 573; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 109; ÇABEJ *St.* I 153-154 (to ON *drīta* 'to defecate', E *dirt*, Slav **driskati* ~ **dristati* 'to defecate'); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *foria* 'diarrhea'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161-162 (reconstructs **gh(e)dētjo-*).

dhjetë num. 'ten'. A relatively recent derivative in *-të* based on **dhjeth* < **detsa* etymologically connected with IE **dek̑m* 'ten': Skt *dāśa*, Gk *δέκα*, Lat *decem* and the like (BOPP 459-460; GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 86). The irregular initial *dh-* < **d-* is explained by sandhi in the numerals from 11 to 19 where **-d-* is preceded by vowels (MEYER-LÜBKE *Idg. Anz.* II 184). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14, 28 (from **dek̑nti* -phonetically impossible as the syllabic **-m-* must be vocalized); BLANKENSTEIN *IF* XXI 110-111; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46, KZ XXXVI 284-285; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 131; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 106; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 70-71, 112-114; MAYRHOFFER II 26; FRISK I 359-360; WALDE-HOFMANN I 327-329; HULD 60; KÖDDERITZSCH *St. albanica* XX/2 123-124; HAMP *Trends* LVII 901-902, 916-917, *Numerals* 916-918; DEMIRAJ *AE* 162-163.

dhunë f. pl. *dhunë* 'labor pains, shame, disgrace'. From PALb **edunti* or **adunti*, further compared with Gk *ὀδύνη* 'labor pains', Arm *erkn* id. (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 51-52, *AArmL* VIII 17-19). These forms may be derived from **ed-* 'to eat' (FRISK II 351). ◇ CAMARDA I 160 (to Gk *δένω* 'reproach, insult'); MEYER *Wb.* 87 (compares with *derë*, *dherë* 'bitter'); JOKL *Studien* 19-20 (reconstructs **dus-n-ā* and links it to Skt *duṣ-* 'evil, bad, difficult', *dunóti*, (he) burns', Gk *δαίω* 'to light up, to kindle'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251-252; LA PIANA *Studi* I 63 f. (follows CAMARDA); AČAREAN *HAB* II 64; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk *αἰσχύνω*, reconstructs **ḡhunā*); MAYRHOFFER II 49-50; POKORNY I 180; ÇABEJ *BShkSh* II/4 34 (to Lat *fuscus* 'dark brown', *St.* I 154-155; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 112 (to Germ *dunkel* 'dark'); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; JANSON *Unt.* 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 163-164 (follows OREL).

dhuroj aor. *dhurova* ~ *dhunova* 'to make a present'. Borrowed from Lat *dōnāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 87). In Geg the form **dhunoj* was replaced by Tosk *dhuroj*. The intervocalic Geg *-n-* is, however, preserved in derivatives, such as *dhurëti* ~ *dhunëti* 'present, donation'. Occasionally, the forms with the "correct" *d-* have been attested in dialects. Forms with initial *dh-* may reflect **addōnāre*. ◇ CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk *δωπέομαι* 'to make a present'); JOKL *LKUBA* 300; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 155-156; JANSON *Unt.* 49-50.

E

e conj. 'and, also'. From PALb **ō(d)* (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 145-146) going back to IE **ēd* ~ **ōd*, abl. sg. of the pronominal stem **e-/o-*, cf. Skt *āt* 'then, and', Av *āt*, *āat* id., Lith *ō* 'and, but' (if not borrowed from Slavic, SADNIK - AITZETMÜLLER *Vgl. Wb.* I 1-2), Slav **a* and, but'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 93 (from Lat *et* 'and' with an inexplicably preserved -*t*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Grundr. rom. Phil.* I 1057 (questions the Latin origin of *e*); PUŞCARIU *Etym. Wb.* I 565 (< Lat *et*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 514; MAYRHOFFER I 72; ÇABEJ *St.* I 156; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; HAMP *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*e* < **ioi*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61.

ec(i) aor. *eca* 'to go, to run'. Another variant is *ecēj*. From **etēs* < PALb **aitatja* based on a derivative in *-*to-* of IE **ei-* 'to go' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ CAMARDA I 95 (to Gk εἶμι 'to go'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (from Rom **itiō* replacing *itō* 'to go'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 18 (to *erdha*); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 158 (related to *hedh*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 157-158 (reconstructs **itiō* as a source).

edh m, pl. *edha* 'he-goat'. From PALb **aidza* connected with Gk αἴζ 'goat', Arm *ayc* id. (TREIMER *ZfRomPh* XXXVIII 408; MANN XXVI 381), cf. *dhi*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Lat *haedus* 'kid'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; AÇAREAN *HAB* I 169-170; JAHUKIAN *OAI* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 201; FRISK I 41-42; CLACKSON *LR* 90; ÇABEJ I 158 (to Skt *ajā-* 'goat', Lith *ožys* id.); HULD 61.

edhe conj. 'and, also'. A sequence of enclitics *e* and *dhe*, with -*dh-* < **-d-* in the intervocalic position. The first element *e* is identical with *e* 'and, also'. As for *dhe*, it reflects PALb **dō* < IE **dō* (in the intervocalic position) as preserved in Slav **da* 'and, so that'. Note Slovene *ada* < Slav **a da*, a full correspondence of *edhe*. The variant *dhe* is secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 151). The Geg form *ende* may be explained as a different compound including *en-* < IE **ani* (cf. POKORNY I 39) and *de* < PALb **dō*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 83 (derives *dhe* from Turk *de* 'and'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 158; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146 (mistakenly derives *edhe* from IE **ōge* and compares it with Lith *ōgi* where there are no traces of a palatal); BENVENISTE *St. Balt.* III 121 f. (pronominal sources of **dō*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78, *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*dhe* < **ghō*

related to Lat *hōc*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61 (*dhe* < **ǵhoi* compared with Lat *huic*).

egër adj. 'wild'. Borrowed from Gk ἄγριος id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (from Lat *agrestis*); CAMARDA I 28, 36 (comparison with Gk ἄγριος); MEYER *Wb.* 94 (borrowed from Lat *acer* 'sharp, violent'), *Alb. St.* IV 10; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 248; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 15 (reconstructs **n-g*ori* 'living in the mountains'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111-112 (agrees with VASMER); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687 (from Indo-European); ÇABEJ I 159.

egjëll adv. 'on an empty stomach'. A compound of a privative particle *e-* < PALb **a-* < IE **h-* and *gjell*; thus, *egjëll* means 'without food' (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). See also *esëll*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 94 (connected with *esëll*); ÇABEJ I 159 (to *agull* 'dawn', derivative of *agoj*).

egjër f 'Lolium temulentum'. Borrowed from Lat *ebria* f. 'drunk', probably, influenced at some stage by *egër*. For the semantic development cf. the French name of the same plant *ivraie* < Lat *ebriāca* (MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◇ JOKL *WuS* XII 78-79 (privative *e-* followed by *gjër* 'soup' which is compared with Lith *sóra* 'millet'; thus, the resulting meaning is 'not millet' > 'wild grass'); ÇABEJ I 159-160 (identifies *egjër* with *egër* or, alternatively, follows JOKL but compares -*gjër* with *grurë*).

eh aor. *eha* 'to sharpen'. From PALb **akska* derived from IE **ak-* 'sharp': (MEYER *Wb.* 352). ◇ POKORNY I 18-22; FRISK I 52; WALDE-HOFMANN I 8.

ehull m, pl. *ehuj* 'icicle'. Derivative of *eh* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 191-192). However, cf. a similarly looking *akull*. ◇ ÇABEJ I 160 (compound consisting of the prefix *e-* and *hell*); MANN *Comp.* 13 (related to Gk ἄκυλος 'edible acorn').

elb m, pl. *elbëra* ~ *elbëna* 'barley'. From PALb **albi* identical with Gk ἄλφι 'kind of grain' (CAMARDA I 60; MEYER *Wb.* 94, *Alb. St.* III 36). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 16 (looks for Iranian and Altaic parallels to the Greek - Albanian isogloss); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235 (to Turk *arpa*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112; MANN

Language XXVI 380, XXVIII 36; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK I 81; CHANTRAINE 67; POKORNY I 29; BERNARD *LB* IX/2 86; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 61; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 164-165.

emēr ~ emēn m, pl. *emra ~ emna* 'name'. From PALb **enmen-* or **inmen-*, etymologically close to OIr *ainm* id., Slav **jьmę* id., OPrus *emnes* id. and, further, to other continuations of IE *(*o*)*noHm̥* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 41; MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112 (reconstructs **enmen*); FRAENKEL *TŽ* III 484 (on the first syllable in Baltic); MANN *Language* XVII 21; PISANI *Saggi* 132; POKORNY I 321; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 5; VENDRYES [A] 36-37; CHANTRAINE 804; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 244-245; ANTTILA *Schw.* 126; VAILLANT *Gr. comp.* I 96; HULD 61-62; ÖLBERG *Unt.* 79; HAMP *AION-L* II 185-190, *Laryngeals* 138; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; BEEKES *Sprache* XXXIII 5, *Lar.* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272; JANSON *Unt.* 23-26; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VIII 227-228; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 165.

emtē f, pl. *emta* 'aunt'. Borrowed from Lat *amita* 'paternal aunt' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 129.

end m 'pollen'. From PALb **anda* etymologically connected with Skt *āndhas-* 'herb', Gk *ἄνθος* 'flower' (CAMARDA I 55; MEYER *BB* VIII 184). Note a denominative verb *end* 'to blossom' < PALb **anda*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 94 (to *ēj*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 30 (to OHG *anado* 'wrath'); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (to Gk *ἄττομαι*), XXVI 380; FRISK I 108-109; CHANTRAINE 136; MAYRHOFER I 36; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; HAMP *Laryngeals* 141 (to Arm *and* 'field'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; ÇABEJ I 160-161 (borrowed from or related to Gk *ἄνθος*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 166.

end aor. *enda* 'to weave'. From PALb **enda*, a secondary formation based on an unattested noun **anda* 'weaving tool' related to Lith *in̄das* 'vessel', Latv *endas* 'part of sledge', Slav **qda* 'fishing rod' - all of these reflecting **en-dhē-* 'instrument, something applied' with various vocaliza-

tions of the prefix. $\diamond$ MEYER *Wb.* 95 (related to *vej*). *Alb. St.* III 24 (to Gk ἄττομαι); MANN *Language* XVII 21; FRAENKEL 92; VASMER IV 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 166-167.

end aor. *enda* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Etymologically identical with *end* 'to blossom'.

endem refl. 'to roam'. Metaphorically used *end* 'to weave'. $\diamond$ ÇABEJ *St.* II 161 (to Illyr ἄνδινος· περίπατος); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167 (to Dor ἐνθεῖν 'to come' but it is a dialectal form of *ἐλθεῖν).

enë f, pl. *enë* 'vessel'. Singularized plural of *anë* id., see *an*.

eng m 'deaf and dumb'. From PALb **anga* etymologically related to Lith *angùs* 'sluggish, lazy, idle', *éngti* 'to strangle', Latv *îgt* 'to wear off, to languish'. $\diamond$ FRAENKEL 10; MANN *Comp.* 25 (to Goth *aggwus* 'narrow' and the like).

engjëll m, pl. *engjëj* 'angel'. Borrowed from Lat *angelus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 95). $\diamond$ CAMARDA I 13 (to Gk ἄγγελος id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 117.

enjë f 'juniper, yew'. Another variant is *venjë* displaying a phonetically secondary initial *v-*. From PALb **aignjā* related to the Indo-European, and in particular Germanic, word for 'oak': ON *eik*, OHG *eih* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). $\diamond$ ÇABEJ II 281 (to Lat *acus* 'needle', Lith *aštrūs* 'sharp').

enjë ~ êjë f, pl. *enja ~ êja* 'dairy goat'. From PALb **agnjā* connected with Gk ἄμνός 'lamb', Lat *agnus* id. (ÇABEJ I 162). $\diamond$ JOKL *LKUBA* 237-238 (to Gk οὐθαπ 'udder' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; FRISK I 93-94; POKORNY I 9; WALDE-HOFMANN I 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; JANSON *Unt.* 79-81.

enjte f, pl. *enjte* 'Thursday'. A morphologically more conservative form is outdated *enjtë*, an adjective in *-të*. As other Albanian words of weekdays rendering Latin names, this word seems to translate Lat *Iovis diem*. If so, *enj-* must be an early Albanian equivalent of Jupiter. It continues PALb **agni-*, presumably, reflecting the archaic Indo-European

word for 'fire' (TREIMER *A ArbSt* I 32). For the phonetic development cf. *enjě*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 95 ("dunkel"); OŠTIR *A ArbSt* II 31 or 282 (to Etr *ais* 'god!'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112-113; MJEDE apud ÇABEJ I 162 (from Gk *ἔνν* 'the day after tomorrow').

epem *refl.* 'to bow down, to bend'. Related to *ap* ~ *jap*, cf. Germ *nachgeben* 'to give way, to stretch' (ÇABEJ I 162-163). The variant *hepem* has a secondary *h-*. ◇ RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 417-418 (to Gk *σκαμβός* 'curved, crooked').

epër *adj.* 'upper'. From PALb **eupera*, a secondary analogical ablaut variant of IE **uperos* id.: Skt *úpara-* 'lower', Av *upara-* 'upper', Gk *ὑπερος* id. (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 17-18). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 96 (derivative of IE **epi*), *Alb. St.* III 86; FRISK II 966-967; CHANTRAINE 357; MAYRHOFFER I 105; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (to Goth *iup*); ÇABEJ I 163 (prefix *e-* followed by *për*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167-168.

erë *f, pl.* *erëra* ~ *erëna* 'wind'. From Rom **er(a)* based on Lat *dēr* 'air' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 96: reconstruction of Rom **aira*). The feminine form in Albanian may go back to an original pl. neut., the gender of *erë* being motivated by its meaning. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113 (from Lat *aer*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* I 165; HULD 62.

ergjënd ~ **argjand** *m* 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044.

ergjěz *m, pl.* *ergjěz*, *ergjězë* 'young louse'. Another variant is *ergjiz*. A derivative in *-ěz* based on *arg* id. attested in Italo-Albanian < PALb **arga* related to Arm *orjil* 'louse' and its more problematic cognates Skt *likṣā* 'nit', Lith *ėrkė* 'tick' (MEYER *Wb.* 15; BUGGE *Beiträge* 17). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 99, 329; HERMANN *KZ* XLI 48; PISANI *Saggi* 120; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; POKORNY I 335; ANTILA *Schw.* 106; MAYRHOFFER III 100; FRAENKEL 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 165-166 (to IE **ak-* 'sharp'); KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 81.

err *m* 'darkness'. From PALb **ausra* related, with a frequent change of meaning from 'morning dawn' to 'evening dawn', to Lith *aušrà* 'dawn', Gk *ἔως* id. and the like. The verb *err* 'to keep smb. till late in the night'

is a denominative. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 96-97; *Alb. St.* IV; *JOKL Studien* 21 (to Gk ἔρεβος 'darkness of the underworld'); FRISK I 605-606; FRAENKEL 27; ÇABEJ *St.* I 166-167 (analyzes *err* as consisting of the prefix *e-* and a root identical with *re* 'cloud').

esëll adv. 'on an empty stomach'. Another variant is *esull*. A compound consisting of a privative *e-* < PALb **a-* < IE **h-* and the root identical with *sillë* (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). ◇ CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk ἐσθλός 'courageous, brave'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (comparison with *egjëll*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 167 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

esh m, pl. *eshë* 'hedgehog'. A back-formation or a phonetic mutation of the attested and, obviously, more conservative variant *eshk*. The latter reflects PALb **etska* < **edz-k-a* etymologically related to Gk ἐχῖνος id., OHG *igil* id., Lith *ežys* id., Slav **ežь* id. ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 141 (borrowed from Slavic); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 97 (follows STIER); TRAUTMANN *BSWb* 73; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 199; FRAENKEL 118; KLUGE 324; FRISK I 601; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 37; SVANE 142.

eshke f, pl. *eshke* 'kidney'. Singularized plural of an earlier form **eshkë* continuing **aiškā*. The latter continues IE **oid-skā* to be compared with Slav **jьsto* id. and ON *eista* 'testicle' < **oidsto-*, derived from IE **oid-* 'to swell' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXII 273). For the semantic development cf. Slav **рѣтъка* 'kidney' from IE **peu-t-* 'to swell'. As to Alb *veshke*, it is a contamination of *eshke* and *veshje* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to *eshkë*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 f. (to Lat *inguen* 'groin'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 283-284; POKORNY I 774; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 242-243.

eshkë f 'fungus'. Borrowed from Lat *ēscā* 'food, bait' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 97). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; HAARMANN 123; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74.

eshhtë f, pl. *eshta* 'fiber, muscle fiber'. Etymologically identical with *ashtë* as a variant of its singularized plural. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 192.

et m 'thirst'. From PALb **alk-ti-* closely related to Lith *álkti* 'to be hungry', Slav **olkati* id., OHG *ilgi* 'hunger'. ◇ CAMARDA I 15 (to Gk αἶθος 'fire'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to IE **eus-ti-* or to Gk αἰτέω 'to demand, to beg'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 161-163 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRAENKEL 8; ΦΑCMEP II 452; ÇABEJ *St.* I 167-168 (accepts MEYER's view).

ethe pl. 'fever'. Singularized plural of **eth*, a derivative in -*th* based on PALb **aida*. The latter is etymologically close to Skt *edhas*- 'fire-wood, fuel', Gk αἶθος 'fire' and the like (CAMARDA I 77; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 162-163). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 93 (to IE **eus*- 'to burn'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112 (related to *athēt*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Lat *aestas*); FRISK I 37; MAYRHOFFER I 128; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowing from Gk αἱθός 'burning'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 168-169 (follows BARIĆ); FRISK I 37-38; HULD 62; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 168-169.

Ē

ěj ~ âj aor. *ějta ~ âjta* 'to blow, to swell'. From PALb **anj* related to Skt *ániti* 'to breathe', Goth *us-anan* 'to blow out' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 5, *Alb. St.* IV 67). ◇ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk οἰδέω, οἰδάω 'to swell', 111 (to Gk ἄω 'to blow'); JOKL *Studien* 37; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows MEYER); POKORNY I 39; MAYRHOFFER I 33; FEIST *Goth.* 538; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; ÇABEJ *St.* I 171 (follows CAMARDA I 57); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 128; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256-257; HULD 63; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (repeats ÇABEJ's etymology); DEMIRAJ *AE* 171-172.

ěmběl ~ amběl adj. 'sweet'. From PALb **amla* identical with Skt *amlá*- 'sour' (TOMASCHEK *ZÖG* 1875, 529). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 10 (agrees with TOMASCHEK); JOKL *Reallex. Vorges.* I 87; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69; MAYRHOFFER I 46; MANN *Language* XVII 19 (reconstructs **əmlōs*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 170 (to *mjaltě*), VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 169-170 (against TOMASCHEK on semantic grounds; reconstructs **Hen-m(e)lit*-).

ěndě ~ andě f 'appetite, desire, wish'. From PALb **antā* derived from **anja* > *ěj* (MEYER *Wb.* 5-6) and specifically close to Gk ἄνται· ἄνεμοι, ἀντάς· πνοάς, Hes. (DEMIRAJ *AE* 170). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 19 (reconstructs **handě* < **khonti* with further fantastic comparisons); ÇABEJ *St.* I 170-171 (follows MEYER but, at the same time compares *ěndě* with Hitt *anza*- 'desire'); MANN *Comp.* 21-22 (comparisons with non-existent Tokharian and Irish forms).

(T) **anta* 'face, flower'. From PALb **anta* derived from **ania* > *ēi* and

MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). ◇ STIER
ER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137,
MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.*
at. 143, 145.

ive, to present, to offer', refl. 'to set (of the sun)'. From
mologically connected with Gk σφάλλω 'to overthrow'
). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Slav **xvaliti* 'to
IV 61; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192 (follows MEYER);
2 15 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24, *Hymje* 35 (repeats
ymology); FRISK II 827-828; ÇABEJ *St.* I 173-174
RD).

putation, rumor'. Borrowed from Lat *fama* 'rumor,

nij 'godchild'. Borrowed from Lat *famulus* 'servant,
wise lost by Romance languages (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Ele-*
ER *Wb.* 99). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; HAARMANN
I 174; LANDI *Lat.* 137.

ce, cheek'. As many other feminines of this morphological
s to continue an earlier **faq*. Borrowed from Lat *faciēs*
oud HULD 63; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 338;
Elemente 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr.*
11; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124-125;
DI *Lat.* 83-85, 149-150.

ara 'seed, semen, kin'. From PALb **sparā* < IE **sporā*
ed with Gk fem. σπορά 'seed' and further related to
to sow': Gk σπείρω id., σπέρμα 'semen, seed' (BARIĆ
Language XVII 17, MANN XXVI 386-387; OREL *SBJa*
As to *faroj*, *faros* 'to destroy, to exterminate', it is a
ased on *farē* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 175). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Ele-*
ER *Wb.* 100 (Germanic loanword, cf. Langob *fara* 'descen-
n'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24 (*faroj* from IE **spher-* 'to kick with
AVINI *Dalmazia* 114 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 295;
; FRISK II 762-763; HULD 62-63; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.*

faikua ~ faikue

thus, historically identical with *ēndē* 'desire'. ◇ MANN *Language*
XVII 22; ÇABEJ *St.* I 171 (to *end*).

ēndërr ~ *andërr* f, pl. *ēndrra* ~ *andrra* 'dream, sleep'. Continues PALb
**anrjā* with an epenthetic -d-. Identical with the Indo-European word
for sleep **oner-* (Gk ὄναρ) ~ **onerjo-* (Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος, Arm *anurj*),
cf. CAMARDA I 38; MEYER *Wb.* 11, *Alb. St.* III 66. Note that the Alban-
ian feminine noun corresponds to the original Indo-European neuter
and may go back to a singularized plural form. For the development
of the cluster *-nr- cf. *dhëndër*. ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 101; BARIĆ *ARSt* 1-
2 (to Gk ἔδαρθον, aor. 'to sleep', Lat *dormiō* 'to sleep'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI
133, *LKUBA* 6; MANN *Language* XVII 19; PISANI *Saggi* 121; PORZIG
Gliederung 179; FRISK II 393; CHANTRAINE 802; POKORNY I 779; ANTTILA
Schw. 127; HAMP *AION-L* II/2 187; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230, *Etim.* IV
apud DEMIRAJ (to *nder*); HULD 63; CLACKSON *LR* 236; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-
2 39 (on PALb *-rj- > -rr), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 171 (to
Skt *nidra* 'sleepiness, drowsiness', formally possible).

F

faj m, pl. *faje* 'guilt, sin'. Borrowed from Rom **fallia*, derivative of Lat
fallere 'to deceive, to trick' (MEYER *Wb.* 98, *Alb. St.* IV 16). ◇
TREIMER *KZ* LXV 96 (from IE **spel-* 'to break'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr.*
Grundriß ² I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ
St. I 172; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

(G) *fāj* aor. *fana* 'to fill, to cram, to surfeit'. From PALb **spanja* related
to Gmc **spannjan* 'to tighten' with a secondary expressive gemina-
tion (ON *spenna* and the like). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 22-23 (to Skt *pūrṇa-*
'full' and the like, with f- < *ph-); KLUGE 720; ÇABEJ *St.* I 172 (to dialectal
fēngem 'to eat much').

fajkë f, pl. *fajka* 'side (of a ship)'. Borrowed from the Dalmatian reflex
of Lat *faciēs* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 172 - 173). Note a derivative in *fajkoj* 'to
polish'. ◇ CAMARDA II 70 (treats *fajkoj* as a variant of *fērkoj*); MEYER
Wb. 103 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 550.

(CAMARDA II 70
KZ XI 136; ME
LKUBA 306; M
I 173; LANDI L

fal aor. *fala* 'to p
PALb **spala* ety
(CAMARDA I 7
praise'), *Alb. St.*
HAMP *LB* XIV/
CAMARDA's e
(follows CAMA

famë f 'good r
fame'.

famull m, pl. *fa*
attendant', othe
mente 25; MEY
125; ÇABEJ *St.*

fage f, pl. *fage* 'fa
type, *fage* seem
'face' (RASK a
MIKLOSICH *Rom.*
Grundriß ² I 10
HULD 63; LAN

farë f, pl. *farë*, *f*
closely connec
**sper-* 'to spill,
ARSt 24; MANN
Leksikol. 147.)
denominative b
mente 25; MEY
dants, family, k
a foot'); TAGLI
POKORNY I 993
352.

farkë f. pl. *farka* 'smithy'. Borrowed from Lat *fabrica* 'workshop' (MEYER Wb. 99). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1054; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ St. VII 280; LANDI Lat. 94, 111, 118.

fashqe f. pl. *fashqe* 'diaper'. A singularized plural of **fashqë* also attested as *fashë* 'diaper, stripe'. Borrowed from Lat *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER Wb. 100). ◇ MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ St. VII 184; HAARMANN 125; LANDI Lat. 120.

fat m. pl *fate* 'fate; bridegroom, husband, friend'. Borrowed from Lat *fatum*. Undoubtedly, *fat* 'fate' is identical with *fat* 'fate' (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 25; MEYER Wb. 100) - a widely attested metaphor, cf. Alb *shortë* 'fate; spouse, wife' < Lat *sorte(m)* (ÇABEJ St. I 176-177). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL *Studien* 107, LKUBA 15 (*fat* 'bridegroom' borrowed from Goth **fadi-* 'master, lord'); BARIĆ ARSt 24-25, *Hymje* 71 (arbitrary comparison with Skt *sphāyate* '(he) grows fat, increases'); PUDIĆ IX *Ling. Cong.* 862; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; LANDI Lat. 109.

fe f. pl. *fe* 'belief, religion'. Borrowed from Lat *fidem* 'faith' (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 26) as the long [ē] in *fē* reflects a contraction of the intermediate **feē* (ÇABEJ St. I 177). The verb *fejoj* 'to betroth' is a late derivative of *fe* (ÇABEJ St. I 178). ◇ MEYER Wb. 101 (from Ital *fe* id.), 106-107 (*fejoj* borrowed from Ital *fidare* 'to entrust'); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1045 (from Italian); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 126; LANDI Lat. 46, 133.

feje pl. 'nostrils'. A plural form of *fyell*, normally appearing in a phrase *fejet e hundës* id. (ÇABEJ St. VII 224, 235).

felë f. pl. *fela* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed from Rom **favalia*, cf. Ital *fiale* id. (MEYER Wb. 101). The homonymous *felë* 'piece, slice' is, in fact, a phonetic variant of *thelë*. ◇ TREIMER KZ LXV 98 (from IE **spel-*); ÇABEJ St. VII 235.

femc m 'sting (of insects)'. A phonetic variant of *thimth*, *thimc* (JOKL LJ XXIV VII 217). ◇ MEYER Alb. St. V 76 (to *themboj* 'to bore'); TREIMER KZ LVI 98 (connects *femc* with Lat *spīna* 'thorn'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 8144; ÇABEJ St. I 178 (to *feme* 'awl').

femēr ~ femēn f, pl. *femra ~ femna* 'woman'. Borrowed from Lat *fēmina* id. (CAMARDA I 122; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 101).
 ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 115; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; JANSON *Unt.* 50.

fend aor. *fenda* 'to fart'. From PALb **spenda* related to Skt *spandate* 'to shiver', Gk σφαδάζω 'to shiver, to tremble'. ◇ FRISK II 825; POKORNY I 989.

ferr m 'hell'. Borrowed from Lat *infernū* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 101). ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131.

ferrē f, pl. *ferra* 'thorn, thorny bush'. From PALb **spernā* derived from IE **sper-* 'spear, stick': Lat *sparus* 'short spear', Gmc **speru-* 'spear' > ON *spjor* (cf. OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 147). Note a derivative *ferrēl* 'stalk, stem' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 179). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 101 (to *ther* 'to cut'), 102 (*ferrēl* borrowed from Lat *ferula* 'fennel-giant'); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218 (follows MEYER); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 99 (to W *ffern* 'talus, malleolus', Lat *spernō* 'to sever, to separate'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; WALDE - HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 225.

felligē f 'ignominy, shame'. A variant of this word seems to be *fēllegē* 'sloppy work'. The verb *fēlliq* 'to make dirty' also belongs here as a denominative. The form *felligē* is an irregular transformation of *fēdigē* 'tiredness, strain, work' borrowed from Ital (Venetian) *fadiga* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 102 (*fēdigē* < Venetian *fadiga*; *fēlliq* < Lat *fornicem* 'brothel'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539; ÇABEJ *St.* I 180 (to *thellē*).

fēmijē m/f, pl. *fēmijē* 'child, family, spouse'. Borrowed from Lat *famīlia* 'family' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24-25; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1047 (from Ital *famiglia* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMANN 125; HULD 64; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 108, 126.

fēndyell m, pl. *fēndyej* 'awl'. A derivative of *fund*. ◇ CAMARDA I 201 (to Gk σφόνδυλος 'cervical vertebra'); MEYER *Wb.* 103 (to Lat *findere* 'to cleave, to split'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 180 (related to *femc*).

fēng ~ **fang** m, pl. *fēngje* ~ *fangje* 'virgin land, land difficult to cultivate, lawn, meadow'. Borrowed from Ital *fango* 'mud' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25). ◇ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 120-121 (from Goth *waggs* 'paradise' < *'meadow'); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* I 180-181 (agrees with MIKLOSICH).

fērgoj aor. *fērgova* 'to roast, to fry'. Borrowed from Lat *frīgere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1055; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127.

fērkoj aor. *fērкова* 'to rub'. Borrowed from Lat *fricāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; HULD 64.

fērroj aor. *fērrova* 'to grind roughly'. Clearly connected with *fērratē* 'gruel' (borrowed from Rom **farīnāta*) and seems to continue Rom **farīnāre* related to Lat *farīna* 'ground corn, flour'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 182 (related to *ther*).

fic aor. *fica* 'to make soft'. Derived from an unattested **fij* < PALb **spija* related to Skt *sphāyate* 'to become fat', Slav **spěti* 'to ripen'. ◇ POKORNY I 983; VASMER III 734.

fier m 'fern'. From PALb **spera* or **sperna* that may be somehow connected with other Indo-European words for 'fern' (presumably based on the word for 'wing'), e.g. Gmc **farnaz*: OHG *far(a)n*. In any case, in the name of fern various irregular changes of taboo origin cannot be excluded. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 25 (to Slav **paporotъ* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (to Gk πτέρις id.); FRISK II 611; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22 (from Latin), 3-4 350 (from Gk πτέρις); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 250; HAARMANN 126 (from Rom **filicāria*).

(G) **fijan** m, pl. *fijanē* 'child to be baptized'. A Geg church form of Rom **filiānus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 183; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 126, 133.

fik m, pl. *fiq* 'fig'. Borrowed from Lat *figus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 113, 140.

fik aor. *fika* 'to extinguish (of fire); to bring misfortune, to ruin, to destroy'. From PAIb **speika* related to Lith *peikti* 'to despise, to scold', *pỹkti* 'to be angry', Latv *peikt* 'to be spoilt'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26 (from Ital *ficcare*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 100-101 (to Lat *spīca* 'point, top'); FRAENKEL 525; ÇABEJ *St.* I 183-184 (to Swedish *spink* 'lean man', Norw *spiken* 'dry').

fill m, pl. *fij, fije* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat *filum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). The verb *filloj* 'to begin' is derived from *fill* as it is clear from *zë fill* 'to begin' (CAMARDA I 76). Note that the morpheme *-fish* in *dyfish* 'twice', *trifish* 'thrice', appearing as *-fijesh* in Old Albanian (BUDI, BOGDANI) goes back to abl. pl. of *fill* (KRISTOFORIDHI 427). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1050, 1053; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk σπῖλος); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 14 (to OHG *spīl* 'spear tip'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (accepts KRISTOFORIDHI's explanation of *-fish*), IV 95-96; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

fink m, pl. *finkë* 'finch'. Recent borrowing from Germ *Fink* id. As to *sfinğës* id., it comes from NGk σπῖγγος id. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 185 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of Gmc **finkan* ~ **finkjan* 'finch').

finjë f, pl. *finja* 'soapwater, soap suds'. Historically identical with *thinjë* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233). ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 166 (identical with *hie*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 101 (to OHG *spiz* 'spit'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 185-186 (to SCr *sinjav* 'grey').

fishkem ~ **fyshkem** refl. 'to wither, to fade'. Based on the adjective *fishkët* 'withering, dry'. Goes back to PAIb **spūška* etymologically related to Lith *pūškas*, *pūškas* 'blister, fin, pimple', Latv *pusks* 'tuft'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (together with its variant *veshkem* ~ *vyshkem*, to Lat *vēscus* 'small, week, feeble'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 35-38; FRAENKEL 680; ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (related to *fyell*).

fishkëlloj aor. *fishkëllova* 'to whistle'. Belongs to a group of phonetic

ike. All these
112). ◇ ÇABEJ

ariant is *fush-*
ctly an earlier
cinia, deriva-
St. IV 60). ◇
I 201 (on Old

with *fishnjar*

etymological-
story, speech',
e' (OREL SBJa
orrowing from
r. *Grundriß* ² I
(from **spelgā*,
a 116 (follows
VII 272; HAAR-
sp-); POKORNY

z, derived with
MHG *lecken*
lèkt 'to spring',
ER Wb. 107 (to
ARSt I 251 (to
St. I 186-187
throw on the
n of derivation

sed on an unat-
l Rom **flacula*
ng *facula* 'little
a metathesized
AJA *Sravn.* 231

187 (onomatopoeia).

flamë f 'cold (illness), epilepsy, cholera (of animals)'. Borrowed from Lat nom. sg. *flāmen* 'blowing, blast' used metaphorically as Russ *povetrie* 'infection'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (from Lat *flamma*); MEYER Wb. 107 (from Ital *flemma* 'phlegm'); LA PIANA *Vocale* 50 (related to *flake*); TREIMER KZ LXV 101 (to Germ *flink* 'nimble, quick'); ÇABEJ St. I 187-188; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 135.

flas aor. *fola* 'to speak'. The present *flas* is obviously a recent formation based on the lost **fal*, and the verb belonged to a group with the quantitative ablaut in aorist (MEYER Wb. 106). Continues PALb **psala*, further related to *fjalë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 106 (from Lat *fābulō* 'to speak', cf. in particular Dalm *faular*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 124; OREL SBJa *Leksikol.* 146.

flashkët adj. 'sluggish, lame'. Phonetic development of **plashkët* continuing PALb **plakska* identical with Lith *plóksčias* 'flat', Slav **ploskъ* id. and, in particular, Slav **ploхъ* 'flat, bad, evil, poor'. ◇ BRÜCKNER 419; POKORNY I 831-832.

flatër f, pl. *flatra* 'wing'. A singularized plural of *fletë*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 188 ("elementary formation" cognate with *fletë*).

fle ~ flê aor. *fletë*, *fjeta* 'to sleep'. From PALb **awa-leja* etymologically connected with Slav **lějъ*, **lējati* 'to doze, to slumber' (OREL FLH VIII/1-2 46). ◇ CAMARDA I 108-109 (to Gk φλάω 'to crush'); MEYER Wb. 107-108 (borrowing from Lat *flō* 'to blow', with insurmountable difficulties in semantics), Alb. St. IV 67; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 544 f. (to Gk κλίνω 'to lean, to bend' with Alb *f-* < *th-* < **k-*); BARIĆ ARSt 21-22 (to **fell* 'to blow'); SCHMIDT KZ XLVII 1 f. (from IE **bhlend-*); TREIMER KZ LXV 103 (reconstructs IE **splhend-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117; GOR'ACEVA *Ètimologija* 1981 76; ÇABEJ St. I 188-189 (to Slav **lenъ* 'laziness', Lith *lėnas* 'quiet').

flegë f, pl. *flegë* 'splinter'. From PALb **awa-lagā*, a prefixal derivative of IE **legh-* 'to lie' in *o*-grade, cf. Gk λόχος 'ambush'. Derived from *flegë* (as its singularized plural?) is *flegër*, *fregull* 'nostril, door-leaf', probably, reflecting a secondary influence of *fletë* on its semantics.

variants such as *vëshlloj*, *fëshëlloj*, *frushkullij* and the forms continue Rom **fistulāre* or **fisclāre* (MEYER Wb. St. I 186 (onomatopoeia)).

fishnjar m, pl. *fishnjarë* 'harpoon'. A more conservative *njar*, itself derived from *fushnje* id. The latter, or more exactly, and unattested **fushnjë*, was borrowed from Rom **fuscina* 'trident' (MEYER Wb. 106, Alb. MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 127; ÇABEJ St. I 186 (onomatopoeia)).

fishnjar m, pl. *fishnjarë* 'marten'. Historically identical with *njar* 'harpoon'.

fjalë f, pl. *fjalë* 'word, speech, tale'. From PALb **spelā* ly connected with Goth *spill* 'story, fable', ON *spjall* 'story', OE *spell* id., OHG *spel*, *spell* id. and Arm *araspel* 'fable' (OREL SBJa *Leksikol.* 146-148; HULD 64-65). ◇ MEYER Wb. 106 (borrowing from Lat *fābella* 'fable, short story, tale'); MEYER-LÜBKE G 1044; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 252; TREIMER KZ LXV 103 (to Lat *flagrō* 'to flame, to blaze'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117; MEYER, *Origini* 190; AČAREAN HAB I 253-254; ÇABEJ St. I 188-189; HAARMANN 84-85; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (on Alb *f-* < IE **p-*); I 985; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 107.

flak aor. *flaka* 'to throw, to fling'. From PALb **awa-lak* with a prefix **awa-* from IE **lēk-* ~ **lāk-* 'to bend, to jump' (to throw back, to spring', Lith *lekiù*, *lėkti* 'to fly', Latv *lēkt* 'to jump' and the like (OREL ZfBalk XXIII/1 75). ◇ MEYER Wb. 107 (to Lat *flaccus* 'flabby', Ital *fiaccare* 'to weaken'); BARIĆ ARSt 21-22 (to Gk σφάλλω 'to overthrow'); FRAENKEL 353-354; ÇABEJ St. I 188-189 (from *flake*; semantically, cf. Ital dial. *lampare* 'to throw, to drop' ~ *lampo* 'lightning' but the direction of derivation is opposite there).

flakë f, pl. *flakëra* ~ *flakëna* 'flame'. A back formation based on *flakë* id. The latter is a borrowing from dialectal *flakë* reflected in Ital *fiaccola* id., Rum *flacără* id. and replaced by *flacără* 'torch'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 107 (borrowed from Rom **flacără* from **facla* < Lat *facula*); PUȘCARIU EWR 53; DESNICI

◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 149 (to *flugĕ*); FRISK II 111-112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 188 ("elementary formation" cognate with *fletĕ* and *flugĕ*), OREL FORT. 79

fletĕ f, pl. *fletĕ* 'wing, leaf'. From PALb **awa-lekta*, a prefixal derivative of IE **lek-* 'to fly': Lith *lekù*, *lĕkti*, Latv *lĕkt*, OHG *lecken* 'to jump, to kick'. ◇ CAMARDA II 192 (to *flutur*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Ital *foglietta* 'little barrel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 117; SKOK *AArbSt* I 226 (borrowed from Lat fem. *foliāta* 'leaved, leafy' - but the cluster *-li-* [lj] would yield Alb *-j-*); LA PIANA *Studi* I 104 (to OHG *blat* 'leaf' and the like); FRAENKEL 353-354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 189-190 ("elementary formation").

fli ~ **flī** f, pl. *fli* ~ *flī* 'sacrifice'. Identical with *fĕli*, *fĕrli* 'kind of pastry' (originally baked to celebrate baptism) and borrowed from Rom **firigiltinum* (MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 121, *IF* XLIV 30-32 (borrowed from MGk εὐλογία 'wafer, communion bread' - but how to account for the Geg nasal?); ÇABEJ *St.* I 179 (agrees with JOKL).

flojere f, pl. *flojere* 'flute'. Known to all languages of the Carpathian and Balkan areas, this is a relatively late borrowing from Rum *fluier* id. continuing Lat adj. *flātūrālis* 'blowing', cf. *flātūra* 'blowing'. ◇ CAMARDA I 161 (comparison with Lat *flāre* 'to blow'); MIKLOSICH *Wander.* 23 (to *fryj*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Rom **flatuāria*; on the other hand, connected with *fyell*); GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 587-589 (borrowed from Gk **φλοιάριον* based on *φλοιός* 'bark'); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 302 (borrowed from Rum *fluier* < Rom **vivulellus*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* I 190-191 (to Geg *fluier* 'drawer'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172 (against ÇABEJ).

flok m, pl. *flokĕ* 'hair'. Borrowed from Lat *floccus* 'lock, flock' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 108-109). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117, *Stratificazione* 84; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 139.

flori ~ **florī** m, pl. *florinj* 'gold; (pl.) golden coins'. Borrowed from MLat *florīnus* 'gold piece' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◇ HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 191-192.

floskĕ f 'layer (of snow)'. Borrowed from Slav **ploska* unknown in

this meaning in South Slavic languages. Cf., however, Bulg fem. sg. *ploska* 'flat' and SCr *ploska* 'flat vessel'.

flug *m* 'swing, zest, zeal'. Continues PALb **awa-luga* that may be connected with IE **leug-* 'to break' (see *flugē*) or with **leugh-* 'to lie': Goth *liugan*, Slav **lъgati*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 109 (borrowed from NGk φλόγος 'flame'); VASMER II 469; POKORNY I 686-687; FEIST *Goth.* 334; ÇABEJ *St.* I 192 ("elementary formation").

flugē *f*, pl. *fluga* 'shingle'. From PALb **awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE **leug-*, cf. Skt *rujāti* 'to break', Lat *lūgeō* 'to mourn, to deplore' ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 146-150 (to *lugē*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 102 (to MHG *splīzen* 'to split'); MAYRHOFFER III 64-65; WALDE-HOFMANN I 830-831; POKORNY I 686; ÇABEJ *St.* I 192 ("elementary formation"); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172-173.

flutur *f*, pl. *flutura* 'butterfly'. A back formation based on *fluturoj* 'to fly'. The latter is borrowed from Rom **fluctulāre*, a modification of Lat *fluctuāre* 'to move in waves, to move to and fro' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◇ CAMARDA II 192 (related to *fletē*); MEIER *Etym.* 92; CANDREA-HECHT *Romania XXXI* 310-311; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 33-39 (opposes the Latin etymology); IONESCU *LR* 6 (1984) 476-479.

flladis *aor. flladita* 'to cool'. Borrowed from Slav **xolditi* id., cf., in particular, SCr *hladiti* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 306). ◇ SVANE 175, 232.

forbēl *f*, pl. *forbla* 'peelings, sweepings (of nuts), empty nut-shell'. Other variants are *formēl* and *forlē*. Borrowed from Lat *formella* 'small form' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ CAMARDA II 64 (compares *formēl* with Gk φορμός 'basket'); MEYER *Wb.* 110 (derives *forbēl* from **vorbēl* < Rom **orbulus* and *formēl* from Ital *forfore* 'scabs'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 192-193 ("of unclear origin").

fortē *adj.* 'strong'. Borrowed from Lat *fortis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; CAMARDA I 167). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 110 (from Ital *forte* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 117; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281.

foshnjë f, pl. *foshnja* 'infant'. The Geg form is *foshi*. Both forms reflect an unattested **fosh* that may result (irregularly as far as the anlaut is concerned) from **ftosh*, the latter being a borrowing from Lat *fētōsus*, to *fētus* 'offspring'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 100 (related to *fashqe*); BARIĆ ARSt 23-24 (to Skt *phaṇas-* 'foam'); ÇABEJ St. VII 184.

fqinjë m/f, pl. *fqinjë* 'neighbor'. Borrowed from Rom **vicīnius* based on Lat *vicīnus* id. (CAMARDA I 92; MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 71; MEYER Wb. 107). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1048; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157.

fqollë f, pl. *fqolla* 'flax ready for spinning; first combings of flax'. Another variant of this word is *fjollë*. Borrowed from MGk φακιάλης 'handkerchief, napkin' (MEYER Wb. 107). ◇ MEYER Wb. 106 (separates *fjollë* as a continuation of Rom **fileolum*); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ St. I 193.

fraq m, pl. *fraqra* ~ *fraqna* 'biting cold, frost'. Singularized form of the original **frak* continuing PALb **awa-raka*, a prefixal formation etymologically related to Lith *rakù, ràkti* 'to peck open, to lance', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. ◇ JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 248 (reconstructs **vë-rak-jo-* related to OIr *diorain* 'to sprinkle'); SGGJa I 55; FRAENKEL 694; ÇABEJ St. I 193-194 (considers dialectal *thrak* in *mot thrak* 'cold period' to be the older form and uses it to reconstruct **ther-ak*, further to *ther*).

frashër ~ frashën m, pl. *frashëra* ~ *frashna* 'ash-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *fraxinus* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 111). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16; ÇABEJ St. VII 244; HAARMANN 127; JANSON *Unt.* 51; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 124.

frashuall ~ frashuell m 'haricot'. Borrowed from Lat *phaseolus* 'kind of bean' (ÇABEJ St. I 175) with a secondary epenthetic *-r-* (MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1045). In Tosk the NGk φασούλι id. was adapted as *fasul*. ◇ HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 78, 85, 93.

fre ~ frë m, pl. *frerë* ~ *frena, frenj* 'bridle; grape-stalk; comb'. Borrowed from Lat *frēnum* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 111). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16;

HAARMANN 127; ÇABEJ *St.* I 194; JANSON *Unt.* 51; LANDI *Lat.* 55.

(G) **fruer** m 'February'. Borrowed from Lat *februārius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 194-195; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 75-76, 127, 157.

frushkull m, pl. *frushkuj* 'whip'. A transformation of the original **fushtull* borrowed from Rom **fustulum*, cf. Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel, club'. The variant *fshikull* is explained by the influence of *fshikë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 112 (identifies this word with *frushkull* 'whistle'); TREIMER *KZ* LVI 104 (connects *frushkull* with Ital *frusta* 'whip'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (onomatopoeia), 199.

frushkull f, pl. *frushkulla* 'whistle'. Another variant is *frushull*. A radical phonetic transformation of the original Lat *fistula* 'pipe, tube' (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (onomatopoeia).

fruth ~ **frûth** m 'measles'. Deminutive or collective in *-th* based on Palb **spruga* related to Skt *sphūrjati* 'to thunder, to rumble', Gk σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise', Lith *sprógstu*, *sprógti* 'to break, to crack up' (MANN *Language* XVII 13). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (related to *hurdhe*), Alb. *St.* III 32; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 29; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 242; FRAENKEL 882-883; FRISK II 828; MAYRHOFFER III 545-546; TICHY *Onom.* 177-181; ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (*f-ruth* related to IE **reudh-* 'red').

fryj ~ **frȳj** aor. *fryva*, *fryjta* ~ *fryna* 'to blow'. Continues Palb **sprūgnja* etymologically connected with Lith *sprūgstu*, *sprūgti* 'to escape, to get out', Slav **prygati* 'to jump, to spring'. The noun *frymë* 'breath' is derived from *fryj*. ◇ CAMARDA I 112 (to Gk πνέω 'to blow'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 26 (reconstructs **sphrūgniō*, to Gk σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Gk σπαίρω), XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 883; ÇABEJ *St.* I 195-196; VASMER III 390-391; HULD 65.

fryt m, pl. *fryte* 'fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *frūctus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 112) through the intermediary stage of early Alb **frūjt*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 39-41; LANDI *Lat.* 121, 148.

fund m, pl. *funde* 'bottom, end'. Borrowed from Lat *fundus* 'bottom' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 116, 139.

fuqi f, pl. *fuqi* 'power, strength, force'. If the intermediary form was **fujqi*, it could be a borrowing based on Rom **fulcius*, the latter derived from *fulctre* 'to prop up, to support, to make strong' (MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 25 (to Latv *spēks* 'strength').

furfurit aor. *furfurita* 'to sparkle, to shine'. A descriptive stem.

furkë f, pl. *furka* 'distaff, fork'. Borrowed from Lat *furca* 'fork' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28-29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120, *Origini* 190, 239; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ROHLFS *Spr.* 117; HAARMANN 127.

furr m, pl. *furre* 'oven'. Another variant is *furrë*. Borrowed from Lat *furnus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 114.

furrik m, pl. *furriqë, furriqe* 'chicken-coop, fowl-pen, roost, nesting-box'. Another variant of singular is *furriq*. The modern form *furrik* is a back formation based on the original *furriq* borrowed from Lat *fornicem* 'arch, vault'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (uncertain comparison with *furr*); JOKL *AArbSt* I 39-41 (to *farë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 201; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 158.

fus aor. *futa* 'to put in, to thrust in, to insert; to plant'. From PALb **sputja*, a form with *s* mobile etymologically related to Lat *putō* 'to trim, to prune', Tokh A, B *putk-* 'to divide'. ◇ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk φύομαι 'to grow'); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 107 (to Lith *spáudyti* 'to smooth with, to mash'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VAN WINDEKENS I 397.

fushë f, pl. *fusha* 'plain, open field, meadow'. Borrowed from Lat *fossa* 'ditch, trench, gutter', also 'furrow', and originally describing an irrigated plot of land. Note that *fushatë* 'campaign' was formed already in Albanian, probably, as a calque of Ital *campagna* 'country, campaign'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (borrowed from Lat *fūsum* 'pouring, poured'); BARIĆ

ARSt. I 23 (reconstructs **p[thujām!]*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120-121; ÇABEJ St. VII 238, 277.

fyej aor. *feva* 'to offend, to insult, to make a mistake'. Identical with *fěj* 'to make a mistake' derived from *faj* (ÇABEJ St. I 201).

fyell ~ **fyll** m, pl. *fyej, fej, fyje* 'flute'. Goes back to PALb **spāli*- etymologically related to Gk σπήλαιον 'cave, cavern' < *'hollow'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 108 (to *flojere*), Alb. St. V 76; BARIĆ ARSt I 21-22 (to Gk φυσάω 'to blow', Lat *pustula* 'bubble, blister'); TREIMER KZ LXV 103 (to Lith *pliūšė* 'rush, reed'); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 297-299 (borrowed from Rom **vivula* 'viola'); FRISK II 765-766; ÇABEJ St. I 201-202 (from IE **spel-* 'to split').

fyl adj. 'hollow'. Akin to *fyell* (ÇABEJ St. I 202-203). Note *fyčkë* 'hollow, stupid' and *fyrhë* 'hollow' < **fylbë* derived from *fyl*. It is possible that *fyshtë* 'thoroughly baked (of bread)' and *fyshtër* 'Forsythia' also belong here (ibid.).

fyt m 'throat, gullet'. From PALb **spūta* etymologically related to Lat *spuō* 'to spit', *spūtum* 'spittle', Gk πτύω 'to spit' and the like (BARIĆ ARSt I 25). ◊ MEYER Wb. 115 (borrowed from Lat *fūtis* 'vessel, pitcher'); TREIMER KZ LXV 112 (to Skt *sphāvayati* 'to fatten, to strengthen' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 121, *Stratificazione* 88; FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; ÇABEJ St. VII 217, 258.

fytyrë f, pl. *fytyra* 'face'. Borrowed from Lat *factūra* 'formation, creature' (MEYER Wb. 116). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 305 (from Lat *faciēs* 'face'); BARIĆ AArbSt I 144; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1055 (from Ital *fattura* 'magic'); TAGLIAVINI St. *albanesi* III - IV 222, *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 45-49; ÇABEJ St. I 203 (agrees with MEYER); LANDI *Lat.* 68, 121.

G

gabonjë f, pl. *gabonja* 'eagle'. A suffixal formation in *-onjë* based on **gabë*, related to *shkabë* id. The latter consists of the prefix *sh-* and

the same stem (JOKL *LKUBA* 244, 304). The source is PALb **gabā* that seems to go back to a cultural *Wanderwort* also attested in Lat *capys*, *capus* 'bird of prey' (ibid.). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

gacě f, pl. *gaca* 'heat, hot ashes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **garьsa*, diminutive of **garь* 'ash, fire'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 21 (from IE **g^hor-ti-ā*, to **g^her-* 'to be hot'), ZONF X 186; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 48; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; DEMIRAJ *AE* 174-175 (borrowed from Turk *garra* 'shining' or *kor*).

gagaç m, pl. *gagaçë* 'stammerer'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **gagačь* derived from **gagati* 'to cackle, to shout', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Maced *gaga*, SCr *gagati*.

gajgě f, pl. *gajga* 'kind of nut'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav **galьka* derived from **gal'a* 'lump, pebble'.

gajushě f, pl. *gajusha* 'bush, shrubbery'. Derivative of **gaj* borrowed from Slav **gajь* 'grove, bush', cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *gaj*, Slovene *gaj* (POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78).

gak m, pl. *geqe* 'boar'. From PALb **gauka*, a derivative of IE **g^hou-* 'dung, excrements', similar to Maced γοτάν (leg. γοῦταν)· ὄν (Hes.) ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 117-118 (comparisons with Fr *coche* and Germ *Hacksch* 'breeding boar'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328 (secondary form of plural as demonstrated by the lack of palatalization in *g-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136-137; POKORNY I 484; ÇABEJ *St.* I 203-204 (related to *hakoç*).

galamsh m, pl. *galamsha* 'lame person'. A prefixal derivative of *lēmsh* (MEYER *Wb.* 119, 243). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 80-81 (from **g^hou- + lam-sh*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 107 (prefix *ga-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 204.

galě f, pl. *gala* 'jackdaw; black sheep'. Borrowed from Slav **gal'a* 'black animal, jackdaw' (MEYER *Wb.* 118). While the meaning 'black sheep' is attested in SCr *galja*, the meaning 'jackdaw' is known only in East Slavic: ORuss and Russ *gal'a*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 146.

galině f 'lump of earth'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **golina*

'empty place, hill without grass', with the unstressed *-o- rendered as -a-.

gamis aor. *gamita* 'to bark'. Borrowed from Slav **gamiti* 'to shout, to be noisy' unattested in South Slavic.

gamule f, pl. *gamule* 'heap'. A singularized plural of *gamulë* id. going back to PALb **gamula* and etymologically identical with Lith *gāmulas* 'bale, lump', Slav **gomola* id. The metathetized form *magulë* was borrowed to Rum *măgură*. ◇ CIHAC I 152 (Rum *măgură* from Lat *macula* = *maculum* 'bag'); MEYER *Wb.* 118-119 (to Slav **mogyla* 'tomb, hill'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 18-19 (to Slav **mogo* 'I can'); SCHWARZ *AfslPh* XLI 139 (borrowed from early Proto-Slavic **magŭla*); VALEK *ČMMZ* 14 (to Pre-Rom *ma-* and Slav **gora* 'mountain'); ŠAHMATOV *AfslPh* XXXIII 91 (to Celt **mogo-* 'great'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 467 (to Av *maṣa-* 'hole, pit'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; FRAENKEL 132; POP *RP* 234-257; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ZALIZN'AK *VSSja* 40; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 18-19; OREL *OLA* 1981 301-306 (a suffixal derivative of IE **dhǵhōm* 'earth').

gand m 'accident, vice, defect'. From PALb **ganda* further connected with Lith *gañdas* 'rumor', *gañdinti* 'to frighten', Latv *gañdēt* 'to spoil'. ◇ HELBIG 61, 121 (connected with *gēnjej* 'to deceive', of Italian origin); FRAENKEL 138-139; ÇABEJ *St.* I 204 (identical with *ganë*, participle of *gas*, cf. *ngas*); AJETI *ZfBalkV*/2 142-143 (*gandoj* from SCr *ganuti*).

gangull adv. 'whole; poached (of egg)'. Goes back to PALb **gangula*, a suffixal derivative of **ganga* connected with Lith *gānga* 'movement', *gāngytis* 'to move'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Gk γογγύλος); FRAENKEL 134.

garbe f, pl. *garbe* 'flower-pot'. A singularized plural of the original *garbë* going back to PALb **gar(i)bā*. As the Slavic word for 'pot' **gъrnъ* derived from the name of 'oven' **gъrnъ* and further from IE **g^hher-* 'to burn', the Albanian lexeme is derived from the same Indo-European root. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 210-211, *Rem. term.* 190-201.

garbë f, pl. *garba* 'notch, nick'. Goes back to PALb **garbā* etymologically related to OIr *gerbach* 'wrinkled', ON *korpna* 'to get wrinkled',

OPrus **garbis* 'mountain', Slav **gъrbъ* 'hump' and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 78; FRAENKEL 135; SLAWSKI *SEP* I 256.

gardh m, pl. *gardhe, gjerdhe* 'fence'. Continues PALb **garda* related to Goth *gards* 'house', Lith *gařdas* 'fence', Slav **gordъ* 'town, fence' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 119-120, *Alb. St.* III 9, 72). Geg *gardhën* 'croze' is derived from *gardh*. Rum *gard* is an early Albanian loanword. ◇ WEIGAND *BA* IV 26-27 (borrowed from Slav **gordъ*); SKOK *Slavia* III 115 (follows WEIGAND); FEIST *Goth.* 197-198; SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 147, 319 (a Slavic loanword); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 297-301 (corroborates MEYER's view); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122, *Origini* 308; MANN *Language* XVII 19, *Language* XXVIII 35; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 246; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 37-38; ÇABEJ *St.* I 205; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; MURATI *Probleme* 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

garë f, pl. *gara* 'competition, race'. Continues PALb **garā* probably connected with Gk χαίρω 'to rejoice' and its derivatives, cf. in particular Gk χάρμη 'joy of battle; battle, fight'. Together with χαίρω, *garë* belongs to IE **ǵher-* 'to wish, to feel inclination'. ◇ POKORNY I 440-441; FRISK II 1062-1064.

gargull adv. 'full'. From PALb **garg-ula* related to Lith *gařgalas, gargōlas* 'thickening, knotted thread, thread' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ FRAENKEL 134.

gargull m, pl. *garguj* 'starling'. A more rare variant is *garbull*. The source of this loanword is Rom **galbulus* 'blackbird' (MEYER *Wb.* 119). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26 (from Lat *galgulus*); HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 206.

garris aor. *garrita* 'to neigh'. Borrowed from an expressive verb, Slav **gavъriti ~ *gavъrati* 'to tease, to spoil', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gavr'a*, SCr *gavrati*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 119 (borrowed from Lat *garrīre* 'to chatter'); HAARMANN 128; TZITZILIS *LB* XXX/2 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 206 (onomatopoeia); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 112-113.

gashtellë f, pl. *gashtellë* 'knee-cap'. A suffixal derivative of *gashtë* id.

that may be identified with *gashtë* 'whetstone'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244 (to *shtjell*).

gashtë f, pl. *gashta* 'whetstone'. From PALb **galstā*, a suffixal derivative related to Lith *gālas* 'end', Latv *gals* id. A similar motivation in a word for 'whetstone' may be traced in Lith *budē* 'fungus; whetstone'. On the other hand, it is extremely tempting to compare *gashtë* with Lith *galđsti* 'to sharpen', *galástuvus* 'whetstone', Latv *galuōda* 'whetstone' but this is only possible if these verbs are analyzed as **gal-and-*, i.e. not according to the accepted view according to which **gland-* is reconstructed. ◇ BÜGA I 324; FRAENKEL 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 244.

gatë f, pl. *gata* 'heron'. From PALb **gatā* continuing **ǵhntā*, a derivational variant of IE **ǵhan-s-* 'goose', cf. Gmc **ganta* < IE **ǵhand-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 121 (borrowed from Rom **ganta* 'stork, wild goose' > Fr *jante*, Prov *ganta* with serious phonetic and dialectal complications); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 412-413; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (from Rom **catta*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAARMANN 116.

gatuaj ~ **gatiej** aor. *gatova* 'make ready, prepare'. Note that *gat* 'ready', *gati* id. are secondary formations based on the verb which is an early Slavic loanword, from **gotovati*, **gotoviti* 'make ready, prepare'. As in *patkua* < **podъkova*, -ua- < **-ōu-* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; JOKL *IF* XLIX 277) renders Slav **-ova-* with a bilabial *v* [u] (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70). Rum *gata* 'ready' was borrowed from Albanian. ◇ CAMARDA I 130 (to Gk ἀγαθός 'good, fine'); MEYER *Wb.* 121 (treats *gat* and Slav **gotovъ* 'ready' as cognates), Alb. *St.* III 7, 23; JOKL *IF* XLIX 290, L 36; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; HAMP *RRL* XVIII/4 333-345; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 70-72; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 152.

gath m, pl. *gathë* 'catkin'. A diminutive in -th of an unattested **gat* borrowed from Rom **gat(t)us* 'cat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). For the meaning cf. Germ *Kätzchen* and E *catkin*.

gavër f, pl. *gavra* 'hole'. From PALb **ga-wara*, a prefixal derivative related to *varr* (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

gaz m, pl. *gaze* 'joy, laughter'. From Lat *gaudium* 'joy' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 120). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 267; HAARMANN 128; HULD 65-66; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 125.

gdhe ~ **gdhë** m, pl. *gdhenj* 'gnarl, knot'. Another variant in Tosk is *gdhë*. From PALb **ga-daina*, a prefixal formation based on an adjective in *-no- that belongs to the same root as Skt *dáyate* 'to divide', Gk δαίωμαι id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (links *gdhe* to *gdhend* and, further, to *vgje*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (connects *gdhe* with *gdhend*); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *tanna* 'fir-tree'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

gdhend aor. *gdhenda* 'to plane'. In Old Albanian there is a parallel form *dhend* (BOGDANI). A denominative verb derived from *gdhe* with a suffix -d- < *-t-. Thus, one might reconstruct PALb **ga-den-ta* ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (compares *gdhend* with *vgje*); JOKL *Studien* 21-22 (to ON *detta* 'to hit, to strike'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106; FRISK I 341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21; POKORNY I 175-176; ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (follows JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 175-176.

gdhij ~ **gdhîj** aor. *gdhiva* ~ *gdhina* 'to stay awake at night'. Also used impersonally as *u gdhi* 'the day began'. Goes back to a prefixal **ga-deinja* related to *din* (JOKL *Studien* 22). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242 (from **ditnja*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176.

gegë m, pl. *gegë* 'Geg, North Albanian'. An onomatopoeia of babbling, indistinct speech as contrasted to *shqipe*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 249.

gem m 'branch'. Together with *gemb* id., a phonetic variant of *gjemb* (JOKL *Studien* 26-28). The adjective *gemtë* 'crooked' is derived from *gem*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 122 (from Ital *gambo* 'stem, stalk'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (agrees with JOKL).

ger m, pl. *gera* 'squirrel'. From PALb **gaura* related to Lith *gaūras* 'hair, down, tuft of hair', Latv *gauri* 'pubic hair', Mlr *gúaire* 'hair' and describing the squirrel as 'furry'. ◇ FRAENKEL 140; POKORNY I 397-398.

gëlbazë f, pl. *gëlbaza* 'liver illness of sheep caused by worms'. Another variant is *këlbazë*. Borrowed from Slav **kъlbasa* 'stuffed gut, sausage', a derivative of **kъlbъ* 'stomach (of animals)' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). The irregular change of Slav *-s- > Alb -z- is explained

by the analogical influence of suffixal forms in *-az(ë)*. Rum *gälbează, cälbează* is borrowed from Albanian. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to *qelb*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 155 (to *kalb*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224, 233.

gëloj aor. *gëlova* 'to burst out; to be gathered, to be accumulated, to blaze (of fire)'. A denominative continuing PAIb **gal-ānja* related to OHG *quellan* 'to well up, to pour out, to stream from', Skt *gālati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze'. ◇ KLUGE 574; MAYRHOFER I 329; POKORNY I 471-472.

gëlltis aor. *gëlltita* 'to swallow'. Borrowed from Slav **gьltati ~ *gьltiti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gьltam* 'to swallow', SCr *gutati* 'to swallow', *gutiti* 'to squeeze', Slovene *goltiti* 'to swallow' (SVANE 254).

gëras aor. *gërita* 'to creak'. An onomatopoeia of uncertain origin.

gërbë f, pl. *gërba* 'hump'. Borrowed from Slav **gьrba* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123), cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gьrba*, SCr *grba*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188, 195; SVANE 184.

gërbulë f 'mange, scab, lepra'. From PAIb **garb-uli-*. Derived from *garbë* 'notch, nick' and thus formally identical with Lith *garbūlis* 'hair-lock'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gërvish*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 95 (derivative of *kalb*); FRAENKEL 154; ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (agrees with LA PIANA).

gërç m 'convulsion, cramp'. Borrowed from Slav **gьrčь* id., a variant of **kьrčь*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grčь*, SCr *grč* (MEYER *Wb.* 125). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SVANE 184, 232.

gërçak m 'jug, pitcher'. Another variant is *kërçak*. Borrowed from Slav **kьrčagъ* 'clay vessel, pitcher', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *krъčagъ*, Bulg *kьrčag*, SCr *krčag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 190). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78; SVANE 74.

gërdallë f 'old horse'. Derivative based on Slav **gьrdъ* 'ugly, bad; proud', cf. *gërditet*.

gěrditet refl. 'to feel sickened, to be sick'. Borrowed from Slav **gъrditi* 'to be proud', in some languages also - 'to feel bad, to be sick' as in SCr *grditi*, Slovene *grdeti se* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 289; SVANE 182, 232.

gěrdhatë f, pl. *gěrdhata* 'barren, rugged mountain chain'. As well as *gerdhele* 'boulder, clod' and *gerdhet* 'cellar', a derivative of *gardh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (divides *gerdhet* into a prefix *ge(r)-* and a root *dhe* 'earth').

gěrdhij aor. *gěrdhiva* 'to scratch'. Continues PALb **grad-inja*, a denominative verb with **grad-* < **ghr̥ndh-* related to OE *grindan* 'to grind', Lith *gréndžiu*, *grésti* 'to scrape, to scratch'. ◇ FRAENKEL 167; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 137-138.

gěrfej m 'cave with two entrances'. Apparently, this dialectal word from Mirdita was misinterpreted as far as its meaning is concerned. Perhaps, the original meaning was 'study, office room'. Its source is, clearly, MGk γραφεῖον 'record-office, registry'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (prefix *gěr-* followed by *-fej*, plural of *fyell*).

gěrgalle f, pl. *gěrgalle* 'rocky area'. A singularized plural of **gěrgallë* further related to *gargull* and continuing PALb **garg-alā*.

gěrgas aor. *gěrgita* 'to irritate, to incite'. Borrowed from SCr *grgati* 'to tinkle, to putter, to pick (teeth or nose)'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 123 (onomatopoeia); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

(G) **gěrhanë** f, pl. *gěrhanë* 'card, hackle'. Another form is *kërhanë*. Singularized plural of *krehër* ~ *krahen* 'comb' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 208). Note the voicing of the initial *k-* as in many other examples.

gěrhas aor. *gěrhita* 'to snore'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrxati* 'to cough, to expectorate', represented in South Slavic by SCr *krhati* (MEYER *Wb.* 123-124, *Alb. St.* IV 103). ◇ LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (reconstructs **gri-khak-īō*), *St. Varia* 32-33 (from **gher-ghark-īō*, to Skt *gharghara-* 'thundering, ringing'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 208-209 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of *grahmë*); SVANE 261.

gěrk m, pl. *gěrqe* 'Greek'. A parallel form of singular is *gěrq*. Borrowed from Slav **grькъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grьk*, SCr *grk* (MEYER

Wb. 124). The feminine form *gërqinjë* goes back to Slav **grьkyni* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20). Cf. also *grek*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; ÇABEJ *St.* I 213.

gĕrlac *m* 'windpipe'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **gьrdlačь* or directly derived from Slav **gьrdlo* 'throat' (MEYER *Wb.* 124).

gĕrlas *aor. gĕrlata* 'to bend'. Of obscure origin.

gĕrlicë *f* 'turtle dove'. Borrowed from Slav **gьrdlica* *id.*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gьrlica*, SCr *grlica* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125).

gĕrmadhë *f, pl. gĕrmadha* 'ruin'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **gromada* 'heap, mass', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gramada*, *gьrmada*, SCr *gramada* (MEYER *Wb.* 124). ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 52.

gĕrmis *aor. gĕrmita* 'to pick, to gnaw'. A denominative based on *grimë*.

gĕrmoj *aor. gĕrmova* 'to dig'. A denominative verb derived from *gĕrmë* 'letter' in its otherwise unattested meaning 'line, scratch' so that the original meaning of *gĕrmoj* would be 'to scratch lines'. If so, *gĕrmë* must be considered a borrowing from ancient Greek rather than a loan from NGk γράμματα the only meaning of which is 'letter' and which is reflected in Albanian as *gramë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gĕrvish*), 128 (*gĕrmë* < NGk γράμματα); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254-255.

gĕrmuq *adv.* 'crooked'. An expressive derivative of *gĕrmoj*.

gĕrshas *aor. grisha* 'to invite'. A variant of *grish*, *aor. grisha id.* Originally, from PALb **grisa*, a zero grade of IE **gʰer-*: Skt *gr̥nāti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù, girti* 'to praise' (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 133). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (to Lith *gařsas* 'sound'), *Alb. St.* III 7, 72; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 224; HAMP *apud* SCHRIJVER *BC* 143 (to Celt **bardos* 'bard' < **barsdo-* < **gʰrs-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180.

gĕrshet *m, pl. gĕrsheta* 'plait'. A parallel form is *kĕrshet*. The source of this word is Gk κορσωτός 'tasseled (hair)', cf. also κορσωτήρ 'barber'.

◊ MEYER Wb. 124 (to Ital *grisola* 'wicker-work'); ÇABEJ St. I 209-210 (divides the word into *gĕ(r)*- and *-shet*, the latter to be compared with *shatĕ*).

gĕrshĕrĕ ~ **gĕrshanĕ** f, pl. *gĕrshĕrĕ* ~ *gĕrshanĕ* 'scissors'. Borrowed from Rom **carsānia*, an irregular phonetic transformation of **caesānia*, cf. Ital *cesoie* id. < Rom **carsōria*. ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (to IE **kers-* 'to cut'); MEYER Wb. 124 (reconstructs Rom **carpsōria* as a source); JOKL LKUBA 155-157 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); ÇABEJ St. VII 258.

gĕrthapĕ pl. 'garden scissors; claw, nipper (of a scorpion)'. Another variant is *gĕthapĕ*. Together with the umlauticized form *gĕthep* 'hook', continues PALb **ga-tsap-* related to *thep*.

gĕrthas aor. *gĕrthita* 'to cry, to shout'. A variant of *kĕrcas*, with the dialectal substitution *-th-* > *-c-* and the voicing of the anlaut. ◊ ÇABEJ St. VII 258.

χαίνω); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to various forms in *gĕrr-/kĕr-*); DEMIRAJ AE 177-178 (prefix *gĕ-*).

gĕshtallĕ f 'splint, piece of wood'. A parallel form is *kĕshtallĕ*. Goes back to PALb **ka-stalnā*, a prefixal derivative related to *shtjell* (ÇABEJ St. I 210-211).

gĕshtenjĕ f, pl. *gĕshtenja* 'chestnut'. Together with a parallel form *kĕsht-enjĕ*, borrowed from Lat *castanea* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 12; MEYER Wb. 191). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß ² I 1042, 1048; MIHÄESCU RESEE IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ St. VII 279; HAARMANN 115; LANDI Lat. 47-48, 81, 97.

gĕzof m, pl. *gĕzofĕ* 'fur, pelt'. Borrowed from Gk γαύσαπος 'frieze' (MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 29), the latter itself being an Oriental loan-word (from Akk *guzippu* ~ *kuzippu*). The phonetic details of the Albanian word, however, remain irregular: the place of the stress, the voiced

ER I 169; FRISK I 789-780;

er variant is *gĕrvisht*. As formation based on **gĕrvij*. MEYER Wb. 125 (from Slav

**garatjā*, a suffixal derivative based on *grij* (MEYER Wb. *alien* 9-10 (suffix *-esĕ*), 23-POGHIRC Ist. limb. rom. II

A denominative verb con-

our'. A denominative verb 24 (from **grĕd-*, cf. OHG VII 15, XXVIII 35 (to Gk

apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 585 (borrowed from an ancient Balkan language to Albanian and Greek), JOKL Beiträge (< **g^hōu-di-āpos* 'bovine'); FRISK I 202.

gĕzhøjĕ f, pl. *gĕzhoja* 'nut shell'. A singularized plural of *gĕzhollĕ* which is a metathetic form of *zhgoll* ~ *zhguall*. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *guall* (ÇABEJ St. I 211). ◊ HELBIG 78 (borrowed from Ital *guscio* 'nut shell').

gica pl. 'first teeth of an infant'. A word of the expressive vocabulary. Cf. also *gic* 'darling'.

gilcĕ f, pl. *gilca* 'sinew'. Other variants are *gilzĕ* ~ *kilzĕ* 'groin, hollow of knee or elbow'. The word is derived from an unattested **kilĕ* going back to PALb **kālā* and identical with Lith *kūla* 'thickening, swelling', Slav **kyla* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 306; TRUBAČEV ĖSSJa XIII 262-263.

gisht m, pl. *gishta*, *gishtëra* ~ *gishtna*, *gishtërinj* 'finger, thumb'. The Greek-Albanian and South Tosk form *glisht* leads to the reconstruction of PALb **glista*. Related to Lith *gĕlti* 'to prick, to sting', *gālas* 'end, tip' and

'crab, crayfish', Lat *cancer* id. ◊ MAYRHOF WALDE-HOFMANN I 151; POKORNY I 531.

gĕrvish aor. *gĕrvisha* 'to scratch'. Another derivatives in *-ish(t)*, this is a secondary. The source of the latter remains unclear. ◊ **grebq* 'to rake up').

gĕrresĕ f, pl. *gĕrresa* 'scraper'. From PALb derivative of an unattested *o*-grade noun **gara* 130). Borrowed to Rum *gresie*. ◊ JOKL Studien 24 (related to OHG *krazzōn* 'to scratch'); 3342; ROSETTI IJR I 278.

gĕrric aor. *gĕrrica* 'to scratch with nails'. Connected with *gĕrresĕ*.

gĕrryĕj ~ **gĕrryj** aor. *gĕrreva* 'to scrape, to scratch'. Connected with *gĕrresĕ*. ◊ JOKL Studien 23 *krazzōn* 'to scratch'); MANN Language X

the like (PEDERSEN KZ XXXIX 393; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 125). ◇ BOPP 498 (to Skt *aṅguṣṭhā-* 'thumb'); MEYER *Wb.* 141 (follows BOPP); BRUGMANN *IF* XI 285-286 n. 1 (to Gk βλεψέω 'to feel hens to see if they are fat'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Skt *aṅgūli-* 'finger, thumb'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 547 (to Slav **gъrstъ* 'handful'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 79 (to Arm *čiwł* 'twig, finger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123, *Stratificazione* 88-89; PISANI *Saggi* 132; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 124; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Ētimologija* 1986-1987 222-224 (reconstructs **glista* but connects it with *ngjis*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 178-179 (to *W bys*, OCor *bis, bes* 'finger').

glasë f, pl. *glasa* 'bird's droppings'. Borrowed from Rom **galliātia*, a derivative of Lat *gallus* 'rooster', cf. Rum *găinaț* 'fowl's droppings' < **gallinātia* (MEYER *Wb.* 122). ◇ PUȘCARIU *EWB* 60; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16 (from Lat *gallinācea*); LANDI *Lat.* 137-138.

gledhë f, pl. *gledha* 'caress'. From PAIb **gladā*, a substantivized adjective related to Lat *glaber* 'smooth', OHG *glat* 'shining, even, smooth', Lith *glodūs* 'smooth', Slav **gladъkъ* id., **gladiti* 'to caress'. ◇ FRAENKEL 158; WALDE-HOFMANN I 603; POKORNY I 432; TRUBAČEV *ĒSSJa* VI 114-116.

glepë f, pl. *glepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)'. Also attested as *gëlepë*. From PAIb **ka-laipā*, derived from IE **leip-* 'to smear with fat' (JOKL *LKUBA* 314). For the development of the prefix **ka-* see *gloq*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (thinks of OHG *chlēbēn* 'to glue'), *Alb. St.* III 31; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to MHG *klepe*); POKORNY I 670-671; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 101 (adduces a dubious variant *gëlapë*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 214 (against CAMAJ); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *lyej*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176-177 (to Gk *λοπός* 'shell, scale').

glinë f 'clay'. Borrowed from Slav **glina* 'clay', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *glina*, SCr *glina* (JOKL *Studien* 109). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 308; SVANE 169.

gliqe pl. 'knee tendons'. A suffixal derivative going back to **gëliqe* and further connected with *gilcë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 126 (borrowed from Slav **kl'uka* 'stick, cane').

glistër f, pl. *glistra* 'rainworm'. Derived from **glistë* borrowed from

Slav **glista* 'worm', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *glista*, SCr *glista* (SVANE 157).

gloq m, pl. *gloq* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes), testis'. Note a dialectal form *gēluq*. Goes back to PALb **ka-lāukja*, a formation with a prefix **ka-* occasionally voiced in Albanian. The stem reflects a lengthening of IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' and is also found in *loqe* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427). ◇ POKORNY I 687-690.

gllanik m, pl. *gllanikë* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav **golъnikъ* derived from **golъn'a* 'charred log, charcoal', cf. Bulg *glavn'a*, SCr *glavnja* (JOKL *Studien* 108, *LKUBA* 315). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 19-20 (from Bulg *klanik* 'space between the fireplace and the wall'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 216 (agrees with JOKL); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149, 307; KRISTOFORI 64; ÇABEJ *St. I* 211-212 (supports VASMER); SVANE 56.

gllavinë f, pl. *gllavina* 'wheel hub'. Borrowed from Slav **golvina* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *glavina*, SCr *glavina* (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◇ SVANE 35.

gobellë f, pl. *gobella* 'deep place (in water)'. Together with *gobetë* 'hollow', derived from **gobë* continuing PALb **gāubā*, further etymologically connected with Lith *gaūbti* 'to cover, to wrap', Slav **gъbnŋti* 'to bend'. ◇ FRAENKEL 140; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 188-189.

gocë f, pl. *goca* 'girl'. Derived from *gop*.

gocë f, pl. *goca* 'oyster'. Other variants are *guacë*, *guaskë*, *guazë* describing any shell. A derivative of *guall* (ÇABEJ *St. I* 212).

godas aor. *godita* 'to strike, to beat'. Borrowed from Slav **goditi* used in a meaning unattested in South Slavic (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◇ SVANE 229, 232.

godinë f, pl. *godina* 'building'. An Albanian derivative of *godis*.

godis aor. *godita* 'to build'. Historically identical with *godas*, this verb has a meaning developed in Albanian from a different usage of *godis*

'to fit, to adjust' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123). ◇ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; REITER *ZfBalk* VII/1-2 125-129.

gogěl f, pl. *gogla* 'ball, acorn'. A descriptive stem. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 78 (to *gogě*, an expressive word denoting 'Vlach'); JOKL *Studien* 24-25 (to OHG *chliuwa* 'ball', Lat *galla* 'gall-nut' and the like); DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (reduplicated stem related to Arm *katin* 'acorn', Gk βάλανος id.).

gogēsij aor. *gogēsiva*, *gogēsita* 'to yawn'. An expressive formation (MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◇ DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (to Gk χάσκω 'to yawn').

gojě f, pl. *gojě* 'mouth'. As immediately clear from the variant *golě* preserving -l-, this element of the basic vocabulary is an Italian loanword from *gola* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *gula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123.

golle f, pl. *golle* 'hole'. A singularized plural based on **goll* borrowed from Gk γωλεός 'cave, cavern'.

gomě f, pl. *goma* 'resin'. Borrowed from Rom **gumma*, a variant of Lat *gummi*.

gomilě f, pl. *gomila* 'heap of stones, stone hill'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *gomila* id., SCr *gomila* id., metathesis of Slav **mogyla* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19).

gop m 'vagina, vulva'. From PALb **gāupā* related to Gk γύπη 'cave', ON *kofi* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 21). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; FRISK I 335; POKORNY I 395-396.

gorricě f, pl. *gorrica* 'wild pear'. Borrowed from Slav **gorьnica*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gornica* (MEYER *Wb.* 127). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164, 309; SVANE 125.

gosě f, pl. *gosa* 'water-hole'. Continues PALb **gātjā* formally close to Slav **gaty*/**gatъ* 'dam, pool' and Skt *gātí-* 'passage, way'. ◇ TRUBACEV *ÈSSJa* VI 108-109.

gostis aor. *gostita* 'to receive guests'. Borrowed from Slav **gostiti* id.:

Bulg *gost'a*, SCr *gostiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 127).
 ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 212, 233.

gozhdē f. pl. *gozhdē*, *gozhda* 'nail'. Borrowed from Slav **gvōzdъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gvozd*, dialectal *gozd*, SCr *gvozd* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; SVANE 30, 88, 229.

gozhup m. pl. *gozhupa* 'lambskin waistcoat'. Borrowed from Bulg dial. *kožuf*, *kužuf* 'leather-coat, fur-coat', Maced *kožuv* id. continuing Slav **kožuxъ*.

grabē f. pl. *graba* 'erosion, hollowing out'. From PALb **grabā* etymologically related to OHG *grab* 'grave', Slav **grobъ* id. and other derivatives of IE **ghrebh-* 'to dig' (MANN *Language* XXVI 380). ◇ POKORNY I 455-456; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 133-134.

grabis aor. *grabita* 'to steal, to rob'. Borrowed from Slav **grabiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *grab'a*, SCr *grabiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 66 (related to Slav **grabiti*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 295; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 233.

gradē f. pl. *grada* 'nest'. Borrowed from Slav **gordъ* 'fence, wall, town', cf. Bulg *grad*, SCr *grad*. Note the change of gender in Albanian.

gradinē f. pl. *gradina* 'garden'. Borrowed from Slav **gordina*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gradina*, SCr *gradina*. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151; SVANE 58.

grah ~ **graf** aor. *graha* ~ *grafa* 'to spur on, to call, to roar'. From PALb **graska* etymologically related to Skt *gr̥nāti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriū*, *girti* 'to praise'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 128 (to Goth *hrops* 'call' and the like); FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200-201.

gram m. pl. *grama*, *gramra* ~ *gramna* 'couch-grass, knot-grass'. Bor-

rowed from Rom **grāma* (> Spanish *grama*) replacing Lat *grāmen* 'grass' (MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 147.

grashinë f, pl. *grashina* 'vetch, sweet pea'. Borrowed from Slav **goršina* 'pea', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *grašina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 185). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 326; SVANE 104.

grath m, pl. *grathë* 'tooth, prong (of a device), bristle'. A diminutive derived from PAIb **graba*, an *o*-grade noun related to *kreh*.

gravë f, pl. *grava* 'cave, den, lair'. From PAIb **gravā* etymologically identical with Lith *griovà*, Latv *grava*, *grava* 'ravine, precipitous valley', OPrus *grauwus* 'side' further connected with Lith *grīūti* 'to decline, to collapse', Latv *grūt* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). ◇ TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 342; FRAENKEL 171.

grazhd m, pl. *grazhde* 'manger'. Borrowed from South-Eastern Slavic, cf. Bulg *grazd* id. < Slav **gordjъ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 129). ◇ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

grebash m, pl. *grebasha* 'rake'. Borrowed from Slav **grebašъ*, a derivative based on **grebъ*, **grebti* 'to rake'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 109-110.

grehull m, pl. *grehuj* 'thicket'. Derived from *greh*, a variant of *kreh*.

grek m, pl. *grekë* 'Greek'. Borrowed from Lat *graecus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (from Ital *greco*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197 (agrees with MEYER); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; MILETIĆ *Sp. BAN* XVI/9 35-42 (from West Macedonian with **ъ* > [ä]); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; ČABEJ *St.* I 213 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE); LANDI *Lat.* 71, 140.

grellë f, pl. *grella* 'deep place'. Continues PAIb **gritlā* with a secondary *e* < **i* based on the analogy with *i* < **e* in singularized plurals. PAIb **gritlā* is formally identical with Lith *gurklỹs* 'crop', OPrus *gurcle* 'throat', Slav **gъrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* 'river-bed; opening'. Together with Balto-Slavic, the Proto-Albanian word reflects IE **gʷrtlom* (OREL *Fort.* 79). ◇ POKORNY I 475; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 204-205.

grep m, pl. *grepa* 'hook, fish-hook'. A more archaic form of the word is preserved in its variant *gërjepë*. It continues PALb **ga-repa* related to *rjep*. Note *grremç* < **grepç* id. as one of derivatives of *grep*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 129 (borrowed from Ital *grappa* 'hook'); SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 242; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* I 218 (on *grremç* as derived from *grem* ~ *grep*).

gërë ~ grenzë f, pl. *grera*, *gërëz* ~ *grenëz*, *grenza* 'wasp, hornet'. From PALb **graisnā* < **grisnā* that, despite its voiced anlaut, must be equated with Lat *crābrō* 'hornet', OHG *hornaz* id., Lith *širšuō* id., Slav **sršēnъ* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 346 (to Skt *gar-* 'to swallow'); JOKL LKUBA 89 (singularized plural in Geg); KLUGE 316; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk βροτή), *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 283-284; POKORNY I 576; VASMER IV 432; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

gërth m 'flax-combings'. Derived from *kreh* (MEYER Wb. 204).

grëmëratë f 'beestings, clots of curdled milk'. Borrowed from Lat *glomerātum*, participle of *glomerāre* 'to wind into a ball, to gather into a round heap', with assimilation of *liquida*. Borrowed to NGk γραμévατα with a dissimilation of sonorants. ◇ MEYER Wb. 130 (from Rom **cremorātum*), Alb. *St.* V 78-79 (goes back to Lat *glomus* 'ball'); PASCU RE 56 (from Arum **grumurata*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 258.

grifshë f, pl. *grifsha* 'jay, magpie'. Borrowed from Rom **gripsa* based on Lat *gryps* 'griffin'. The form *grizhël* 'magpie' seems to be a form of *grifshë*. ◇ CAMARDA II 71 (from Gk γρύψ 'griffin'); MEYER Wb. 130 (from Friul *gripp* 'kind of bird' or Ital *griva* 'thrush'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 214-215 (related to *krip* 'hair', *krife*).

grifshë f, pl. *grifsha* 'arbutus, wild strawberry-tree'. A metaphoric use of *grifshë* 'mane' for a bushy tree. Other variants are *krifshë* and *kripçë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 291-292 (to *krife*).

grifshë f, pl. *grifsha* 'mane'. Derived from **grifë* id., a variant of *krife*.

grigj m, pl. *grigje* 'flock, herd'. Another variant is fem. *grigjë*. Borrowed from Lat *gregem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1054 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 414 (links *grurë* to Lith *grūdās* 'grain, wheat', Latv *graūds* id., OHG *grūz* 'groats'); MANN *Language* XVII 13; MAYRHOFER I 439, 443; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 8; FEIST *Goth.* 309-310; WALDE-HOFMANN I 618-619; VASMER II 95-96; FRAENKEL 1314; POKORNY I 391; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HAMP KZ LXXVI 278-279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 218-219; OREL *Koll. Ig. Ges.* 351 (*-rH- > *-ř- > -ru- after labials and labiovelars); JANSON *Unt.* 83-84.

grusht m, pl. *grushte, grushta* 'fist'. Early borrowing from (South-Eastern) Slav **grъrstъ* 'handful, hand' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 133). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 32-33 (related to Slav **grъrstъ*); JOKL *LKUBA* 33; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 13; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

grykë f, pl. *gryka* 'throat'. From PALb **grīwīkā* related to IE **grīuā* 'neck': Skt *grīvā*, Av *grīvā*, Latv *grīva* 'river mouth', Slav **griva* 'mane' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438). ◇ CAMARDA 65 (correctly links *grykë* to IE **g'ēr-* 'to swallow, to eat'); MEYER *Wb.* 133 (compares, without certainty, with Slav **kъrkъ* 'neck', ON *kverk* 'throat' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XVII 15-16; MAYRHOFER I 353-354; POKORNY I 475; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (suffix -*kë*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 129-130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257.

grryke f, pl. *grryqe* 'cool wind'. A derivative of *gërryey*: a cool wind described as a scratching one.

guall m, pl. *guaj* 'shell, skull'. From PALb **gāla*, a long-grade derivative related to the dialectal Indo-European word for 'head' (and, originally, also 'tumor'): Arm *glux* < **ghōlu-*, Lith *galvā*, Slav **golva*. ◇ AČAREAN *HAB* I 565-566; FRAENKEL 131-132; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 221-222; POKORNY I 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236.

gugë f, pl. *guga* 'baby shirt'. An expressive word.

gul adj. 'hornless'. Attested only in Italo-Albanian. From PALb **gula* further related to OHG *kalo* 'naked, bald', Slav **golъ* 'naked', **guliti* 'to skin'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 209 (to ON *kolla* 'hornless animal'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.

gulçoj aor. *gulçova* 'to worry, to disturb'. Another form is *kulçoj*. Borrowed from Rom **colluctiāre*, cf. Lat *colluctārī* 'to struggle, to contend'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 209 (uncertain comparison with NGk κοτώ 'to risk').

gulm m, pl. *gulma* 'worry'. A derivative of *gulçoj* continuing **gulçm*.

gultoj aor. *gultova* 'to get rid off'. Borrowed from Lat *colluctārī* 'to struggle, to contend'. Cf. *gulçoj*.

gunë f, pl. *guna* 'goatskin coat with hood'. Borrowed from MGk γούνα 'fur' (MEYER *Wb.* 134-135). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from MLat *gunna*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (from Rom **gunna*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 39; HAARMANN 129; ZOJZI *St. albanica* III 319-337; LANDI *Lat.* 101.

gungë f, pl. *gunga* 'bump, swelling'. From PALb **gunga* etymologically connected with Lith *gugà* 'hump, hillock', *gungà* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 34). ◇ FRAENKEL 174-175; ÇABEJ *St.* I 219-220.

gur m, pl. *gurë* 'stone, rock'. From PALb **gura* continuing the zero-grade of IE **g^her-* 'mountain': Skt *girí-*, Av *gairi-*, Lith *girià* 'wood', Latv *dziria* id., Slav **gora* 'mountain, wood' (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *Wb.* 135 with much uncertainty). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 318-319 (follows MEYER and reconstructs **g^her-*); ; BARTHOLOMAE 514; JOKL *IF* XLIV 50, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127; MANN *Language* XVII 13; PORZIG *Gliederung* 198; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 153; MAYRHOFFER I 335; POKORNY I 477-478; HAMP *BSL* L 45; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 29-31; HULD 66-67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; WATKINS *Dragon* 164 (from IE **g^hrH-u-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.

gurmac m, pl. *gurmacë* 'small round stone'. Derived from **gurm* based on *gur*.

gurmaz m 'gullet'. A derivative of *kurm* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut *k-*. Borrowed to Rum *grumaz*. ◇ PUȘCARIU *EWB* 63-64; PASCU *RE* 56; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KALUŽSKAJA - OREL *SBJa Kontakty* 17-22 (comparison with Gk βάραθρον 'throat').

gushě f, pl. *gusha* 'throat'. Borrowed from Rum *gușă* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 135-136; PUȘCARIU *EWB* 64; MEYER-LÜBKE *ZfomPhil* XV 242; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 106-107 (from IE **gursjā*, related to *grykĕ*); PUȘCARIU *EWB* I 64; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; MURATI *Probleme* 130.

gusht m 'August'. Borrowed from Lat *augustus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 136). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 112; LANDI *Lat.* 91, 177.

gushtericĕ f, pl. *gushterica* 'lizard'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *gušterica* id., SCr *gušterica* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 220).

gutĕ f 'gout'. Borrowed from Rom **gutta* 'drop' used as a name of the disease, cf. Rum *gută* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 136 (from SCr *guta* id.); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 65; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* I 220 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE; LANDI *Lat.* 101, 127).

Gj

gjaj aor. *gjava*, *gjajta* 'to resemble, to be like; to suit, to become; to seem; to happen'. Dialectal forms *glaj*, *gĕlaj* require the reconstruction of PALb **ga-lanja* < **ga-lab-nja*, a denominative verb based on **lab-* etymologically identical with Lith *lābas* 'good', Latv *labs* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). Thus, the original meaning must have been 'to suit, to become'. Note another verbal form *gjas* 'to resemble' also belonging here and continuing **ga-labtja*. ◇ CAMARDA I 336 (to Gk γλάσσω 'to shine', an obvious derivative of γλαυκός 'shining'); MEYER *Wb.* 137 (related to *qas*), Alb. *Studien* V 79 (to Gk βόλλω 'to launch, to reach', Skt *gālati* '(he) drops, falls down'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 331; JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 221 (compares with Germ *glänzen* 'to shine'); PISANI *Saggi* 125; FRAENKEL 327; ÇABEJ *St.* I 221 (reconstructs **ga-laig-* and links it to Goth *galeikan* 'to please' but this ablaut grade is unknown in **leig-* ~ **lig-*); OREL *IF* XLIII 102-104, *FLH* VIII/1-2 43 (from PALb **janja* related to IE **iā-* 'to go, to walk').

gjak m, pl. *gjake, gjakra ~ gjakna* 'blood'. From PALb **saka* related to Gk ὀρός 'juice', Lith *sakaĩ* 'resin', Slav **sokъ* 'juice' and the like continuing an Indo-European word for 'juice' **sok'o-* (MEYER *Wb.* 136, *Alb. St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). ◇ CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk ἱχώρ 'blood'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128 (reconstructs **ǵ-* in the root), *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; FRAENKEL 756-757; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRISK II 405-406; POKORNY I 1044-1045; VASMER III 708; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279, *ZfBalk* XXIII 149, *VDI* 1986/1 130-144 (Albanian and ancient Indo-Europeans formulas connected with 'blood'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 254; HULD 67; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181-182.

gjalm m, pl. *gjalma, gjalmitër, gjelmitër* 'rope, lace'. From PALb **salpna*, connected with Slav **solpiti* 'to stick out', Lith *iš-selpinėti* 'to get divided'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 43, 89 (to Gmc **sailaz* 'rope'), *Alb. St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 286-287; JOKL *Studien* 47 (agrees with MEYER); FRAENKEL 971-972; VASMER III 714, *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 36 (rejects MEYER's etymology as far as Indo-European diphthongs in -i do not yield Alb -a-); PETERSSON *LUÅ* XIX/6 12-14 (to Gk ἄλυσις 'chain'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 58 (agrees with PETERSSON but treats -mit- in *gjelmitër* as a separate root); ÇABEJ *St.* I 222 (to Lat *glomus* 'ball' and the like); ANIKIN *Ėtimologija* 1982 65-70.

gjalpë m/n 'butter'. Continues PALb **selpa* identical with Gk ἔλπος·ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία (Hes.), Skt *sarpīs-* 'clarified butter', OHG *salba* 'ointment' (CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 503; MAYRHOFER III 446; POKORNY I 901; HAMP *Kratylos* V 105 (to *shtjalp*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HULD *KZ* CVII 169 (s-stem); DEMIRAJ *AE* 182.

gjallë adj. 'alive'. Reflects PALb **salwa* etymologically close to Skt *sārva-* 'complete, whole', Gk ὅλος 'whole', Lat *salvus* 'healthy', Tokh A *salu* 'completely' (MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 43, 75). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, *Kelt. Gr.* I 53; JOKL *Sprache* IX 122; LA PIANA *Studi* I 78 (to Lat *vīvus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 795; MAYRHOFER III 446-447; WALDE-HOFMANN II 472-473; POKORNY I 979-980; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *BSL* LXVI/1

223, *RRL* XXI 49-51; VAN WINDEKENS 412; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 205, 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 182-183.

gjarkëz pl. 'peritoneum'. A dialectal plural form of *qark*.

gjarpër ~ gjarpën m, pl. *gjarpinj, gjërpinj, gjarpanj, gjarpërinj ~ gjarpninj* 'snake'. From PALb **serpena* etymologically related to Lat *serpens* 'snake, serpent', *serpō* 'to crawl' and, further, to IE **serp-* 'to crawl' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43, 72). There is no connection between *gjarpër* and *shtërpinj* 'vermin, reptiles' (see *shtrep*) despite the widely accepted opinion. ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 235; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 113-114; ERNOUT-MEILLET 113; MANN *Language* XVII 17, XXVI 383; HAMP *Kratylos* V 105; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129, *Stratificazione* 137; PISANI *Saggi* 129; WALDE-HOFMANN II 524-525; POKORNY I 912; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HULD 67-68; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; JANSON *Unt.* 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 183-184.

gjashtë num. 'six'. From PALb **sešti-*, a derivative in *-*ti-* close to collective nouns like Slav *šest* 'six', *šestina* 'a group of six' (JACQUOIS *Le Muséon* I XXVIII 440).

mazli 129-130; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRISK II 1071-1072; WALDE-HOFMANN II 359; POKORNY I 437-438; HAMP *Laryngeals* 135; HULD

IE *St.* I 223-224 (related to Slav **goditi* 'to satisfy, to correct, to fit'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 232 (from **sh-ajelo*); *AE* 185-186.

gjela 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *gallus* *id.* (GIL'FERDING MEYER *Wb.* 138). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 3 I 1042; JOKL 105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; MANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 224; LANDI *Lat.* 28-29, 128, 138.

gjelbën adj. 'green'. Borrowed from Lat *galbinus* 'greenish' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.*

gjellë 'food; life'. A singularized plural of *gjallë* (CAMARDA MEYER *Wb.* 138 (borrowed from SCr *jelo* 'meal'); PEDERSEN *Gr.* I 45; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 217.

I 36; MEYER 283; *Kelt. G.* 383; HAMP 1044; MAY 528; HULD DEMIRAJ *St.*

gjalë adj. 'light'. From PALb European languages and the Latin word *gjalë*. ◇ MEYER W SEN *KZ* X3 (follows P nasal in the labic *-*g-*); WALDE-HO HULD 68; C

gjazë f 'riverside forest'. From PALb **sedjā*, a derivative of IE **sed-* 'to sit, to be settled', cf. in particular Slav **sadъ* 'garden, grove' derived from the same root. ◇ VASMER III 543-544; POKORNY I 884-887.

gjedh m, pl. *gjedha* 'cattle'. From PALb **sada* or **seda*, a deverbative based on IE **sed-* 'to go, to walk' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Semantically, cf. other descriptions of cattle as 'walking', i.e. movable: Gk πρῶβατα 'cattle, sheep', Hitt *ijant-* 'ram' and the like. ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 887; ÇABEJ *St.* I 223 (to IE **g^hōu-* 'cattle' and in particular to Slav **goveđo*); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 37-45; OREL *IF* XLIII 104-105 (from IE **g^hmdhos* connected with IE **g^hem-* 'to go'; however, the development of the umlauticized **a* to *-je-* is dubious), *Fort.* 79.

gjej ~ gjëj aor. *gjeta* 'to find'. From PALb **gadnja* < **gh^hnd-* etymologically related to Gk χάνδανω, aor. ἔχασθον 'to seize, to grasp', Lat *pre-hendō* id., ON *geta* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 10). The full grade is represented in refl. *gjëndem*, *gjindem* 'to be present'. ◇ CAMARDA I 285 (to Gk γί(γ)νομαι 'to be born'); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 105-106, *Sprache* IX 123; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 383; LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 312 (from Goth *bigitan*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 12-14, 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*

or to Slav **sestь* 'six', and further related to IE **s(y)eks-* 'six': Skt

Wb. 138, *Alb. St.* II 56-57, III 43). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI r. I 78; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MANN *Language* XXVI *IF* LXVI 52 *Numerals* 913; PISANI *Saggi* 106; POKORNY I RHOFFER III 407; WALDE-HOFMANN II 528-529; FRISK I 527-568; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KORTLANDT *SSLG* X 219; *F* XXI/4 132-134, *AE* 184.

'long'. Dialectal *glatë* reflects the older form of the anlaut, **d^hlata* continuing IE **d^hl^hgh-to-* and related to other Indo-European adjectives for 'long' reflecting *(*d*)*longho-*: Lat *longus*, Goth *lang* like (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545). *Wb.* 137 (compares with Slav **setъ* 'extremus'); PEDERSEN *XXVI* 308 (reconstructs **d^hlonghtas*); JOKL *Studien* 96 (PEDERSEN), *LKUBA* 315 (rejects the reconstruction of a proto-form); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 39 (suggests a syl- TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; PORZIO *Gliederung* 124, 190; FMANN I 820-821; FEIST *Goth.* 318-319; POKORNY I 197; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 35; DEMIRAJ *AE* 184-185.

145; ÇABEJ *St.* I 223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 184-185.

gjel m, pl. *gjella* 'yellow'. From IE **gel-* 'yellow'. Cf. *On.* 25; *IF* XXXI 104; HAARMAN *AE* 184-185.

gjelbër - 'yellow'. From IE **gel-* 'yellow'. Cf. *Wb.* 137; *IF* XXXI 104; *AE* 184-185.

gjellë f, pl. *gjellat* 'yellow'. From IE **gel-* 'yellow'. Cf. *On.* 25; *IF* XXXI 104; *AE* 184-185.

gjellëz f 'salt'. Another variant is *gillesë* 'salt, taste'. Although the comparison with IE **sali-* 'salt' could be tempting, connection with *gjellë* is much more probable. Thus, 'salt' is treated as a 'taste' of food.

gjem m 'bridle'. From PALb **jama* identical with Skt *yāma-* id. and forming one of the isoglosses of Albanian with Southern Indo-European dialects, particularly, in horse breeding (OREL *IF* XCIII 105-106). Note *gj-* as a regular reflex of the initial IE **j-* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). ◇ POKORNY I 505; MAYRHOFER III 2-3; OREL *Ētnogenez* 34-36; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

gjemb m, pl. *gjemba* 'thorn'. A Greek-Albanian form *glëmb* preserves the original anlaut *gl-*. Goes back to PALb **glamba*, comparable with Slav **glqb-okъ* 'deep' < *'hollowed', **glqbъ* 'trunk, stump, cabbage-stump', cf. also Gk γλάφω 'to scrape up' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Rum *ghimpe* 'thorn' was borrowed from Albanian. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to Lith *gėmbė* 'nail used to hang clothes' - impossible in view of the initial *gl-*), *Alb. St.* III 8, 36, 64; JOKL *Studien* 26-28 (to Lith *gelīù*, *gėl̃ti* 'to stick'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (against MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 367; FRISK I 311; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 231; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 141-143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 186-187.

gjep m, pl. *gjepa* 'spool'. A phonetic variant of *djep*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 138 (to *gjemb* and *qep*).

gjer prep. 'till'. Other variants are *deri*, *ndjer*, *ngjer*. From PALb *(a)*jeri* identical with Gk ἥρι < *ἥρι 'early' further related to Gmc **airiz* 'before, ere' (Goth *air*, ON *ár*) and Av *ayar* 'day' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 59-60 (to *ndër*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Lat *ferē* 'near'); FRISK I 643; FEIST *Goth.* 24-25; BARTHOLOMAE 157; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 175; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288-289 (to Gk μέχρι 'till').

gjer m, pl. *gjera* 'dormouse'. Borrowed from Lat *glīrem* id., with the long *-ī-* treated as a short one (MEYER *Wb.* 138-139). ◇ TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz.* XI 11 (related to Lat *glīs* and the like); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 104.

gjerb aor. *gjerba* 'to gulp, to drink'. From PALb **serba* connected with Lat *sorbeō* 'to sup up, to suck in', Gk ποφῶ id., Lith *surbiù*, *suřbti* id., Slav **srbati* 'to gulp, to sup up' (MEYER *Wb.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 36,

43, 72). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 237, 299; ERNOUT-MEILLET 636; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (reconstructs **ō* in the root); PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRAENKEL 945; FRISK II 663; CHANTRAINE 978; WALDE-HOFMANN II 561; POKORNY I 1001; VASMER III 604; HULD 143 (suggests IE **sorbh-ej-ō*), KZ CVII 169; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 273; ANTTILA *Schw.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 187.

gjerë ~ gjanë adj. 'broad, wide'. There also exists Tosk *gjërë*. From PALb **saina*, a zero-grade derivative in *-*no-* based on IE **sēi-* 'long, late', cf. OE *sīd* 'long, wide', Goth *seipus* 'late', OIr *síth* 'long', Lat *serus* 'late' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 28). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 292; FEIST *Goth.* 415-416; VENDRYES [S] 120-121; WALDE-HOFMANN II 526-527; POKORNY I 890-891; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 68-69; JANSON *Unt.* 28.

gjesht aor. *gjesha* 'to knead'. From PALb **jesja* identical with Skt *yásyati* 'to boil', Gk ζέω 'to boil, to cook' (MEYER *Wh.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 35, 292; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 327, *Kelt. Gr.* I 65; PISANI *REIE* IV 10, *Saggi* 102, 123; MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 629; FRISK I 612; MAYRHOFFER III 13; POKORNY I 506; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 152; HULD 99; ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Germ *kneten* 'to knead'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300.

gjeshtë f, pl. *gjeshtër* 'broom'. Borrowed from Rom **genistra* (cf. Ital *ginestra* id.) based on Lat *genista*, *genesta* 'broom-plant, broom'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237.

gjeti adv. 'elsewhere'. A number of parallel forms exist, e.g. *gjetiu*, *gjetkë*, *ngjeti*, *njeti* and the like. A fossilized form of aorist of *gjej* with various other elements including *kë*, acc. of *kush*, and *u*, reflective pronoun. ◇ CAMARDA I 307 (to *tjetër*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 225-226 (treats *njeti* as an older form and links it to Skt *anyá-* 'other').

gjetkëz f, pl. *gjetkëza* 'goose-coop'. Identical with OAlb *gjetkhë* 'stall, pen' (BARDHI) continuing **gjerdhkë*, a diminutive of *gardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 226).

gjeth m, pl. *gjeth* 'foliage, green leaves'. From PALb **gadza* with an irregular unvoicing of the auslaut or, rather, with a secondary *th*-suffix. The

variant with a voiced *-dh-* is registered by some scholars but it may well be an artifact. Etymologically connected with OHG *questa* 'tuft', ON *kvistr* 'branch', Slav **gvozď* 'wood, forest' (JOKL *IF* XXX 199-204, LKUBA 130, 221). Note the development of the initial cluster **gyo-* > **ga-* in Albanian. The form *gjeshk* 'dry leaves' is derived from *gjeth*. ◇ CAMARDA I 72 (compares with Gk κλάδος 'branch'); MEYER *Wb.* 138 (develops CAMARDA's etymology); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130; LA PIANA *Varia* 103-104; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; PISANI *Saggi* 125; XHUVANI *BUSH* III/3 93 (connected with *gath*); VASMER I 263; POKORNY I 480; TRUBACEV *ĖSSJa* VII 185-186; ÖLBERG *St. Bonfante* 562; ÇABEJ *St.* I 226-227 (to Lat *hasta* 'spear' and its cognates); HULD 69; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 187-188.

gjezdis aor. *gjezdisa* 'to go for a walk, to roam'. An early borrowing from Slav **jězditi* 'to ride' with the initial *j-* substituted by Alb *gj-*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jazd'a*, SCr *jezditi* (OREL *Festschr.* Shevoroshkin 262).

gjē ~ gjā f, pl. *gjēra ~ gjana* 'thing'. From PALb **san(s)* going back to the participle of IE **es-* 'to be', **sont-s-*: Skt *sant-*, Gk ὄν and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 139). ◇ MAYRHOFER III 425-426; FRISK I 463-464; POKORNY I 341; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 212; HULD 69; JANSON *Unt.* 27-28; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188.

gjēlpërē ~ gjylpanē f, pl. *gjēlpëra ~ gjylpana* 'needle'. Goes back to **salpanā* further connected with *gjalm* and its cognates. The Geg vocalism in *gjylpanē* is secondary. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 143 (borrowed from Rom **acūcula panī*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 34 (to IE **gʰel-* 'to stick, to prick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 131-132; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from **sajil-pətno-* 'eye-thread').

gjěmoj aor. *gjěmova* 'to resound, to rumble, to thunder, to shout'. As the variant *glěmoj* shows, there was *gl-* in the anlaut. Borrowed from Lat *clāmāre* 'to cry, to shout', with the voicing of the initial group *cl-*. The noun *gjěmē* 'thunder, shout, illness' is a deverbative. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gemere* 'to cry, to shout'); MEYER *Wb.* 139-140 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128.

gjěmoj aor. *gjěmova* 'to run after, to hurry after'. A dialectal form of

gjurmoj, derivative of *gjurmë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to *gjuaj*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048, 1052.

gjëmtoj aor. *gjëmtova* 'to collect bit by bit, to gather'. Borrowed from Lat *collimitāre* 'to draw boundaries', *'to unite'.

gjëndër ~ gjandër f, pl. *gjëndra ~ gjandra* 'gland'. Borrowed from Lat *glandula* 'gland of the throat' with the dissimilation of *liquida* (HELBIG 120; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 22). Tosk variants *glëndër* and *grëndël* reflect the anlaut *gl-* and thus exclude the Italian etymology. Rum *ghindură* id. continues the same Lat *glandula*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (from Ital *ghiandola* 'gland'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1050, 1054 (follows MEYER); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 62; SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rum *ghindură*, Arum *glindură* id.); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 605 (from Rom **glandura*); MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 227 (follows JOKL); LANDI *Lat.* 47, 145-146.

(T) **gjër** m 'soup'. Corresponds to Geg *gjanë* 'mudbed, alluvium'. Goes back to PALb **jausna* related to Skt neut. *yūṣ* 'soup' (cf. in particular gen. sg. *yūṣnāḥ*), Lat *jūs* id., Lith *jūšė* 'fish soup' (if not from Prussian, cf. B1GA I 478-479), OPrus *iuse* 'soup' and the like (CAMARDA I 80). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to Lat *jentāre* 'to breakfast'), *Alb. St.* III 39; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 734; PISANI *Saggi* 248; FRAENKEL 191, 199; MAYRHOFFER I 26; WALDE-HOFMANN I 734; MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 629; POKORNY I 507; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; KARALIŪNAS *Baltistica* I 116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 227-228 (derivative of *gjë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 183 (borrowed from Slav **glěnz* 'silt').

gji ~ gjî m, pl. *gji ~ gjî* 'breast, chest'. From PALb **sina* identical with Lat *sinus* 'curve, fold' (MEYER *Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 67). ◇ JOKL *IF* L 45; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130, *Stratificazione* 89; WALDE-HOFMANN II 546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252.

gjije f 'stable, house'. A singularized plural of a form attested in Geg as *gjë* 'stable, pen'. Goes back to **saina* identical with the Baltic word for 'wall': Lith *siena*, Latv *siēna* further derived from IE **sēi-* 'to bind' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 129; FRAENKEL 782-783; POKORNY I 891-892; ÇABEJ *St.* I 228 (important lexical material but no etymology).

gjinde pl. 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *gentem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30; CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 141). $\diamond$ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 131; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 116, 146.

gjiðhë adj. 'all'. The dialectal variant *gjidhë* (cf. also *gillë* < *gjidhë*) seems

to be a direct continuation of PA to be a direct continuation of PA ed as *-i-*, cf. *mish*. The Proto-*gho-*, a suffix derivative of IE *gho-* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 4 the same meaning, in Dalmati *mazia* 130), with *-i* as in *një* ~ *gj* Germ *ganz* 'all' and Kurd *gi*, *gi* (*ganz*); AÇAREAN *HAB* II 4-5 *ισχύς* 'strength'; CAMAJ *Alb.* I 902-903; ÖLBERG *Gedenksch* HULD 69-70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188

derivative of an unattested **gjin-* (ÇABEJ count the cheese-making technology in an animal stomach and tying the latter), Alb **sina* identical with OIr *sin* 'chain', Av *hinu-* 'band' and further related to *ien* 28, *LKUBA* 89 (to Lat *serum* 'watery' X 153; BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 158 (comparison 4 (to Lith *gaižūs* 'rancid, bitter'), *AASF* *atificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVIII *μην* 'leaven'); VASMER *KZ* L 247 (to Ir *ge* XXXII 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124 -892; VENDRYES [S] 112-113; OREL ed from Slav **gliza* 'swelling', cf. *SCr* 'cheese making'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 189-190 (ke).

'. Borrowed from Slav **globa* having Slavic forms, Bulg *globa* and *SCr globa* (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296). $\diamond$ SELIŠČEV *Slav.* 7, 234.

ly, pine-weevil'. As another variant of

this word, *gjonth*, shows, it is a deminutive of *gjon* historically identical with *gjon* 'night-owl' and going back to the Latin proper name *Jōannes* > *Gjon*. $\diamond$ MEYER *Wb.* 141 (on *gjon* < *Jōannes*).

gjollë f, pl. *gjollë* 'clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep;

Gk *ἄλς* id., Lat *sāl* and the like (HAMP *GjA* VI 45). The Albanian *ā-* stem may well replace the Indo-European athematic stem with a long vowel in nom. sg. (OREL *IF* XCIII 106, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144). $\diamond$ JOKL *Studien* 29 (to OE *selma* 'bed', Lith *sūolas* 'bench'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Ir *síol*, Lith *sėkla*); FRISK I 78-79; WALDE-HOFMANN II 465-466; POKORNY I 878-879; DEMIRAJ *AE* 190.

gJORË adj. 'poor, miserable, wretched'. A suffixal derivative of *gjuaj*. Thus, the original meaning of the adjective is 'chased, persecuted'. $\diamond$ HAHN 30 (to *djeg*); MEYER *Wb.* 141 (from Turk *kör* 'blind'); JOKL *Studien* 109, *IF* XXXVII 113 (borrowed from Slav **gor'e* 'grief'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 324; XHUVANI *KLetr* I/6 6 (related to *djerr*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 229 (agrees with XHUVANI).

gju ~ **gJÛ** m, pl. *gjunjë, gjunj* 'knee'. Dialectal forms preserve the initial cluster *gl-*. Goes back to PAIb **gluna* dissimilated from **g(a)nuna*. The latter is a secondary *n*-derivative based on IE **genu-* 'knee': Hitt *genu*, Skt *jānu-*, Gk *γόνυ*, Lat *genū* and the like (CAMARDA I 39). As to the phonetics of *gju*, it is close to OIr *glúin* id. < **glūno-* with a similar dissimilation of sonants (MEYER *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 9, 67). $\diamond$ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 156; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 237 (on the inaccuracy of the Albanian - Celtic parallel), *Sprache* IX 156; PETERSSON apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *γίγγλυμος* 'joint'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127, *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; PISANI *Saggi* 131; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 275-276; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 159; MAYRHOFER I 429; WALDE-HOFMANN I 592-593; POKORNY I 380-381; FRISK I 321; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 229, 231; HULD 70; ÖLBERG *Studi Pisani* II 685; BORGEAUD *RRL* XX 4; JANSON *Unt.* 28-29; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 263; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 62; DEMIRAJ *AE* 190-191.

gjuaj ~ **gJUEJ** aor. *gjoja, gjuajta* ~ *gjujta, gjojta* 'to hunt'. Goes back to PAIb **jāgnja* based on the noun **jaga* > *gjah* 'hunt, hunting'. Further

to be a direct continuation of PA to be a direct continuation of PA ed as *-i-*, cf. *mish*. The Proto-*gho-*, a suffix derivative of IE *gho-* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 4 the same meaning, in Dalmati *mazia* 130), with *-i* as in *një* ~ *gj* Germ *ganz* 'all' and Kurd *gi*, *gi* (*ganz*); AÇAREAN *HAB* II 4-5 *ισχύς* 'strength'; CAMAJ *Alb.* I 902-903; ÖLBERG *Gedenksch* HULD 69-70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188

gjizë ~ **gJIZË** f 'goat cheese'. A *St.* I 228-229). Taking into ac the Balkans (putting cheese into **gjin-* may be derived from PA ON *sin* 'sinew', OHG *senawa*. IE **sē(i)-* 'to bind'. $\diamond$ JOKL *Stud* part of curdled milk'), *Sprache* with *urdhë*); LIDÉN *KZ* LXI 1 - XXVII 115-117; TAGLIAVINI *Str* 33; PISANI *Saggi* 102 (to Gk *ζεῖ* *seig* 'milk'); MINSHALL *Langu.* (suffix *-zë*); POKORNY I 891 *Ëtimologija* 1983 137 (borrow *gliza* 'calf's stomach used for (to W *hufen* 'cream' and the l

gjobë f, pl. *gjoba* 'fine, penalty the same meaning in its South (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; *naselenie* 144, 181; SVANE 20

gjoc m, pl. *gjoca* 'aphid, greenl

etymological connection is OHG *jagōn* 'to hunt' (HAMP *Laryngeals* 134). ◊ CAMARDA I 122 (to Gk δίζημαι 'to seek'); MEYER *Wb.* 136 (to Slav *ženq, *gъnati 'to drive away', Lith *genù*, *giñti* id.), *Alb. Studien* III 7; THUMB *IF* XXVI 18; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330-331; KLUGE 329; VASMER I 419 (follows MEYER); HULD 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 191-192 (to Lat *sāgiō* 'to feel, to suspect', OIr *saigim* 'to go towards, to seek').

gjuhë f, pl. *gjuhë* 'tongue, language'. Dialectal forms reflect the initial *gl-*: Cham *gluhë*, Calabr *gl'uyë*. From PALb **glusā*, further connected with the Indo-European dialectal word for 'sound' **golso-*: ON *kall* 'shout', Lith *gālsas* 'echo', Slav **golsъ* 'voice'. PALb *-ul- (> Alb -ul-, -lu-) seems to go back to *-l- so that the source of the Albanian form should be reconstructed as IE **glso-*, a zero-grade opposed to the full grade of Balto-Slavic and Germanic. ◊ CAMARDA 26 (connection with Gk γλῶσσα 'tongue, language'); MEYER *Wb.* 142 (to *gjuaj* 'to call, a secondary variant of *quaj* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 35 (to the Indo-European word for 'tongue', with *gjuhë* < **gl'undh(yā)* < **dlonghyā*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89-90; LA PIANA 94 (compares with Gk γλῶσσα); PISANI *Saggi* 102, *IF* LXI 146 (borrowed from Gk γλῶσσα); POKORNY I 350; FRAENKEL 131; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 34 (reconstructs **dlnghyā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (borrowed from Gk γλῶσσα), *Stratificazione* 89-90; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 219-220; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 268; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427-429 (to IE **gelə-* ~ **g'elə-* 'to swallow'); HULD 71 (from **ghnud-sk-*!).

gjumë m 'sleep'. From PALb **supna* identical with a nominal derivative of IE **suep-* 'to sleep' - **sup-no-*: Gk ὕπνος 'sleep', Slav **сънъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 32). In other Indo-European languages another ablaut variant **suep-no-* is represented. ◊ CAMARDA I 55 (to Gk κῶμα 'deep sleep'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90; MANN *Language* XVII 15, XXVI 387; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132; PORZIG *Gliederung* 179; PISANI *Saggi* 117, 127; VASMER III 716-717; FRISK II 970-971; CHANTRAINE 1160; POKORNY I 1048-1049; HULD 71-72; DEMIRAJ *AE* 192.

gjurmë f, pl. *gjurmë*, *gjurma* 'trace'. From PALb **surma*, a zero-grade variant of IE **sor-mo-* reflected in Skt *sārma-* 'flow', Gk ὁρμή 'assault, attack', further connected with IE **ser-* 'to flow' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 59 (borrowed from Romance

via NGk γοῦρμα id.), *Wb.* 142 (uncertain link to Ital *orma* 'footmark', Rum *urmă* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 103 (to Lat *serpō* 'to crawl'); MAYRHOFER III 471; FRISK II 419; POKORNY I 909-910; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216, 227.

gjuvengë f 'harlot'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. *juvenca* 'young', also 'young cow' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16). ◇ HAARMANN 131; ÇABEJ *St.* I 229.

gjykoj aor. *gjykova* 'to judge, to try'. Borrowed from Lat *jūdicāre* id. (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 142-143). As to *gjyq* 'trial, court', it continues Lat *jūdicium* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 229-230). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046-1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131; LANDI *Lat.* 101, 109, 112.

gjymtë adj. 'defective, incomplete, cripple, stunted'. Borrowed from Rom **junctus* 'joined' or secondarily derived from *gjymtyrë*. ◇ OREL *RRL XXXI/1* 3 (comparison with *gjysmë*).

gjymtyrë f, pl. *gjymtyrë* 'joint, limb'. Borrowed from Lat *junctūra* 'juncture, joint' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 143). Note the East Romance treatment of Lat *-nkt-* > **-npt-* > *-mt-*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; HAARMANN 131; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 49-50; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 89, 101, 121.

gjysmë f, pl. *gjysma* 'half'. A metathesis from a widespread dialectal form *gjym(ë)së*. The latter represents a formation in *-ësë* < **-atja* derived from **gjym* < PALb **jūmi-* or **jūma*, to be further compared with Latv *jumis* 'double fruit' (with an unexpected *-u-* reminiscent of the unclear Alb *-y-* < **-ū-*) and other continuants of IE **jemo-*: Skt *yamá-* 'duplicate; twin', Mlr *emon* 'twins', Lat *im-āgō* 'imitation, copy' (HAMP *Numerals* 920; OREL *RRL XXXI/1* 3-4, *FLH VIII/1-2* 43). Rum *jumătate* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◇ CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk ἡμισὺς 'half' with unsurmountable phonetic difficulties); MEYER *BB* VIII 192 (to Lat *semi-* 'half'), *Wb.* 143 (follows CAMARDA but treats *gjysmë* as a Greek loanword with *gj-* filling hiatus in ὁ ἡμισὺς); SPITZER *MRIW* I 322 (from **jumos* 'bound together'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 35-36 (supports MEYER *BB*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3244; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278;

MAYRHOFFER III 8; WALDE-HOFMANN I 680; POKORNY I 505; IVANOV *Bsl. Etnojaz.* 81.

gjysh m, pl. *gjyshë, gjyshër ~ gjyshën* 'grandfather'. From PALb **sūsa* identical with Skt *sūṣṍ* 'progenitor' further derived from IE **seu-* 'to give birth' (WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 243). Borrowed to Rum *ghiuḡ* 'old man'. ◇ CAMARDA I 72 (from **gēlysh*, related to Gk γάλως 'sister-in-law'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Rom **avūsius*); MEYER *Wb.* 143; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 176 (from Rom **aviūsius*); JOKL *LKUBA* 28-37 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Sprache* IX 152; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; MAYRHOFFER III 492; POKORNY I 913-914; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 330 (to γυγάι· πάπποι, Hes.); ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 198 (to Hitt *huhḡas*, Lyc *huga* 'grandfather'); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD *KZ* CVII 168; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (from **sauisja-* related to Lith *sāvas* 'own'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 192-193.

H

ha aor *hēngra ~ hangra* 'to eat'. Reflects PALb **eda* derived from IE **ed-* id. (HAMP *St. albanica* VIII/2 153-154). In Albanian, it is an accental archaism with a stressed thematic vowel in 1 sg. pres. **edá* < IE **edóm* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341). Pretonic *-d- > -h-, -ø- is regular (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 22-23), as well as the apheresis. The *nti*-participle *ngrënë ~ ngranë* is derived from IE **gʰer(ə)-* 'to swallow' (BOPP *Alb.* 82). The aorist *hēngra ~ hangra* is a secondary formation based on the original **ngra* and contaminated with the paradigm of *ha* (OREL *Ētimologija* 1982 154), cf., typologically, ME *geode* contaminated from *gān* 'to go' and *ēode* 'went' (KONECKAJA *Suppl.* 421-423). ◇ CAMARDA 132 (compares with Gk χαίνω 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER *Wb.* 144 (from IE *(s)*khed-*, Skt *khādati* 'to eat, to devour'), *Alb. St.* III 59; BRUGMANN *Grundriß* I 759 (from **ghz-*, cf. Skt *ghas-* 'to eat'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341 (compares *hēngra ~ hangra* with Arm 1 sg. aor. *eker* '(I) ate' and analyzes *hē-* as a continuation of the augment **e-*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 139-142; BARIĆ *ARSt* 26, 73 (agrees with MEYER), *Hymje* 43 (follows PEDERSEN in his etymology of *ha*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; LA PIANA *Studi* I 34, 96; PISANI *Saggi* 110, *Paideia* XXVIII 183 (repeats BRUGMANN's etymology); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 196-198; POKORNY I 287-289, 474-475; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 47; KLINGEN-

SCHMITT *Verbum* 279-280; ÇABEJ *St.* I 306; BADER *BSL* LXXI/1 97 (archaic thematic formations of **ed-*); OREL *Ėtimologija* 1982 151-156, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359; IVANOV *Slav.* 92-93, 185 (to Tokh A, B *śwā-* 'to eat'); HULD 72 (to Lat *avere* 'to enjoy, to be well'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (*ngrēnē* - to OE *grindan* 'to grind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 297-298.

habit aor. *habita* 'to surprise, to astonish'. Borrowed from Slav **xabiti* 'to destroy', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *xab'a*, SCr *habiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 144). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 191; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 133; SVANE 234.

hajmē adj. 'thin, lean'. Another derivative of the same root is *hajthēm* id. Both forms are based on *halē* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 231).

hakēl f 'fish bone'. Metathesis from **halkē*, a diminutive of *halē*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 231 (to *hokoç*).

hakarri f 'readiness for copulation (of pigs)'. From **harkrri*, derived from **hark*, see *hokoç*. From *hakarri* the verb *hakērrohem* 'to threaten, to frighten' is derived (ÇABEJ *St.* I 231-232).

halē f, pl. *hala* 'fish bone, splinter; pine'. From PALb **skalā* etymologically related to Lith *skalā* 'stick of firewood', Latv *skala* 'splinter (used to furnish light)'. This word is further connected with IE **skel-* 'to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 144, Alb. *St.* III 59). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXX 192, XXXVII 99, WuS XII 70 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; PISANI *Saggi* 122; FRAENKEL 792-793; POKORNY I 923-926; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk ἀλέω 'to grind'); HULD 151 (to Lat *alnus* 'alder'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148 (same as HULD, to Lith *alksnis* 'alder'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 233 (reconstructs **skolnā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 193-194 (to *elb*).

halbē f 'scab on the bark'. From PALb **skalbā* close to Latv *skalbs* 'sharp, shrill' with a further link to IE **skel-* 'to split', see *halē*. ◇ POKORNY I 923-926; ÇABEJ *St.* I 233 (to *halē* and *helm*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

hall m, pl. *halle* 'trouble, misery, plight, sorrow'. From PALb **skalna* connected with Gmc **skallaz* 'thin, dry, shallow' (E *shallow* and the like) ~ **xallaz* 'weak, tired' (MHG *hel*, *hellec*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 145 (from

Turk *hal* 'state, situation'); BARIĆ ARSt 26 (to Skt *khilā-*); ONIONS 816; OREL IF XLIII 107-108 (from **edolos* based on IE **ed-* 'to eat').

hamull f, pl. *hamulla* 'stubble-field'. A derivative in *-ull* based on *ha*. Thus, the stubble-field is described as 'eaten up'.

and **skara* connected with IE **sker-* (b. 146, Alb. St. III 31, 59). Note *hapē* RNY I 366-368; OREL ZfBalk XXIII/1 *angeals* 125 (to Hitt *apa* 'afterwards').

. Borrowed from Slav **vorhьbь* id., here we only find **vorhьbь* id. (MEYER

A nominal derivative of *harr* (ÇABEJ

r variants are *hardhje*, *hardhicē*, *hard-* all these derivatives must have been 'lizard' are safely etymologized as **gušcerъ* id.), *hardhē* continues PAIb with Lith *skerdžiū*, *skersti* 'to slaughter', 'to split', and with the *o*-vocalism - *t* 'to divide'. ◇ STIER KZ XI 223 (to οδείλω); MEYER Wb. 147 (a trans- IF XXXVII 110 n. 1 (related to Slav Phil XI 1700-701 (to Arag *fardacho*); 224.

re of unattested **harr* er connected with Gk 2; FRISK II 714-715;

ariant is *hjedh*. From *iozan* and other con- 'to throw, to shoot' *udien* 43; SPITZER IF with *šauju* 'to shoot');

harmĚshor m, pl. *harmĚshorē* 'stallion, stud-horse'. Borrowed from Rom **armessārius*, also preserved in Rum *armăsar*, a phonetic variant of Lat *admissārius* id. (MEYER Wb. 148). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1042; PUŞCARIU EWR 11; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 12;

ILADMAN 111.

harvoj aor. *harmova* 'to destroy, to exhaust'. Together with another derivative, *harmi* 'broken wind, pursiness (in horses)', goes back to **harm* continuing PAIb **skarima*. The latter is based on IE **sker-* 'to cut', cf. *harr* (ÇABEJ St. I 234-235). Note *harvoj* 'crumbled plaster; stone-pine' and Geg *hartinë* 'kind of pine' also belonging to this root (ÇABEJ St. I 235). ◇ POKORNY I 938-947.

harr aor. *harra* 'to weed, to cut down'. From PAIb **skarna*, a denominative related to IE **sker-* 'to cut', cf. Goth *us-skarjan* 'to tear out', Lith *skiriū*, *skirti* and the like (MEYER Wb. 148, Alb. St. III 59, 73). ◇ CAMARDA I 36-37 (to Gk *χαράσσω* 'to sharpen'); BUGGE BB XVIII 167 (to Lat *sariō* 'to hoe'); LEWY ZfslavPh I 416 (the same); JOKL LKUBA 156; BARIĆ ARSt 27 (from IE **sker-*); FEIST Goth. 534; FRAENKEL 808; POKORNY I 938-947; CIMOCHOWSKI St. IE 43; ÇABEJ St. VII 224; HAMP Laryngeals 129-130 (to Hitt *arnumi* 'to bring'); ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 126; DEMIRAJ AE 196-197.

harrje f, pl. *harrje* 'midge'. Historically identical with *harlë* 'kind of mite'. A diminutive of **harr*, *herr* 'small creature'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 234 (to *harr*).

SPITZER IF XXXIX 105-106; BARIĆ ARSt. 26 (to Gk *ἔσχαρος* 'kind of fish'), AArbSt. III 217; MLADENOV RFV LXXI 454-458; PETERSSON LUÅ XVI/3 40-41 (to Gk *κορδύλος* 'triton'); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 239, Stratificazione 137; FRAENKEL 797, 803; VASMER IV 572 (follows JOKL); TRUBAČEV ÈSSJa I 88; DEMIRAJ AE 194-195.

hark m, pl. *harqe*, *herq*, *herqe* 'bow'. Variant of *ark* id., borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (GIL'FERDING Otn. 26; MEYER Wb. 15).

harlis aor. *harlisa* 'to bring into high spirits (of a horse)'. Borrowed from NGk **χαπαλίζω*, a derivative of *χαρίζω* 'to do something agreeable'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 234 (derivative of *harlë*, variant of *harrje*).

'to cut, to split, to dig' (MEYER Wb. 148). ◇ POKORNY I 938-947; ÇABEJ St. VII 200; HAMP Lar-

harabel m, pl. *harabela* 'sparrow'. A form unattested in South Slavic (MEYER Wb. 17). ◇ SVANE 144.

harc m, pl. *harca* 'rocky landscape'. (MEYER Wb. 17). ◇ SVANE 144.

hardhël f, pl. *hardhla* 'lizard'. Other variants are *hucē*, *hardhushkē*. The source of **hardhē*. Since other words for 'diggers' (cf. Slav **aščerъ* id., **skardā* to be further compared with *ter*, to prick', Latv *šķērzu*, *šķērs*, Lith *skardūs* 'steep', Latv *skārd*, Gk *χαρδούν* *ζῴων ὁμοίων κρο-* formation of Lat *lacerta* id.); JOKL **aščerъ* id.); SCHUCHARDT ZfslavPh

(for a time)'. Note prothetic *h-*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 224.

harrok m, pl. *harrokē* 'he-goat'. A suffixal derivative related to Lith *skerýs* 'ram', Latv *šķēris* id., further to Gk *σκοίρω* 'to spring, to dance'. ◇ FRAENKEL 801-802; POKORNY I 934.

hedh aor. *hodha* 'to throw, to shoot'. Another variant of *harr* id. PAIb **skeuda* connected with ON *skjóta*, OHG *scōtan* continuants of Gmc **skiutan* 'to shoot' < IE **skeud-* (MEYER Wb. 150, Alb. St. III 28, 59). ◇ LIDÉN St. IE XXXIX 111; BÜGA II 200; BARIĆ ARSt 27 (to L

PISANI *Saggi* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; POKORNY I 955-956; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (to Gk ἄγω), *St. Whatmough* 88, *Ètimologija* 1971 268-269 (reconstructs **skeud-*), *St. albanica* X/2 86-88; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP *Laryngeals*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219, 250; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PALb **ks-*); HULD 72-73; DEMIRAJ *AE* 197-198 (reconstructs **skedho-*).

hedhe f, pl. *hedhe* 'dandruff'. Singularized plural of **hedh(ē)*, derivative of *hedh*. For the semantics cf. Russ *syp* 'rash' related to *sypat* 'to throw, to drop'.

hejē f 'food supply (for a year)'. From PALb **skaljā* identical with Lith *àt-skala* 'supply, stock' etymologized as a derivative of *skalà* 'stick of firewood', see *halē*. ◇ FRAENKEL 792.

hejzē f, pl. *hejza* 'water-shed'. Derived from *hejē* 'spear', see *hell* (GAZULLI 173-174). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 237.

hekē f 'agony'. From PALb **skakā* etymologically connected with Lith *šokti* 'to jump, to dance', Slav **skokъ* 'jump', OIr *scén* 'horror' < **skekeno-*. ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 125; FRAENKEL 1021-1022; VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; VENDRYES [S] 40-41.

hekur m, pl. *hekura* 'iron'. Plausibly borrowed from Gk ἄγκυρα 'anchor' (JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 236), cf. *hekur i anijes* 'anchor', lit. 'iron of the ship'. However, some phonetic details remain obscure. Initial *h-* may be secondary. As for *-e-*, it could well appear as a result of umlaut in plural and then in singular - a process widely spread in Albanian. This leads to the reconstruction of PALb **akura*. However, *-nk-* should yield Alb *-ng-*. ◇ CAMARDA 90 (comparison with Gk χαλκός 'copper'); MEYER *Wb.* 150 (compares with Skt *siñcati* 'to pour out, to sprinkle'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 43; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Arm *erkat*); IVANOV *SBJa Antič.* 21 (a farfetched hypothesis close to that of CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Goth *aiz* 'ore'), *StF* XXII (V) 121-122; IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.

helm m, pl. *helme* 'poison; grief, sorrow'. From **skal(i)ma* connected with *hall*. (OREL *IF* XC 107-108) ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (compares with OHG *scalmo* 'pestilence, epidemic', *scelmo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 59, 64; JOKL

Erf. Idg. 142 (to Thr σκόλη 'sword'); ; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk χάλιμος· φαρμάκος, Hes.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 236-237 (to *hell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 198 (compared with Skt *āla-* 'poison'; borrowed to Greek as χάλιμος).

hell m, pl. *helle, heje, hej* 'spear, spit'. Another form of the same word, *hejë*, is derived from plural. From PALb **skōla* identical with Gk σκῶλος 'pointed stake, thorn' (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124). Further related to IE **skel-* 'to cut, to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 386; HAMP *St. albanica* VI/1 125-126 (to OPr *aycolo* 'needle'), *Stf* XXII (V) 119-120; FRISK II 745-746; POKORNY I 923-927; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; ÇABEJ *St.* I 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

hep m, pl. *hepa* 'furrow, scratch'. From PALb **skapa* etymologically connected with *hap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 237-238; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72).

heq ~ hek aor. *hoqa ~ hoka* 'to draw, to pull'. In dialects, a more conservative form *helq* is attested. It goes back to PALb **skalkja*, a causative identical with Gk *ὀλκέω < **solkeiō* based on ἔλκω 'to draw' (CAMARDA I 81; MEYER *Wb.* 150-151). The initial *h-* in Albanian is irregular (HULD 73) so that an assimilative development **salkja* > **skalkja* must be reconstructed. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 278; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; ERNOUT-MEILLET 664; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (*heq* as a borrowing from Gk ἔλκω); PISANI *Saggi* 120; PORZIG *Namen* 236 f. (Greek data for the reconstruction of *ὀλκέω), *Gliederung* 172; FRISK I 497-498; CHANTRAINE 340; POKORNY I 901; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132 (suggests **Huolkeiō*); HULD 73 (groundless comparison with OE *ealh* 'temple, sanctuary').

herdhe pl. 'testicles'. From PALb **ardzai* related to IE **orghi-* ~ **rghi-* id.: Av dual. *arəzi*, Gk ὄρχις, Arm *orjik*, Mlr *uirge* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 151, *Alb. St.* III 18, 72, 86). The initial *h-* is a secondary prothetic consonant. ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 67, 275; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRISK I 433-434; CHANTRAINE 831; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (*h-* as a continuant of the Indo-European laryngeal); POKORNY I 782; VENDRYES [V] 20-21; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129; RIX *Münch. St. Spr.* XXVII 93 (reconstructs **Hrghijā*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 251; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; HULD 73-74; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

herdhe f, pl. *herdhe* 'nest'. A singularized plural of an unattested **hardh* < **skordhos* related to Skt *sārdhas-* 'herd, crowd', W *cordd* 'crowd' < **kordho-*, Goth *hairða* 'herd', Slav **čerda* id. (MEYER Wb. 151). These forms reflect a root with the alternation of **k-* ~ **k̑-* in the anlaut. In Albanian, the initial **sk-* must be reconstructed. ◇ BARIĆ ARSt 27; JOKL AArbSt I 38-40 (specially on W *cordd*); KLUGE 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113, *Stratificazione* 144; MAYRHOFFER III 310; POKORNY I 579; FEIST *Goth.* 234; TRUBAČEV ÈSSJa IV 60-63.

herĕ f, pl. *herĕ* 'time, moment of time, hour'. Borrowed from Lat *hōra* 'hour' (MEYER Wb. 151). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; ÇABEJ St. VII 200, 280; HAARMANN 129.

hermoj aor. *hermova* 'to dig'. Initial *h-* is due to prothesis. Borrowed from Rom **exrīmārī* 'to hoe, to dig out', cf. Lat *rīmārī* 'to hoe'.

herr m, pl. *herra* 'dwarf'. From PAIb **skarna* derived from IE **sker-* 'to cut', see *harr* (ÇABEJ St. I 238).

hesht aor. *heshta* 'to stay silent'. Derived from the interjection *hesht* 'hush' (MEYER Wb. 151). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; ÇABEJ St. VII 220.

heshtë f, pl. *heshta* 'spear'. A derivative in *-shtë* based on *hell* (JOKL IF XXXVI 124, LKUBA 214, 330). ◇ MEYER Wb. 151 (from Lat *hasta* id.); ÇABEJ St. I 238 (follows JOKL).

hetoj aor. *hetova* 'to search, to inquire, to discover'. The initial *h-* is prothetic. Borrowed from Lat *ēdictāre* 'to announce'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Lith *skairyti*); ÇABEJ St. VII 273.

hĕ ~ hĕ adv. 'now', interj. 'well'. From PAIb **skainai*, dative-locative of a noun related to Goth *skeinan*, OHG *skīnan* 'to shine', with a semantic development similar to that of E *in a twinkling*. ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 431; KLUGE 640.

hĕpĕrhĕ ~ hĕpĕrhĕ adv. 'just, actually, in fact'. A univerbation of *hĕ pĕr hĕ*, a sequence including the adverb *hĕ*.

hĕnĕ ~ hanĕ f *hĕna ~ hana* 'moon'. From PAIb **ksandā* further com-

pared with Skt *cāndati* '(he) shines, is bright', *candrā-* 'shining; moon' (MEYER Wb. 151, *Alb. St.* III 59). From the point of view of word-formation, the Albanian word is particularly close to Celt **kando-*: W *cann* 'white', MBret *cann* 'full moon'. ◇ SCHEFTELOWITZ KZ LVI 208 (to Av *sand-* 'to be visible'); GÜNTERT *Ablaut* 91-92; BARIĆ ARSt 27 (to Skt *chandati*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69-70 (reconstructs **skand-nā*); HASDEU EMR II 37; ERNOUT-MEILLET 92; MAYRHOFFER I 372-373; POKORNY I 526; ÇABEJ St. IV 57 (on the development of *-nd-* > *-n-*); HULD 74; SCHRIJVER *Latin* 428; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PALb **ks-*); DEMIRAJ AE 199-200 (to *hie* or to Lat *annus* 'year').

hi ~ hî m 'ash'. From PALb **skina*, a form with *s* mobile related to Lat *cinis* 'dust, ash' (MEYER Wb. 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 67). ◇ BARIĆ ARSt 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (reconstructs **skino-*); WALDE-HOFMANN I 217-218; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Skt *edhas-* 'fire-wood'); HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (groundless reconstruction of **Hidh-no-*); ÇABEJ St. VII 210; ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 124; HULD 74.

hidhët adj. 'bitter, sad'. Derived from *hidhem* 'to jump, to overflow, to walk over', reflexive of *hedh*. The verb *hidhëroj ~ hidhënonj* 'to sadden' has the same source. ◇ MEYER Wb. 157 (to Pol *jędza* 'fury' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 16; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk *αἶθω* 'to burn'); BARIĆ ARSt. I 28; LOEWENTHAL *WuS* XI 60 (to *αἶξ* 'goat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127 (to *hi*); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *scindō* 'to split'); DEMIRAJ AE 200-201.

hidhës m, pl. *hidhës* 'stinging nettle'. Related to *hidhët* (ÇABEJ St. I 238). ◇ MEYER Wb. 152 (uncertain connection with Gk *κνίδη* id.); BARIĆ ARSt 28; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk *αἶθω* 'to burn').

hije f, pl. *hije* 'shadow'. Singularized plural of an archaic *hë* going back to PALb **skijā*. This form is connected with IE **skāi-* ~ **skī-*: Skt *chāyā* id., Gk *σκία* id. (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER Wb. 149-150, *Alb. St.* III 59). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 60-63; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (separates *hije* from *he*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 439; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; FRISK II 730-731; CHANTRAINE 1017; MAYRHOFFER I 407; POKORNY I 917-918; ÇABEJ St. III 139, VII 277; HULD 74-75; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 33, 61; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46; *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PALb **ks-*); DEMIRAJ AE 201.

hikërr f, pl. *hikrra* 'sour milk; buckwheat'. This form, with a secondary prothetic *h-*, goes back to PALb **eikrā*, an *r*-derivative of *ik*, *ikëj*. For the semantic development of the Albanian word cf. Germ *gerinnen* 'to coagulate' < *rinnen* 'to run'.

hime pl. 'bran'. From PALb **skeidma*, a morphological innovation based on IE **skeid-men-*, further connected with Goth *skaidan* 'to divide', Lith *skiedžu*, *skiesti* 'to make thin' and, in particular, with Lith *skiemuō* 'opening used to insert the shuttle' < **skeid-men-*. ◇ KLUGE 641; FRAENKEL 805-806; POKORNY I 921; FEIST *Goth.* 427; ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (identical with *imtë*).

hime adj. 'grey'. Derived from *hi*.

hingël f, pl. *hingla* 'girth'. Borrowed from Rom **hinnicula*, derivative of Lat *hinnus* 'mule'.

hingëlloj aor. *hingëllova* 'to whinny, to neigh'. Borrowed from Rom **hinniculäre*, an expressive form based on Lat *hinnire*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 151-152 (connected with Lat *hinnire* 'to whinny, to neigh'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

hinje interj. 'behold, now, there'. A sequence of two interjections: *hi* identical with *hë* and *nje*, a form of *njoh* (CAMARDA II 156; MEYER *Wb.* 314). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (follows CAMARDA but also compares *hinje* with *inj*).

hip(ëj) ~ hypi aor. *hipa ~ hypa* 'to go up'. From PALb **skūpa*. If *s* mobile can be suggested here, the verb with its unusual long grade could be compared with Lith *kūpti* 'to rise', Latv *kupt* 'to gather, to build up'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 17 (to IE **upo* 'over, up'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 591; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127-128 (to Skt *úpa* 'up, hither'), *St. Whatmough* 88, *SCL XXVIII/1* 74.

hir m, pl. *hire* 'grace, favor, mercy'. From PALb **skīra* etymologically connected with Goth *skeirs* 'clear', Slav **ščirъ* 'clean' (MEYER *Wb.* 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 71). ◇ CAMARDA I 70 (identifies *hir* with χάρις 'favor, grace'); MIKLOSICH *Bulg. Siebenb.* 123 (from Gk χάρις); BUGGE *BB XVIII* 167 (to Gk σκίρον 'white parasol born by a priestess'); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (follows BUGGE); LA PIANA *Studi* I 66-67 (similar

to CAMARDA); KLUGE 647-645; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (agrees with MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 432; POKORNY I 917-918; VASMER IV 507-508; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$); ÇABEJ *St.* I 239-240 (singularized plural of **her* which, in its turn, is an umlauticized form of **har*; the latter comes from Gk $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$); DEMIRAJ *AE* 201-202 (possibility of *hir* borrowed from Gk $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'holy').

hirrĕ f 'whey'. From PAIb **ksirā* to be compared with Skt *kṣīrā*- 'milk', Osset *æxšir* id. (PEDERSEN *IF* V 45; KZ XXXVI 277). Note that Alb -rr- seems to reflect an intervocalic *-r-. ◇ CAMARDA I 47 (to Gk $\acute{o}\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ id., Skt *sarā*- 'flowing'); MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Slav **syrъ* 'cheese' - phonetically impossible), Alb. *St.* III 43 (to Lat *serum*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 28 (to Lith *kartūs* 'bitter'), AArhSt I/1-2 145-146; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows PEDERSEN); LIDÉN *KZ* LXI 9-10 (to ON *skyr* 'sour milk' < Gmc **skurjan*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 132; PISANI *Saggi* 132 (follows LIDÉN); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148-149; MAYRHOFER I 290; MILLER *Osset.* 15; HUBSCHMID *XII LFR* II 978 (connected with Mantuan *scaron* id. borrowed from Messap **skar*-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *LB* XXIV/4 49 (links *hirrĕ* to *urdhĕ* and reconstructs **skerHinā*); HULD 75; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; DEMIRAJ *AE* 202-203.

hisĕll ~ hīsĕll m, pl. *hisĕlla ~ hīsĕlla* 'burning nettle'. Goes back to **hithĕll*, a derivative of *hith*. Another form belonging here is *hiskull* id. influenced by *hisk* 'sharp and long (of bull's horns)'. Nasalization in Geg is secondary. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 240 (connection between *hisk* and *hiskull*).

(G) **hitas** aor. *hiteta* 'to hurry'. Borrowed from Slav **xytati*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *xitam* id., SCr *hitati* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 240). ◇ SVANE 256.

hith m, pl. *hitha* 'blight, burning nettle'. Apparently, from **hidh* with an irregular auslaut unvoicing (but cf. *gjeth!*), further connected with *hedh*, see JOKL *Stud.* 29-30. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Gk $\kappa\upsilon\delta\eta$ id.).

hjedhĕt adj. 'slim, long and thin'. Derived from *hjedh*, a phonetic variant of *hedh*. Note also *hjedhĕ* 'chaff' coming from the same source.

hjekĕs m, pl. *hjekĕs* 'mediator, accessory, receiver of stolen goods'. Derivative of *hjek*, a dialectal variant of *heq* (MANN *HAED* 160).

hobe f, pl. *hobe* 'catapult, sling'. A dialectal form of *bahe* (ÇABEJ St. I 240).

hoje f, pl. *hoje* 'honeycomb'. A singularized plural of *huall* (ÇABEJ St. I 240). ◇ MEYER Wb. 146 (to *halë*).

hokë f 'joke, jest'. An onomatopoeia imitating laughter. ◇ LA PIANA *Studi* I 95 (borrowed from Lat *jocus* 'jest, joke'); ÇABEJ St. I 240 (identifies *hokë* with *okë* 'measure of weight', from Turkish).

hokoç m 'uncastrated boar'. Other variants are *hakoç*, *harkoç*. A suffixal derivative of **hark* ~ **hork* imitating pig's grunting. ◇ MEYER Wb. 153 (to Pers *xuk* 'pig'); ÇABEJ St. I 232 (related to *harr*).

hollë adj. 'thin, fine, slender, slim'. From PAIb **skāla* further compared with IE **skel-* 'to cut': Lith *skeliù*, *skélti* 'to split, to divide', MĪr *scáilim* 'to let go' and the like (JOKL IF XXXVII 99). ◇ LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (to Slav **xoliti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows JOKL); BARIĆ *ARSt* 72 (to Gk σκῶλος 'picket, stake'), *Hymje* 34; FRAENKEL 800; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk ὀλέω 'to grind'); ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP); VENDRYES [S] 28-29; POKORNY I 924-925; ÇABEJ St. VII 199, 227; HULD 75-76; CLACKSON *LR* 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 203 (to Gk αὐλός 'reed flute').

hop m, pl. *hope* 'instant, moment; jump'. A descriptive stem, cf. *E to hop* (MEYER Wb. 153).

horr m, pl. *horra* 'villain, scoundrel, rogue, pauper, miser'. Together with fem. *horre* 'shameless woman, whore', it represents a pair of Germanic loanwords, cf. Goth *hors* 'adulterer' - ON *hōra* 'whore', OHG *huora* id. ◇ MEYER Wb. 153 (borrowed from Turk *hor* 'bad, small'); KLUGE 321; ÇABEJ St. VII 234; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

hu ~ hû m, pl. *hunj* 'picket, stake, pole, penis'. Continues PAIb **skuna* with a secondary nasal suffix, going back to the earlier **skuja* identical with Slav **xujъ* 'penis'. Further parallels are represented by OĪr *scé* 'hawthorn', Lith *skujà* 'pine-needle', Latv *skuja* id., Slav **xvoja* id. (PEDERSEN *Zb. Jagic* 218). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 29; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 83-84 (to Gk ξύλον); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15; VENDRYES [S] 37; FRAENKEL 821; POKORNY I 958;

TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 114; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE *sk- > PALb *ks-).

huaj ~ huej adj. 'foreign, strange'. From PALb *ksānja further connected with an isolated Gk ξένοϛ, Dor ξέννοϛ 'stranger, guest' (MEYER *Wb.* 154, *Alb. St.* III 59-60). ◇ CAMARDA II 204 (to Lat *hostis* 'stranger, foreigner, guest'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 124; PEDERSEN *IF* V 59; BARIĆ *ARSt* 29 (based on *ha*, cf. Lat *hostis* - Skt *ghāsati* 'to eat'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 106; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 93 (follows MEYER), L 55; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 333-334; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131, *Anc. IE* 116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 240-241 (adduces OAlb *uoj* as an argument against MEYER's etymology); HULD 76; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; DEMIRAJ *AE* 203-204 (semantically unacceptable hypothesis: from *ouos 'that' → 'other' → 'strange').

huall ~ huell m, pl. *hoje* 'honeycomb'. Goes back to PALb *skāla further related to *hollē* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 241).

hudhër f, pl. *hudhra* 'garlic'. A more archaic phonetic form is represented by the variant *hurdhë* continuing PALb *skurdā, etymologically connected with Gk σκόροδον id. (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *Wb.* 154, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59, 72). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 160, 331; BARIĆ *ARSt* 29; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78-80, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 121; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; FRISK II 738; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30, 121; CHANTRAINE 1021; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 344; HAMP *LB* XX 116-117 (reconstructs *o-grade*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 204-205.

hudhëroj aor. *hudhërova* 'to throw, to fling'. Derived from *hudh-*, a morphological variant of *hedh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

hukas aor. *hukata* 'to shout'. Borrowed from Slav *xukati id. (SVANE 257).

hulumtoj aor. *hulumtova* 'to follow up, to track out, to investigate'. A parallel form *hulmëtoj* is phonetically closer to the source which is Rom **inventāre* based on Lat *invenīre* 'to find out'. The complicated phonetic history of this word includes the assimilation of -v- to the preceding -n- and then the dissimilation of two nasals and the loss of the second one. Finally, a prothetic h- was added. The irregularities may reflect an unusual way of the word acquisition (via hunters' slang?).

hulli f, pl. *hulli* 'furrow'. Another variant is *holli*. A derivative of *hollë* (ÇABEJ St. I 241). ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lith *skilvis*).

humb aor. *humba* 'to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss', to drown. From a nasal present **skumba* compared with IE **skeubh-*: Goth *af-skiuban* 'to push away, to reject', Lith *skumbù, skùbti* 'to hurry, to hasten' (PISANI Saggi 109). As to *hup* 'to lose, to spoil, to miss', it may be a back formation based on *humb*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 154 (connects *humb* with *hup*); BARIĆ ARSt 36-37 (*hup* to Lat *sūpō* 'to upset, to overturn'); PISANI Saggi 124; FRAENKEL 820; POKORNY I 955; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128 (to *hipěj*), SCL XXVIII/1 75; FEIST *Goth.* 9; ÇABEJ St. VII 217, 232; OREL IF XCIII 109 (compares with *hup* and reconstructs **skupa ~ *skumpa* further connected with Slav **čupati* to pinch, to tear, to break'), TBK 192.

hundë f, pl. *hundë* 'nose'. Goes back to PALb **skun-tā* derived from **skuna* > *hu* (MEYER Wb. 152-153). The verb *hundohem* 'to sneer, to turn up nose' is derived from *hundë* (CAMARDA II 143-144). ◇ SCHMIDT KZ LVII 16; BARIĆ ARSt 103 (to Lat *sentio* 'to feel'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276, *Stratificazione* 90; ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 127 (accepts MEYER's etymology); HULD 76 (fantastic comparison with IE **nas-* 'nose'); ÇABEJ St. I 240 (on *hundohem*); OREL *Ētimologija* 1985 180 (against HULD).

huptë aor. 'stale (of bread); forming a hard crust (of snow)'. Derivative of *hup*, see *humb*.

hurbe f, pl. *hurba* 'swallow, mouthful'. Another variant is *hurp* which also functions as a verb 'to swallow'. From PALb **skurbā* etymologically linked to Lith *skerbiù, skerbti* 'to cut deep', Latv *šķirba* 'fissure, slot', Slav **ščerba* id. ◇ FRAENKEL 801, 807; VASMER IV 503-504; ÇABEJ St. I 242 (onomatopoeia).

hurdhe f, pl. *hurdhe* 'ivy'. The parallel form is *urdhe*. A singularized plural going back to PALb **wurdā* connected with other reflexes of IE **urdho-*: OE *word* 'thorn-bush', Lat *rubus* 'bramble-bush'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 154 (to Skt *pṛśni-* 'spotted'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 445-446; HOLTHAUSEN AEW 405; ÇABEJ St. VII 236.

hurdhë f, pl. *hurdha* 'pond, pool'. Another variant is *urdhë*. Continues PALb **wurdā*, a derivative in **-dh-* further related to Slav **virъ* 'whirlpool', **variti* 'to cook', Lith *vérdù, vîrti* id. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 30-

31 (to Skt *vár-* 'water'); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 1263; VASMER I 275; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236-237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

(G) **hut** adj. 'vain, empty'. The initial *h-* is prothetic. From PAIb **uta*, an adjective in **-to-* based on IE **euə-* : **uā-* 'empty', cf. similar formations in **-no-*: Skt *ūná-* 'missing', Lat *vānus* 'empty' and the like. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 31 (to Gk *αὔτως* 'vain, empty'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 731-732; CHANTRAINE 382; POKORNY I 345; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 262; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 124 (onomatopoeia); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

hutě f, pl. 'vulture, owl'. Another variant is *utě*. Borrowed from MGk *ὄτοξ* 'horned owl'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (borrowed from Lat *ōtus* 'horned owl' < Gk *ὄτοξ*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (from Lat *ōtus*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227.

hutloj aor. *hutlova* 'to deceive'. Together *hutrrohem* 'to be astonished', derived from unattested nouns **hutěl* and **hutërr* (cf. *hutrrojě* 'silly old woman'), both of them based on *hutoj*.

hutoj aor. *hutova* 'to astonish, to daze'. Derived from *hutě* figuratively denoting 'fool, dolt' (MANN *HAEW* 164). ◇ HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Geg *hut*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 227.

hyj m, pl. *hyja*, *hyj* 'god'. Singularized plural of *yll*, *hyll* 'star' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438) coined by BOGDANI (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 150 (connects *hyj* with *hije*); KRISTOFORIDHI 135, 139 (same as MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 64-65 (reconstructs **hye* continuing IE **skēini-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to ON *skuggi* < IE **skuui-*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 88.; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

hyj ~ hÿj aor. *hyra ~ hyna* 'to enter'. The anlaut *h-* is prothetic. Goes back to a denominative PAIb **eiwinja* or **eiwanja* based on **eiwi-* ~ **eiwa*, related to IE **ei-* 'to go, to walk' and etymologically close to Skt *éva-* 'speedy', Lith *at-eīvis*, *at-eīva* 'newcomer, stranger', *pér-eiva* 'tramp, vagrant'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 17-18 (reconstructs **sāpnjō*, further to Lat *sub* 'under' and the like); FRAENKEL 119; MAYRHOFER I 129; POKORNY I 293-297; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125-126 (to Skt *ava-* 'off'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 242 (connects *hyj* with *-y-*, reflecting a contraction of **-oi-* < **-odi-*, to IE **sed-* 'to go').

I

ijě f, pl. *ijě* 'hip, side'. Borrowed from Lat pl. *ilia* 'groin, flank' (CAMARDA I 70-71; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 158). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 130; ÇABEJ *St.* I 243; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

ikěj aor. *ikëna* 'to go away, to run away'. A more archaic form of present is *ik*; there exists also a form with a secondary initial *h-*. Continues PAIb **eika* further belonging to IE **ei-* 'to go' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 243). Similarly to Slav **jьdъ* '(I) go' based on **idhi*, an old imperative of **ei-* (POLIVANOV *IORJaS* XXIV/2 349-350), Albanian present forms *ik*, *ikěj* are derived from the imperative *ik* which can be compared with Lith *eĩk*, *eĩki* 'go!' (OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 35-36, *Baltistica* XXI/2 156-157), with the suffix of imperative *-k-* of dubious origin (STANG *Norw. J. Ling.* XXX 127-131). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 158; BRUGMANN *IF* XXIX 404-412; LA PIANA *Studi alb.* I 193 (compares *ik* with Gk *ἵκω* 'to come'); BUGA *RFV* LVII 240 (on Lith *eĩki*); POKORNY I 293-294; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205, 227; OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 82, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

CEV

245). As to *ishull* 'sunny place' it is the same word influenced by the

between *ishull* 'sunny place' and *shullë*).

orrowed from
driß ² I 1044,

e demonstra-
**me*.

Derived from

lb **īma* con-
īsas 'short',
AENKEL 187;
derived from

ith prep. 'behind'. From PAIb **its*, a form of IE **eġhs* 'from, out of' (MEYER *Wb.* 158, *Alb. St.* III 16). The change of meaning is a part of a wider semantic shift in the system of prepositions (see *nga*); the old meaning is preserved in the prefix *sh-* < **is-* < **its-* (partly influenced by a homonymous prefix of Latin origin continuing Lat *dis-*). The vowel of *ith* makes it extremely close to Slavic (**jьz*) and Baltic (OPrus *is*, Lith *iš*, dial. Latv *iz*). Cf. normal vocalism of the same root in *jashtë*. ◇ MEYER *BB* XIV 53; PISANI *Saggi* 125; I 98 f.; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 421 (**i-* as the original vowel in this root); KARSTIEN *Festschr. Vasmer* 213; ENDZELIN *Latyš. predl.* I 98; FRAENKEL 188; WALDE - HOFMANN I 423 (reject the connection between *ith* and **eġhs*); PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 292-293; POLÁK apud KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.

inj prep. 'up to'. A ghost word registered only by MITKO and being, in fact, a phonetic variant of *hinje* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 244). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 159 (to IE **eni* 'in'), *Alb. St.* III 66; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207.

irë adj. 'dun'. Related to *err*, with *i-* resulting from the paradigmatic alternation *e ~ i* in nouns. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 244-245 (links *irë* to *irëmadh* 'heroic' but the latter is a compound of *irë* 'heroism' and *madh*).

irë f. 'wrath, heroism'. Borrowed from Lat *ira* 'wrath'.

iriq m, pl. *iriqë, iriqa* 'hedgehog'. Borrowed from Lat *ēricius* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 159). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 112, 139.

iskër f, pl. *iskra* 'spark'. Borrowed from Slav **jьskra* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *iskra*, SCr *iskra* (MEYER *Wb.* 159). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; SVANE 57.

ishull m, pl. *ishul* 'island'. Borrowed from Slav **shul* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21). ◇ SELISCH *Slav. Elemente* 170; SVANE 149.

ilqe f, pl. *ilqe* 'holm-oak'. A singularized plural of **ilqë* borrowed from Lat *īlicem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 158). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 1048; HAARMANN 130.

im pron. 'my'. A univerbated sequence consisting of the possessive pronoun **is* (see *ay*) and unstressed 1 sg. pronoun *me*.

imshtë f, pl. *imshta* 'oak grove'. Another variant is *ipshtë*. *imë, imtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 244).

imtë adj. 'tiny, small'. Another variant is *imë*. Reflects *PA* continuing **is-mos*, cf. Skt *iṣāt* 'little, a little, slightly', Lith *išs* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 158 (to IE **em-* 'to seize'); FRANK *Mayrhofer* I 96; POKORNY I 299-300; ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (*hi*), 244 (to *hime*).

ive f, pl. *iva* 'embroidery pattern'. Borrowed from Slav *iva* in the same meaning as represented by Bulg *iva* and SCr *iva* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 245-246; SVANE 99.

izbë f. 'cellar'. Borrowed from Slav **istrъba* 'house, cellar' attested in South Slavic in Bulg *izba* and SCr *izba* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149). ◇ SVANE 54.

J

ja interj. 'behold, here, now'. A shortened form of *javo*, *javua* id., an early borrowing from Slav **avъnъ* 'manifest, obvious' in its adverbial function, with *-o*, *-ua* continuing **-ъnъ*. For South Slavic continuants of **avъnъ* cf. Bulg *javen*, SCr *javan*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 160 (uncertain connection with Slav **aviti se* 'to appear'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 246 (from NGk γιά in γιά δέξ id.); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

jakë interj. 'come'. An isolated imperative form in *-k* (cf. *ik*) based on IE **jā-* 'to go'. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 191 (compound consisting of *ja* and pronominal *kë-*); POKORNY I 296; ÇABEJ *St.* I 247 (transformation of the phrase *eja këtu* 'come here').

jam aor. *qeshë* 'to be'. From PALb **es-mi* further connected with IE **es-* id. and identical with Skt *ásmi*, Gk εἰμί (BOPP 460, 472, 526; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 160-161). The aorist may be tentatively explained as a sigmatic formation based on IE **k^uel-* 'to turn, to revolve' (CAMARDA I 45), cf. Gmc **werdan* 'to become' in its connection with IE **uert-* 'to turn, to revolve'. ◇ STIER *KZ* VII 9; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63, 85; LA PIANA *Studi* I 86; JOKL *LKUBA* 83; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PISANI *KZ* LXXI 64 (aorist compared with Latv *kļūt* 'to become'), Saggi 103; MAYRHOFER I 67; FRISK I 463-464; POKORNY I 340-342; HAMP *Festschr. Beeler* 337-346 (derives 3 sg. *është ~ àsht* from **en esti* to be compared with Gk ἐνεστί); ÇABEJ *St.* I 247-248; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 113; OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 31-33 (nasalization in 3 sg. *është ~ àsht* < PALb **ensti* explained by the influence of 3 pl. *janë* < **enti* < **es(o)nti*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (accentual opposition between 1 sg. *jam* and 1 pl. *jemi* in Proto-Albanian); HULD 76-77; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207-208.

jap *af, aname* 'to give'. A parallel form is *ap*. *geg nap* results from PALb **en-apa* while *j-* in *jap* is explained as filling hiatus (PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247) or resulting from the analogical influence of *jam* (DEMIRAJ AE 79). Thus, for Proto-Albanian, **apa* should be reconstructed as a parallel for IE **ap-* ~ **ēp-* 'to seize, to take': Skt *āpnōti* '(he) reaches, overtakes', Gk *ἄπτω* 'to fasten, to bind', Lat *apiscor* 'to grasp' and the like (BOPP 469; MEYER *Wb.* 13, *Alb. St.* III 31). Semantically, the Albanian word is particularly close to Hitt *epzi* '(he) gives' (HULD 77). For the paradoxical semantic development replacing one conversive with another cf. Hitt *da-* 'take' < IE **dō-* 'to give'. The aorist *dhashë* < PALb **e-das-a* is based on the zero grade of IE **dō-* 'to give' (CAMARDA I 73, 127; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14). ◇ CAMARDA I 73, 127 (*jap* compared with Gk *ἰάπτω* 'to send, to drive on'; *dhashë* derived from **dō-*); JOKL *Studien* 32, *LKUBA* 26, *IF* XLIII 51-52, *Sprache* IX 118 (augment in *dhashë*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 475; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; LA PIANA *Vocale* 25, *Studi* I 23; MAYRHOFFER I 76; FRISK I 126-127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 57-58; POKORNY I 50-51, 223-226; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 30; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 4 (< IE **epi-d(o)H-iō*, cf. Gk *ἐπιδίδωμι* 'to give freely'); HULD 150; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 42 (reconstructs **dodHs-* as the source of *dhashë*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (reconstruction of the aoristic paradigm); OREL *Ėtimologija* 1982 154 (parallelism of *dhashë* < **e-das-m* and Slav **daxъ*; traces of the augment), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349, 352; HAMP KZ CIII 291 (repeats JOKL and OREL in reconstructing the anlaut augment); DEMIRAJ AE 154-155.

jargë *f, pl. jarga* 'spit, phlegm'. From PALb **ergā* related to Av *ərəzant-* 'bad', OHG *arg* 'bad, evil', Lith *aržūs* 'lusty'. ◇ POKORNY I 338; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 243.

jarickë *f, pl. jarička* 'pullet, chick'. Another variant is *jarickë*. Borrowed from Bulg *jarička*. ◇ POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78 (derived from Slav **jarica* 'one year old creature'); SVANE 140.

jarinë *f* 'ripe fruit'. Borrowed from Slav **jarina* 'harvest', cf. in South Slavic continuants: SCr *jarina* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160.

jarm *m* 'yoke'. Borrowed from Slav **arъmъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *jarъmъ*, Bulg *jarem*, SCr *jaram* (MEYER *Wb.* 161). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 156; SVANE 28.

jashtë adv. 'outside'. From PALb **e(k)šta* derived from IE **eǵh-s* 'out': Gk ἔξ, Lat *ex* and the like (CAMARDA I 36, 87; ÇABEJ *St.* I 248-249). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24 (from Lat *extra*); MEYER *Wb.* 161 (from Rom **extus* parallel to Lat *intus*), Alb. *St.* IV 49; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85 (reconstructs **eǵhs-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133 (follows MEYER); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; FRISK I 527; WALDE-HOFMANN I 423; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232, 257; HULD 77.

javë f, pl. *javë* 'week'. Borrowed from Lat *hebdomas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 162) treated as a nominative in *-a*. The group *-bdm-* yields Alb *-v-*. ◇ SKOK *A ArbSt.* II 343 n. 3; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; HAMP *GJA* XVII (8) 121-129.

jaz m, pl. *jaza* 'mill-stream'. Borrowed from Slav **ězъ* 'dam, weir', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jaz*, SCr *jaz* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaimstv.* 11). ◇ SVANE 44.

je f. 'permission'. A phonetic variant of *leje*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 162 (to Skt *yós-* 'welfare, happiness' and the like), Alb. *St.* III 40, 63; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 253 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 32 (to Skt *ávi-* 'favorable'); ERNOUT-MEILLET 330; ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (*je* as a variant of the particle *le* semantically misinterpreted by MEYER).

jeh m. 'echo'. A scholarly borrowing from Lat *ēcho* id. Used as a basis for the formation of *jehoj* 'to echo' and *jehonë* 'echo'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (Greecisized Ital *eco* id.).

jerm m 'delirium, absent-mindedness'. Goes back to PALb **erma* etymologically identical with Lith *eřmas* 'monster', Latv *ērms* 'wonderful apparition', *ēirmi* 'wonders, miracles'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 32; FRAENKEL 122; POKORNY I 58; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 56, 75 (to Thr **ermas*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 250, VII 205, 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

jes aor. *jeta* 'to remain'. From PALb **etja*, a denominative of *jetë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 163 (suggests IE **et-* or **ed-* but without any meaning); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 76 (to IE **sed-* 'to sit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134, 186; XIUVANI *KLetr* I 5; ÇABEJ *St.* I 250-251 (to Phryg εἶτον, 3 sg. opt. 'let him be').

jetë f, pl. *jetë* 'life'. Goes back to PAIb **eta*, related to the isolated group of Gk *ἐτεός* 'true, real', *ἐτά· ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά* (Hes.), *ἐτάζω* 'to test'. ◇ CAMARDA I 122 (to *jes*); MEYER *Wb.* 163 (from Rom **aeta* > Arum *eta* 'world, life', a back-formation of Lat *aetās* 'age'), Alb. *St.* IV 12; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1056; PEDERSEN Alb. *Texte* 156 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 216; VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 23 (reconstructs IE **aiyotā* > MW *oed* 'world'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133-134; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 9; ÇABEJ *St.* I 251-252; FRISK I 578-581; HAMP *ERPh.* 41-43 (supports MEYER); HULD 78; LANDI *Lat.* 71; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

jezull m 'cloud of dust or smoke; ashes'. A secondary formation based on *jezer* id. - a metaphoric usage of Slav **ezerъ* 'lake' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 252). ◇ MANN *Comp.* 7 (to Gk *αἴθλας* 'soot').

jo part. 'no'. Borrowed from Germ *ja* via Slavic languages of Austro-Hungary (FRIEDRICH *IF* LX 164). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 37 (from IE **eneu*: Goth *inu* 'without', Skt *ano* 'not'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227.

jonë f, pl. *jona* 'echo'. Phonetic transformation of *jehonë*, see *jeh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (secondary attraction of *jonë* and *jehonë*).

josh aor. *josha* 'to curl, to fondle, to caress'. From PAIb **jāudsja* etymologically connected with IE **ieudh-*: Skt *yúdhyate* 'to fight, to struggle', Tokh A *yutk-* 'to take care of, to trouble about', Lith *jáudinti* 'to excite, to arouse' (OREL *FLH* VIII 44). ◇ FRAENKEL 195-196; POKORNY I 511; MAYRHOFER III 19-20; VAN WINDEKENS I 612; ÇABEJ *St.* I 252-253 (identifies *josh* with *osh* 'skimming', from Turkish *hoş* 'pleasant'); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

joshë f, pl. *josha* 'grandmother'. Originally an element of the nursery vocabulary, this word is based on *josh* and identical with *joshë* 'caress' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 209). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 163 (to *gysh*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 37-38 (same etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 37-39 (to **āt-sjā* derived from *atē*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; ÇABEJ *St.* I 253; DEMIRAJ *AE* 209.

ju pron. 'you'. From PAIb **ju* identical with Lith *jūs* id., Goth *jus* id., Gk *ὤμεις* id., Skt acc. *yusmán* id. (BOPP 464; CAMARDA I 95; MEYER *Wb.* 163, Alb. *St.* III 40), with the short vowel generalized from the oblique stem. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 291; PEDERSEN

Festschr. Thomsen 252-253 (eliminates the hiatus *j-* and reconstructs **u* < **ues*), *KZ* XXXVI 103; *JOKL IF* XLIX 275; *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 135 (follows PEDERSEN); *MANN Language* XXVIII 38 (reconstructs **jās*); *MANN Language* XXVIII 38; *PISANI Saggi* 132 (agrees with MEYER); *MINSHALL Language* XXII 627; *MAYRHOFER* III 24; *FEIST Goth.* 305; *FRAENKEL* 199; *FRISK* II 963-964; *POKORNY* I 513-514; *HULD* 78-79, *JIES* VII 203-207 (rejects MEYER's etymology because of the short vocalism reflected in Albanian, and reconstructs *ju* < **ues*); *OREL FLH* VIII/1-2 43; *KORTLANDT SSGL* XXIII 174 (cliticized form of IE **juh*); *DEMIRAJ AE* 209 (from **usm-* present in oblique cases based on **ues*).

jud m 'mythological monster'. Borrowed from Slav **judъ* ~ **juda* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *juda*. ◇ *LAMBERTZ Alb. Märchen* 26 n. 8 (links *jud* with the name of Judas); *ÇABEJ St.* I 253 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

jug m 'South, Southern wind'. Borrowed from Slav **jugъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *jug*, *SCr jug* (MEYER *Wb.* 164). ◇ *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 135; *SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie* 197; *SVANE* 175.

K

ka m, pl. *qe* 'ox'. From *PAIb* **kaxa* going back to **koso-*, a nominal derivative of IE **kes-* 'to scratch, to cut'; cf. Slav **volъ* 'ox' ~ **valiti* 'to throw down' > 'to castrate' (*OREL LB* XXVIII/4 52-53). ◇ *BOPP* 491 (from IE **g^hōu-*); *STIER KZ* XI 150 (same as BOPP, adduces Venet *ceva* 'cow'); *GIL'FERDING Otn.* 22 (same as STIER); *MEYER Wb.* 164 (compares *ka* with Lith *kārvė* 'cow', Slav **korva* id. and the like); *JOKL WuS* XII 68-69, *Sprache* IX 150; *TAGLIAVINI Stratificazione* 137; *MANN Language* XVII 22 (to Goth *auhsa*); *PORZIG Gliederung* 175; *POKORNY* I 585; *SGGJa* I 58; *HAMP St. Whatmough* 86, *Münch. St. Spr.* 59; *ÇABEJ St.* VII 201; *ÖLBERG Festschr. Pisani* II 684; *OREL Balcanica* 114 (a substratum loanword reflecting IE **g^hōu-* 'bull'), *LB* XXVIII/4 52-53, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360; *TRUBAČEV Živ.* 43-44, *ÈSSJa* XI 108; *TOPOROV PJa* IV 47 (repeats MEYER's etymology); *DEMIRAJ AE* 210 (to Gk κερῶς 'deer's calf').

kabisht m, pl. *kabishta* 'earwig'. A derivative in *-shtē* based on an unattested **kab* continuing *PAIb* **kaba*. The latter is related to Lith *kabėti*

'to hang', *kabà* 'crooked tree' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 200-201; POKORNY I 918.

kacabu ~ **kacabû** pl. *kacabunj* 'beetle, stagfly'. A compound consisting of *kaca* and *bu* < PAIb **buna*, a word of descriptive nature for 'beetle'. As to *kaca*, it is a form of *kac* 'goat' (see *kec*). In several words, it appears as an expressive prefix (cf., for example, *kacafik* 'hut', *kacafytem* 'to fight'), occasionally meaning 'up, over'.

kacadre ~ **kacadrê** m 'stagbeetle, grasshopper'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *dre* 'deer'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 178 (a variant of *karkalec*).

kacagjel adv. A part of an idiom *rri kacagjel* 'to brag'. Represents a compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *gjel*.

kacamit m 'stag'. The word *kacamic* 'roe buck' is obviously a phonetic variant of *kacamit*. A compound of *kaca*- (see *kacabu*) and *mitë*. For the meaning of the latter cf. dialectal *mitëz* 'roe' (ÇABEJ St. I 254). ◇ MEYER Wb. 182 (*kacamitë* 'deer, roe' borrowed from Ital **camozzetta* 'chamois', cf. *camozza* id.).

kacarroj aor. *kacarrova* 'to climb, to clamber'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rroj*.

kacarrum aor. *kacarruma* 'core of corn-cob, corn-cob'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rrum*.

kacek m, pl. *kacekë* 'wineskin'. Back-formation based on *kaciq* (ÇABEJ St. I 254).

kacë f, pl. *kacë* 'butt, barrel, bin'. Borrowed from Slav **kadъca* 'barrel', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kaca*, SCr *kaca* (SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 154). ◇ SVANE 68.

kaciq m, pl. *kaciq* 'kid, wineskin'. Borrowed from NGk κατσίκι id. (MEYER Wb. 185). ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 254 (related to *kec*).

kaç m, pl. *keç*, *keçër* ~ *keçën* 'weaver'. Borrowed from Slav **тъкаѣ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants in Bulg *тъкаѣ* (MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente 35; MEYER Wb. 182). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 171.

St. I 256-257 (follows MEYER *Wb.*); HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 73, 110.

kafshoj *aor.* *kafshova* 'to bite'. Another variant is *kapshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *capessere* ~ *capissere* 'to seize, to snatch at' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1055). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 176 (from Rom **capsāre* based on Lat *capere* 'to take'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1052 (from Rom **captiāre* 'to grasp'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 n. 1 (to Gk κάπτω 'to snap, to snatch', Slav **xapati* 'to seize, to grasp'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 115; ÇABEJ *St.* I 257 (agrees with JOKL and also adduces *kap*).

kah *prep.* 'from, out, out of'. Immediately connected with *nga id.* Both prepositions require nominative. The underlying Proto-Albanian phrase must have been **(en) kaxa* continuing **(en) k'o(d) so* '(in) which (is) this'. The original meaning, therefore, may be reconstructed as 'in' or 'wherein' but the whole system of prepositions was semantically transformed in Albanian, cf. *ith.* ◇ CAMARDA I 66-67 (to Gk πη 'in some way, to some place'); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to Gk κατά 'down'), *Alb. St.* III 4; VON BLANKENSTEIN *IF* XXI 112 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

kakë *f.* 'excrements'. A usual *Kinderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 166). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from Lat *cacāre* 'to defecate').

kakërdhi *f., pl.* *kakërdhi* 'dung (of sheep or goat)'. A modified sequence consisting of *kakë* and *dhi*. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (*kakër-* to Gk κόπρος).

kakërdhiçë *f., pl.* *kakërdhiça* 'lizard'. Based on *kakërdhi*, a compound consisting of *kakë* and *rdhi* (to *hardhi*), cf. a similar formation in *hardhje*. Other compounds of the same type are *kakëzorrë*, *kakërdhok* 'frog (to *kakë* and *zorrë*)' and *kakëzog* 'blindworm' - to *kakë* and *zog*, i.e. a creature excreting its children: the blindworm is viviparous. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 147 (variant of *hardhje*), 166-167 (on *kakëzog* and *kakëzorrë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 242-243 (borrowed from Gk κροκόδειλος 'crocodile').

kakole *f., pl.* *kakole* 'hip bone'. A phonetic variant of *kokall* 'bone' borrowed from NGk κόκκαλον *id.*

kakrruk m, pl. 'stone-fruit, hard nut'. A suffixal derivative of *kokërr* with a dialectal change of the unstressed *-o-* > *-a-* (MURATI *Probleme* 79). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 195 (to Slav **orěxъ* 'nut').

kalakiç adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalaveshi*) and *kiç*.

kalaman ~ **kalamâ** m, pl. *kalamaj*, *kalamanë* 'child (till the age of 8-9)'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and **man*, derivative of *maj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 170 (to Slav **kalъ* 'dirt', **kal'avъ* 'dirty'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 94-95; ÇABEJ *St.* I 257-258 (from Bulg *kalimana* 'female witness at a wedding').

kalamend aor. *kalamenda* 'to entangle, to confuse'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *mend*.

kalaqafë adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *qafë*.

kalavesh m, pl. *kalavesh*a 'grape'. A compound consisting of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (cf. *kalamend*, *kalangërç* 'cramp' ~ *gërç* id.) and *vesh*, cf. *vesh rrush* 'grape' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258). As far as the origin of *kala-* is concerned, with its original meaning 'upside down', 'topsy-turvy', it may continue PALb **kala* related to IE **k^hel-* 'to turn'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 167 (*kala-* to Turk *kara* 'black'); JOKL *LKUBA* 214 (*kala-* to Turk *kalan* 'rest, surplus'); POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 102 (prefixes *ka-la-*).

kalb aor. *kalba* 'to let rot'. A denominative derived from PALb **kalba*, see the singularized plural *qelb*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 221-222 (to *qelb*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 53 (reconstructs IE **golbh-* and compares *kalb* with Slav **žely* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 137; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203, 284.

kalecë adv 'gently, quietly'. Other variants are *kalehtazi* and *kaletas*. The original form must have been **ka-leht-az*, consisting of the prefix *ka-* and **leht-az* derived from *lehtë*.

kalesh adj. 'hairy'. A prefixal derivative of *lesh* (MEYER *Wb.* 170). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 104.

kalē m, pl. *kual, kuaj* 'horse'. Borrowed from Lat *caballus* id. (STIER KZ XI 146; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 167). ◇ CAMARDA I 66 (to Gk καβάλλης 'working horse'); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *khāra-* 'donkey'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; PISANI AAL VIII 345 (back formation of pl. *kuaj* borrowed from Slav **kon'ь*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 97, 137-138.

kalibe f, pl. *kalibe* 'hut'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **kolyba* id. Cf. *kolibe*. ◇ OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84.

kalibobē f, pl. *kaliboba* 'lote, nettle-tree'. Borrowed from Slav **kalibobъ*, a compound of **kaliti* 'to make dirty' and **bobъ* 'bean' unattested in South Slavic.

kaliboç adv. 'on one's back'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (a variant of *kala-*, see *kalavesh*) and *boçē*. ◇ XHUVANI - ÇABEJ *BShkSh* 1956/4 74 (on *kali-*).

kalihum adv. 'downwards, over and over'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboç*) and *hum* < *humb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258).

kalis aor. *kalita* 'to sharpen, to cleanse (of metal)'. Borrowed from Slav **kaliti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kal'a*, SCr *kaliti* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 155, 386 (from NGk σκαλίζω 'to carve'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 258; SVANE 234.

kalivaç adv. 'in a group of three on a stem (of fruit and the like)'. Derivative in *-ç* of *kalivare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258).

kalivare adv. 'trickling down'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboç*) and *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258-259).

kaloj aor. *kalova* 'to pass, to go past'. Borrowed from Rom **coallāre* < Lat *coambulāre* 'to go with'.

kalptoj aor. *kalptova* 'to fill with tow, to plug, to caulk'. A denominative based on a Turkish loanword *kallp*, *kallēp* 'form, model'.

(T) **kaltēr** adj. 'blue, sky blue'. From Rom **calthinus* 'yellow, yellowish',

based on Lat *caltha* 'Calendula officinalis', cf. *calthula* 'yellow robe' (MEYER *Wb.* 170-171). ◇ OREL *Balkanica* 113-114 (from a substratum reflex of IE **ǵhel-* 'yellow'); HAARMAN 114; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 218.

kall aor. *kalla* 'to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire'. From PALb **kalna*, a denominative based on **kala*. The latter continues IE **k^holo-* and must be related to *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 266 n. 1). ◇ CAMARDA I 149 (to Gk κέλλω 'to urge, to drive on'); MEYER *Wb.* 168 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329; PISANI *Saggi* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 259 (follows JOKL); JANSON *Unt.* 161; HULD 106-107; DEMIRAJ *AE* 210-211.

kalla pl. 'slander, calumny'. Literally, 'incitation'. Derivative of *kall* (CAMARDA II 67; MEYER *Wb.* 168). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 259 (to *kalli*).

kallëz aor. *kallëzova* 'to slander, to tell stories'. Derived from an unattested **kallëz*, a collective form of *kalla*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 168 (to *kall*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 260-261 (identifies this verb with *kallëz* 'to put ears of corn together', derived from *kallëz* 'ear of corn').

kalli m, pl. *kallinj*, *kallëza* 'ear of grain'. An archaic variant *kall* 'straw, chaff' is attested in Italo-Albanian. From PALb **kalsa* related to Slav **kolsъ* 'ear of grain' (MEYER *BB* XIV 53; *Wb.* 168). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *Sprache* IX 151; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; PISANI *Saggi* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 270; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* X 152-153; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 211-212 (to Slav **kolъ* 'picket, stake').

kallm m, pl. *kallma* 'reed, straw'. Borrowed from Lat *calamus* 'reed, cane' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 261). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 168-169 (together with *kallam* 'reed' borrowed from NGk καλάμι id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 138-139.

kam aor. *pata* 'to have'. From PALb **kapmi*, an athematic verb based on IE **kap-* 'to seize, to grasp', cf. Lat *capiō* id., Goth *haban* 'to have'. The aorist is etymologically related to Lat *potior* 'to take possession of' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 171, *Alb. St.* III 36). ◇ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk ἔχω 'to possess, to have'); MEYER *Wb.* 171 (to Goth *haban* and Lat *habeō* 'to have'), *Alb. St.* III 6; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 93, *KZ*

IXXXVI 308 (derives the aorist form **pot-to-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 261; JOHANSON *IF XIX* 115; TREIMER *Slavia III* 455; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; ERNOUT-MEILLET 97; PISANI *Saggi* 98, 130; KLUGE 278; WALDE-HOFMANN I 159-160, II 350-351; POKORNY I 408, 842; FEIST *Goth.* 229; CAMAJ *Beitr. SOE* 41-44 (from **kē-am*, to **es-* 'to be'); HULD 167; JANSON *Unt.* 149-151; ÇABEJ *St.* III 130, VII 253; HAMP *KZ LXXVII* 252; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 230; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212, 313-314 (*pashë* treated as a denominative derived from **poti-*).

kamare f 'cobweb'. A metaphoric usage of *kamare* 'vault' borrowed from NGk καμάρα id. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 171-172 (borrowed from Lat *cammarus* 'sea-crab, lobster' or Gk κάμματος id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 263 (follows MEYER).

kandër f, pl. *kandra* 'jar, vessel'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharus* 'large drinking vessel, tankard, pot' (LANDI *Lat.* 116, 145). ∅ MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350 (from Gk κάνθαρος); ÇABEJ *St.* I 264 (borrowed directly from Gk κάνθαρος 'drinking cup').

kandërr f, pl. *kandrra* 'insect'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharis* 'beetle, worm'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 173 (to Ital *canterella* 'Spanish fly'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350 (from Greek); ÇABEJ *St.* I 263-264 (from Gk κάνθαρος 'beetle, scarab').

kanë f 'reed, rush'. Borrowed from Lat *canna* 'reed, cane' (MEYER *Wb.* 173-174), with the geminate preventing rhotacism in Tosk. ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041, 1051; HAARMAN 114.

kangjel m 'song'. Borrowed from Rom **canticellum* reflected in Rum *căntecel* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). Cf. *këngë*. ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* I 264 (Albanian derivative in *-el-* based on *këngë*).

kanushë f, pl. *kanusha* 'stork'. Borrowed from Rom **cănōsus*, derivative of Lat *cānus* 'white' MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/I-2* 21; ÇABEJ *St.* I 265). ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *cicogna* 'stork'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24 (to SCr *kanja* 'vulture' and the like); SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 198; HELBIG 90 (follows MEYER); HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 110, 114.

kap aor. *kapa* 'to seize, to grasp'. From PALb **kapa* connected with IE **kap-* 'to seize': Gk κάπτω to 'snap', Lat *capiō* 'to seize, to take', Goth *haban* 'to hold, to have' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34). See *kam*. ◇ MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 174 (from Turk *kapmak* 'to catch'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 139-140; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; FRISK I 783-784; FEIST *Goth.* 229; WALDE-HOFMANN I 159; POKORNY I 527-528; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212-213.

kapasë f, pl. *kapasa* 'oil-barrel'. Borrowed from NGk καπάσα id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 265). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 33-34 (to *kap*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 266; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

kapë f, pl. *kapë* 'armful of corn; shock, pile'. From PALb **kapā* identical with Gk κάπη 'manger, crib', further related to *kap* (KRISTOFORIDHI 141). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav **kupъ*, Lith *kaũpas*); FRISK I 783-784; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 73.

kapërcej aor. *kapërceva* 'to cross, to jump over'. A prefixal derivative of *ecëj*, **ka-për-ecëj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Rom **capitiäre*).

kapërdij aor. *kapërdiva* 'to swallow'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *përdij*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242, 244.

kapërdhij aor. *kapërdhiva* 'to overturn, to subjugate'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *përdhe*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Ital *capovol-gere* 'to turn upside down').

kapërthej aor. *kapërtheva* 'to entangle, to entwine'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-për-* based on *thyej*.

kapinë f 'bramble, blackberry'. A recent loanword from Maced *kapina* 'blackberry' with *-a-* < **-q-*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 266 (from Bulg *кѣпина* or SCr *kupina* id.).

kapis aor. *kapita* 'to exhaust, to wear out'. Often in passive - *kapitem*. Borrowed from Slav **kapiti* ~ **kapati* 'to get tired', cf. Bulg *kap'a* id., SCr *kapati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 176 (based on NGk κόπος 'toil, suffering'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24; JOKL *Studien* 34 (to *qem*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 266 (to *kap*); SVANE 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

kapruall ~ kapruell m, pl. *kaproj, kaprej, kaprenj* 'roeibuck'. Borrowed from Lat *capreolus* id. with an innovative penultimate stress (STIER KZ XI 136; MEYER Wb. 176). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 78-80, 118.

kapt m, pl. *kapte* 'irrigation ditch'. A parallel form *kaptë* 'lee-side of mountain' also belongs here. An adjective in **-to-* based on *kap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 266). ◇ MEYER Wb. 175 (to *kaptoj*).

kaptoj aor. *kaptova* 'to cross, to pass through'. A more conservative form is *kapërtoj*. A phonetic variant of *kapërcej*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 175 (from Ital *capitare* 'to arrive, to turn up'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 266-267 (derivative of *kap*).

kapth m, pl. *kaptha* 'path, mountain path'. A derivative in *-th* based on an unattested **kap* continuing PALb **kapa*. The latter is related to Lith *kāpas* 'grave', *kopà* 'dune', Latv *kāpa* 'dune' continuing IE **(s)kep-*. ◇ FRAENKEL 217; POKORNY I 932.

kapua ~ kapue m, pl. *kaŋonj* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *cāpōnem* 'capon' (MEYER Wb. 176). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Ital *capone* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1047 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 143-145.

kaq adv. 'so, so much, so many'. For the structure of this adverb see *aq*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 167 (related to *aq*).

kar m 'penis'. Borrowed from Gypsy *kar* id. (MEYER Wb. 176). ◇ TREIMER *MRIW* I 366; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141.

karabobe f, pl. *karabobe* 'lote, nettle tree'. Variant of *kalibobë* (MANN *HAED* 185).

karabush m, pl. *karabusha* 'corn-cob'. A prefixal derivative of *rabush*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141 (from Turk *kara baş* 'black head'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

karavelë f, pl. *karavela* 'small round bread'. Another variant is *kravelë*. A singularized plural of the original **karavalë* borrowed from Slav **korvajь* 'round bread', cf. in particular SCr *kravaj* (MEYER Wb. 177). The group *-ara-* < South Slavic *-ra-* is explained by the analogy with Turk *kara* 'black'. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155; ÇABEJ *St.* I 268; SVANE 92.

karbë f 'vulture'. From PALb **kar(i)bā* related to Lith *kārti* 'to hang' and its cognates, cf. the semantic development of Slav **kobьсь* 'vulture' - to Lith *kabėti* 'to hang'. In both cases, the basis of the semantic motivation is the well-known hunting position of the vulture "hanging" in the sky. ◇ MEYER Wb. 178 (to Bulg *kraguj*, SCr *kraguj* 'hawk'); JOKL *LKUBA* 304 (to *shkabë*, with an unorganic *-r-*); FRAENKEL I 224-225; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* X 101-102 (on the etymology of **kobьсь*).

karkalec m, pl. *karkaleca*, *karkalecë* 'grasshopper'. A transformation of Bulg *skakalec* id. (MEYER Wb. 178), probably, under the influence of *karkal* 'excrements' and similar descriptive forms.

karkashinë f, pl. *karkashina* 'lean sickly sheep; pottage of pulse and grain'. Derived from SCr *karkaša* 'carcass'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 179 (the word for pottage - from SCr adj. fem. *kokošinja* 'belonging or related to hen').

karkas aor. *karkata* 'to quack'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrkati* 'to caw, to croak, to quack', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kъrkam*, SCr *krkati*. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 216.

karmë f, pl. *karma* 'rock'. From PALb **karpnā* further related to *karpë* (JOKL *Studien* 35). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 269.

karpë f, pl. *karpa* 'rock'. From PALb **karpā* related to Lith *kerpiù*, *kiřpti* 'to cut', Latv *cīrpt* 'to shear, to clip', ON *harfr* 'harrow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34-35). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 144 (related to the name of the Carpathian mountains, Καρπάτης ὄρος); ROZWADOWSKI *JP* II 161-162; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 24-26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); FRAENKEL 257-258; POKORNY I 944; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119 (suffix *-pë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 268-269, IV 74; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

karsh m, pl. *kersh* 'rocky area'. A parallel form is *kërshë*. Continues PALb **kar-usa*, a derivative of IE *(s)*ker-* 'to cut', semantically similar to *karpë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 207 (from SCr *krš* id.); POKORNY I 938-947; ÇABEJ St. I 269.

kartë f 'measure of grain'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part' (ÇABEJ St. I 269-270). ◇ MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 144; LANDI Lat. 134.

karthi f, pl. *karthi* 'dry firewood'. The same root is represented in *karthë* 'laburnum, golden rain'. A derivative in *-th-* based on **karë* from PALb **karā* etymologically identical with Slav **kora* 'bark', Lith *kerù*, *kérti* 'to become separated' and further with IE *(s)*ker-* 'to cut'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 178 (from NGk κάρφος 'brushwood'); FRAENKEL 245; POKORNY I 938-947; TRUBACEV ÈSSJa XI 44-45.

karrabisht m, pl. *karrabishta* 'earwig'. A compound of an expressive morpheme *karra-* (a variant of *kala-*) and *bisht*.

karrapuc adv. 'squatting'. A compound of an expressive *karra-* and an unidentified morpheme. Unclear.

karravesh m, pl. *karraveshë* 'stick'. A variant of *kalavesh*.

karrem m, pl. *karrema* 'rainworm'. A prefixal derivative of *rrime*.

karrë f, pl. *karra* 'cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrum* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MEYER Wb. 180). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1044; HAARMANN 115; LANDI Lat. 46, 128, 139.

karrigë f, pl. *karriga* 'chair'. Borrowed from Lat *quadrīga* 'set of four' (here, of four legs). ◇ MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 12 (from Ital *cadrega*, *carega* 'chair'); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1047 (from Ital Venet *carega* 'chair'); ÇABEJ St. VII 280.

karroqe f, pl. *karroqe* 'bushel, milk-can'. A parallel form is *krroqe* 'measure made of bark, bucket'. Borrowed from Gmc **krūk-* 'jug', cf. OHG *krüche*, OE *crúce*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 180 (uncertain comparison with Germanic and Celtic names of vessels); BÜGA III 721; KLUGE 407; HOLTHAUSEN AEW 61.

karrup m, pl. *karrupa* 'fish-trap'. An early borrowing from Slav **korupъ* attested in Bulg *korup* (BER 648). ◇ KLEPIKOVA *Sb. Bernštej-na* 419-427.

karrutë f, pl. *karruta* 'fermenter'. An early borrowing from Slav **koryto* 'trough', see *koritë* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 78, 142). ◇ SVANE 67.

kasnec m, pl. *kasnecë, kasneca* 'herald'. Borrowed from Slav **kazньсь* id., cf. SCr *kaznac* (JOKL *LKUBA* 56-58). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 179, 286; SVANE 193.

kastravec m, pl. *kastravecë, kastraveca* 'cucumber'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav **kostrovьсь* id, cf. Bulg *krastavec, krastavica*, SCr *krastavac* (MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 286; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; SVANE 106.

kashër f, pl. *kashra* 'reed, rush'. From **kashtër* related to *kashtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 270).

kashnjet m, pl. *kashnjete* 'chestnut grove'. Borrowed from Lat *castanëtum* id. See *gështenjë*.

kashtë f 'straw'. From PALb **kalstā*, derivative of *kalli* (JOKL *IF XXXVI* 124, *LKUBA* 214, 274). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 180 (to Gk κοσταί· κριθαί or ἀκοστή· κριθή παρὰ Κυπρίοις, Hes.); TREIMER *MRIW* I 366-367 (borrowed from Gypsy *kašt* 'wood'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 26-27 (to Slav **kostь* 'bone'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 104 (prefix *k-* and equivalent of Slav **ostь*); HAMP *St. albanica* X/2 87-88, *Ētimologija* 1971 270-271; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 283; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213-214.

kashtup m, pl. *kashtupë* 'skin of corn-cob'. A derivative in *-up* based on *kashtë*.

katër num. 'four'. From PALb **katur(a)* etymologically related to IE **k^uetur-* ~ **k^uetuer-* id.: Skt *catvāra-*, Gk τέσσαρες, Lat *quattuor* and the like (CAMARDA I 169; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; MEYER *BB* VIII 185). The vocalism of the second syllable is generalized according to the form of accusative **k^ueturm*. The vowel in the first syllable presents serious

difficulties. It may be explained by reduction similar to that of Lat *quattuor* (MANN *Language* XVII 17; HULD 79) and Slav *četyre co-existing with *četyre (but cf. TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IV 97). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 181 (from Lat *quattuor*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 144 (agrees with MEYER *Wb.*); MANN *Language* XVII 17; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 883-884; MAYRHOFER I 371-372; WALDE-HOFMANN I 400-401; POKORNY I 642-644; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228, 244; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 79; HAMP *Numerals* 907-910.

katua ~ **katue** m, pl. *katonj* 'stable, basement, cellar'. Borrowed from NGk κατώγi < κατώγειον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 183). ◇ OREL *Subst.* 12 (from Iran *xata- 'basement').

katund m, pl. *katunde* 'village'. A prefixal derivative of *tund* representing a calque of Slav *kolyba 'hut' as based on *kolybati 'to tremble, to shake' (cf. OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84). From Albanian, the word - originally, a name of a hut - was borrowed to other Balkan languages. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10 (from Ital *cantone*); MEYER *Wb.* 183; BRÜCKNER *KZ* XLVIII 168; JOKL *IF* XXXIII 421-424 (from *ka-* and *tund* < *tnto-, participle of *ndej*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 28-30 (from Proto-Bulgarian); TREIMER *ZfomPhil* XXXVIII 388; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 144; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; TANAS, OCA *RESEE* XXVII/1-2 139-144; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 230; MOUTSOS *KZ* LXXXVIII 59-73 (from MGk κατοῦνα

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TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 137-138; MLADENOV *Ist.* 192; PISANI *Saggi* 130; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XII 19-21; MURATI *Probleme* 131.

kem m 'incense'. Another form is *qem*. From PALb *kapna etymologically identical with Gk καπνός 'smoke' and its cognates reflecting IE *kyēp- (JOKL *Studien* 37, *IF* XLIV 14). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (from *kedmo- and to Slav *čadъ 'fumes, smoke'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31; FRISK I 781-782; POKORNY I 596-597; ÇABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (borrowed from Gk θυμίαμα 'incense' or Lat *thymiama* id.); DEMIRAJ *AE* 215-216.

kep aor. *kepa* 'to hew'. The basic deverbative is *kep* 'quarry; tip, point'. Continues the umlauticized PALb *kapa etymologically related to Gk κόπτω 'to hit, to hew', Lith *kapiù, kàpti* 'to hew' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 185, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 39-40 (connects *kep* with *ssep*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK II 914-915; FRAENKEL 218; POKORNY I 931; ÇABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (dialectal form of *qep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 216.

keq adj. 'bad, evil'. From PALb *kakja related to Gk κακός 'bad' (BOPP 490; CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 184-185, *Alb. St.* III 3). The disyllabic *keiq, këeq* seems to be an artefact going back to KAVALLIOTIS. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85 (borrowing from Rom *cadōcus), *Gr. Gr.* 258; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327; JOKL *Studien* 35-36 (divides *këeq* > *keq* into a prefix *kë-* and *i-*

St. VII 200, 230; MOUTSOS *KZ* LXXXVIII 59-73 (from MGk κατοῦνα

kazhup m, pl. *kazhupë* 'peasant coat'. An early borrowing from Slav *kožuxъ 'coat made of skin', cf. *gozhup*.

ke prep. 'to, at'. From PALb *kō continuing the pronominal form *k'ōi or *k'ōd (MEYER *Wb.* 218, *Alb. St.* III 2). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 326 (analogical formation based on *ku*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 272 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

kedh m, pl. *kedhë, kedha* 'kid'. Other variants are *kec* and *keç*. An umlauticized form of PALb *kadza related to Slav *koza 'she-goat' (*Alb. St.* III 4, 16; CIMOCHOWSKI LII 231). ◇ POTT *KZ* IV 70 (to Lat *hoedus*); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21 (from SCr *keca* 'sound used to call goats'); MEYER *Wb.* 185 (borrowed from Gmc *kidjaz 'kid' or Turk *kāci* 'goat');

St. VII 200, 230; MOUTSOS *KZ* LXXXVIII 59-73 (from MGk κατοῦνα

kerrmë f, pl. *kerrma* 'thorn-bush'. The umlauticized variant of *karmë*.

kernjoj aor. *kernjova* 'to purr (of cat)'. A loanword from Lat *carminār* 'to purr', the verb continues an early form of *kerrmëz* 'purr', therefore, is a loanword from Lat *carminār*.

ketër m, pl. *ketra* 'squirrel, dormouse'. Other variants are *ketër* and *ketër*.

4 (prefix *ke-* followed by *lysh* < **luan-sjo-*, to IE **leuan-*); *IMIR MRW* I 357-358 (to Lat *lutum* 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI 149; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *kë-*); FRISK II 741; *Alk XXV/2* 154-156 (from MGk *κουλούκι(ον)* 'puppy', DEMIRAJ *AE* 218-219).

ka, kalla 'to put into, to insert, to dig, to instigate'. Derivate various deverbatives based on *këllas*, such as *këllëç* 'dig' id. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257.

ke 'hip bone'. Borrowed from East South Slavic *konk* 'hip': Bulg *кълк*, Maced *kolk, кълк*.

kë f, pl. këmbë ~ kambë 'leg, foot'. From Rom **camba* ~ *MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 178). Note no traces of the variant *camba* in Balkan Romance. ◇ (compares with Gk *καμπή* 'bend'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 138; MANN *Language XVII* 1042; CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *κύμβη* 'drinking vessel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *Litteris* IV 197 (from Dalm *can-* XIII 287).

bonë f, pl. këmborë, këmbora ~ këmbonë, këmbona 'bell'. From Rom **campona*, a secondary variant of Lat *campana* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 186: directly from CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *κύμβη* 'drinking vessel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *Litteris* IV 197 (from Dalm *can-* XIII 287).

këmishë 'shirt'. Borrowed from Lat *camisia* 'linen shirt', (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 187). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13;

ka 'to please, to satisfy'. From PALb **ka-nakja* closely related to *ga-nah* 'to be enough', OHG *gi-nah* id. (OREL *Fort.* 79). The form is based on IE **nek-*: Skt *násati* 'to reach' and the like. Development of IE **-k̑i-* > Alb *-q-* that seems to be phoneti-

constructed from *kuokinë* 'dancing party') and Slav **skakati* 'to jump, to spring'. At an early stage, borrowed to dialectal South Slavic **katerb*, attested in Bulg *katerica* 'squirrel' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 60-61). ◇ FRAENKEL 311-312; POKORNY I 922-923; ÇABEJ *St.* I 274 (derivative of SCr *kita* 'tuft, cluster', Bulg *kita* id.); GEORGIEV *Vъprosi* 41-42 (Bulg *katerica* from Thracian, with the ultimate reconstruction of **skōk-*); STANG *LS* 86; BER 271-272 (agrees with GEORGIEV); GINDIN, KALUŽSKAJA, OREL *Blissl.* 251; MURATI *Probleme* 83.

kežë f 'woman's head-dress, bonnet, hair-net'. Another variant is *kesë*. Derivative in *-zë* of an unattested PALb **kaxā* 'plaited hair' etymologically related to Slav **kosa* id., ON *haddr* 'woman's hair' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 114 (to Gk *χαίτη* 'long hair'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 274 (from **krežë*, derivative of *krye*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 131-133.

këlboqe f, pl. këlboqe 'sputum'. A suffixal derivative of *kalb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 275).

këlqere f 'lime'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. *calcāria* 'pertaining to lime' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 186). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1047, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 81, 111-112.

(G) *këlshëjt m* 'communion cup, chalice'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem sanctum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 221) both parts of which are preserved in *qelq* and *shenjhtë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 272 (believes the compound to be formed in Albanian rather than in Latin).

këlthas aor. këlthita, klitha 'to cry'. Together with *këlcas* 'to make noise', this form reflects a strong secondary influence of *kërcas*. However, originally, these verbs go back to a different source, Slav **klicati* ~ **klikati* 'to shout, to call'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 189 (identifies *këlcas* with *kërcas*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100.

këlysh m, pl. këlyshë, këlysha 'young of animal, cub'. A derivative in *-ysh* of an unattested **kul* related to Gk *κύλλα· σκύλαξ*. 'Ἡλεῖοι, Hes. further connected with *σκύλαξ* 'young dog, cub' (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 145 (borrowed from Lat *catulus* 'cub'); MEYER *Wb.* 186 (to Lith *kalė* 'dog, bitch' or W *colwyn* 'young dog, cub'); JOKL

LAUBA 259-260 'to grow'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 131-133 (to Gk *κύλαξ* 'young dog'); LANDI *Lat.* 47.

këllas aor. këllita 'to put into, to insert, to dig, to instigate'. Derivative of *kall*. Note the development of *këllas* 'case' and *këll* 'case'.

këllk m, pl. këllkë 'case'. Derivative of *kall*. Note the development of *këllk* 'case' and *këll* 'case'.

këmbë ~ kambë 'leg, foot'. From Rom **camba* ~ *MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 178). Note no traces of the variant *camba* in Balkan Romance. ◇ (compares with Gk *καμπή* 'bend'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 138; MANN *Language XVII* 1042; CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *κύμβη* 'drinking vessel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *Litteris* IV 197 (from Dalm *can-* XIII 287).

këmborë ~ këmbora 'bell'. From Rom **campona*, a secondary variant of Lat *campana* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 186: directly from CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *κύμβη* 'drinking vessel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *Litteris* IV 197 (from Dalm *can-* XIII 287).

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ka 'to please, to satisfy'. From PALb **ka-nakja* closely related to *ga-nah* 'to be enough', OHG *gi-nah* id. (OREL *Fort.* 79). The form is based on IE **nek-*: Skt *násati* 'to reach' and the like. Development of IE **-k̑i-* > Alb *-q-* that seems to be phoneti-

◇ JOKL *Studien* 36 (to Lith *nokti* 'to become ripe', Latv *nākt* 'to come'); WEIGAND 36 (prefixal derivative of *ēndē*); KLUGE 248; MAYRHOFER II 145; POKORNY I 316-318; FEIST *Goth.* 194; ÇABEJ *St.* I 275 (supports WEIGAND); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

kënd ~ **kand** m, pl. *kēnde* ~ *kande* 'corner, angle'. An early borrowing from Slav **kъrъ* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *canto* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk *καρθός*).

kënd pron. 'somebody'. From PALB **kan tan*, a sequence of two pronouns continuing IE **k'o-* and **to-* in acc. sg. See *kush*. ◇ JOKL *AArbSt.* I 35 (related to *kē*, acc. sg. of *kush*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 275-276 (follows JOKL).

këndell ~ **kandell** aor. *këndella* ~ *kandella* 'to make red-hot, to revive'. A denominative of *këndellë* (MANN *HAED* 193). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 40 (analyzes a dialectal variant *knell* as a prefixal form related to Goth *ganisan* 'to be healthy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 276 (repeats MANN's explanation); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

këndellë ~ **kandellë** f, pl. *këndella* ~ *kandella* 'lamp'. Borrowed from Lat *candēla* 'wax-light, tallow-candle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; ÇABEJ *St.* I 276; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 116.

këndë ~ **kandë** f 'pleasure, appetite'. A prefixal derivative from *ēndë* (MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85). The verb *kënditem* 'to be sated' is derived from *këndë* as well as *këndis* 'to deceive', literally, 'to satiate somebody (with lies)'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 187 (*këndis* 'to deceive' - to Turk *kı namak* 'to torment' or to *gënjej*); JOKL *Studien* 33 (to *gdhij*).

këndirr aor. *këndirra* 'to choke, to suffocate'. A prefixal derivative of *djerr*: *kë-n-dirr*.

këndoj aor. *këndova* 'to sing'. Borrowed from Lat *cantāre* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10; MEYER *Wb.* 187). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 139; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; HULD 80; LANDI *Lat.* 40, 155.

kēnetë f, pl. *kēneta* 'marsh, valley'. Borrowed from Lat *cannētum* 'reeds, thicket of rushes'.

kēngĕ ~ kangĕ f, pl. *kēngĕ ~ kangĕ* 'song'. Borrowed from Lat *canticum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). As to *kēngjelĕ ~ kangjelĕ* id., it continues Rom **canticella*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 115.

kēpucĕ f, pl. *kēpucĕ* 'shoe'. Derived from *kēputĕ* 'sole', see *kēpus*. ◇ CAMARDA I 67 (from NGk παπούτσι 'slipper'); MEYER *Wb.* 188 (from Turk *papuş* 'slipper'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 214, 216.

kēpujĕ f, pl. *kēpujĕ, kēpuja* 'round fruit, drop'. Borrowed from Slav **kapul'a*, derivative of **kapati* 'to drip'.

kēpurdhĕ f, pl. *kēpurdha* 'fungus, mushroom'. Another variant is *kēr-pudhĕ*. A derivative in *-dhĕ* of an unattested **kēpur* related to Lith *kėpurė* 'cap', Latv *cepure* id. Thus, the mushroom is described as having a cap. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 187 (borrowed from Bulg *pečurka* id., SCr *pečurka* id.); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 163-165 (prefixal form related to Gk παρδακός); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 105 (prefox *kĕ-*); FRAENKEL 241; NEPOKUPNYJ *BSS* 40 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

kēpus aor. *kēputa* 'to tear off, to pluck'. Another variant is *kērpuc* 'to pinch, to pluck'. From PALb **karputja*, a derivative verb based on an adjective in *-uta* reflected in *kēputĕ* 'sole'. As to PALb **karputa*, it is further related to *karpĕ*. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk κόπτω 'to strike, to hew'); MEYER *Wb.* 187-188 (from Rom **carputiō*, to Lat *carpō* 'to pick, to pluck'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

kēpushĕ f, pl. *kēpusha* 'tick, cattle-tick'. Other variant, with an unorganic *-r-*, is *kērpushĕ*. Derivative of *kap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 276-277). Borrowed to Rum *căpușă*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krpelj* 'sheep louse'); PUȘCARIU *Dacoromania* II 594 (from Rum *căpușă* id. based on *cap* 'head'); JOKL *IJ* XXIII VII 176 (derived from Lat *capere* 'to take'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274-275; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13 (from Bulg *kapuš* id.).

kēqyr aor. *kēqyra* 'to look, to observe'. A prefixal derivative of *qyr* (MEYER *Wb.* 230). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

kērbaç m 'whip'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrbačъ*, a derivative of **kъrbati*

'to scratch, to break', cf. SCr *korbač* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◇ SVANE 48.

kërbë f, pl. *kërba* 'tub, barrel'. From PALb **karbā* related to Lat *corbis* 'basket', Lith *kaŗbas* id., Latv *kārba* 'birch bark vessel', Slav **korbъ* 'basket'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krbulja* 'small basket for berries' and the like); FRAENKEL 220; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 52-54.

kërbisht m 'sacrum, sacral bone'. A derivative of *bisht* with a prefix containing an unorganic *-r-* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 277). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 123 (to *gërbë*).

kërc m 'stump'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrčъ* id. (Czech *krč* id., Slovene *krč* 'stubbed area, area cleaned of trees and stumps'). Note Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav **-č-*. Alb *kërci* 'shinbone' and *kërcë* 'cartilage, gristle' belong to the same root. Cf. also *kërcu*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 189; BARIĆ *ARSt* 39 (compares *kërci* with Lith *kárka* 'pig's foreleg'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90-91; VASMER II 340; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 210-211; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 191; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kërcas aor. *kërcita, kërcisa* 'to cry, to shout, to rattle, to thunder, to sound'. Borrowed from Slav **kričati* 'to cry, to shout' (MEYER *Wb.* 189; JOKL *LKUBA* 93). An early loanword with Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav **-č-*. Note that the verb **kričati* is not attested in this meaning in South Slavic where we have only SCr *kričati* 'to warn' (Slovene *kričati* 'to shout' could not be the source of the Albanian word). ◇ OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 61 (connects *kërcas* with *kërcej*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kërcej aor. *kërceva* 'to dance, to jump; to pour'. Further phonetically developed to *këcej*. This verb is derived from *kërc* 'stump', the main element of the Albanian pre-Christian sacral rite similar to South Slavic *badnjak*. The original meaning was 'to dance, to take part in a ritual dance'. The meaning 'to pour' is secondary - for a similar semantic development in Rom **salitre* see BUCK 677-678; ANIKIN *Ėtimologija* 1982 67-69. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 189 (from Slav **skočiti* 'to jump'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; GEORGIEV *Vъprosi* 41-42 (derives *kërcej* from **katerj-*), *Trakite* 253-254; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 61 (mistakenly connects *kërcej* with *kërcas*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kërcëlloj aor. *kërcëllova* 'to grind one's teeth, to crack, to creak'. Based

on *kërçyell* 'stem, stalk' which is, in its turn, derived from *kërc*. ◇ CAMAJ Alb. *Worthb.* 107 (analyzes *kër-cyell* as a prefixal form); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 239.

kërcënoj aor. *kërcënova* 'to threaten'. A recent derivative of *kërcej*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 277 (identical with *kërcëlloj*).

kërcu ~ **kërcû** m, pl. *kërcunj* 'stump, block, log, root'. Derived from *kërc* (JOKL *LKUBA* 264). Used in semi-pagan Christian rites (TOPOROV *Ètimologija* 1974 3 f.; ROSETTI *Rom. slav.* 1960 65-70; ZOJZI *BUSH*T 1949 49 f.), *kërcu* as a name of a sacral log was borrowed into Slav **korčunъ* 'Christmas day, winter solstice' from where it was passed on to Rum *crăciun* 'Christmas; ritual bread baked at Christmas' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* 1978 169-171). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23 (from Slavic); ÇABEJ *St.* I 277-278 (reconstructs **kortjo-*); VAILLANT *JF* XXIV/1-2 72-76 (*kërcu* < Rum *crăciun* < Lat *quartum jejūnium*); MLADENOV 256 (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *calātiōnem*); DENSUȘIANU *Hist.* I 262 f. (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *creātiōnem*); PUȘCARIU *EW*R 35-36; SCHUCHARDT *AfslPh* IX 526 (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *Christi jejūnium*); MELICH *MNr* XXXVII 177 f. (Slav **korčunъ* from **korkъ* 'leg', **korčiti* 'to walk'); PREOBRAZHENSKIJ I 361 (Slav **korčunъ* from **korčiti* 'to walk' as a calque of Lat *adventus*); ROSETTI *Etudes* 204-206; CAMAJ Alb. *Worthb.* 106 (prefix *kër-*); ROHLFS *Spr.* 191-196; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

kërçep m, pl. *kërçepë* 'stump, log, branch'. A derivative of *kërc*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (reconstructs the original sg. **kërçap* and explains it as a prefixal derivative of *çapë*).

kërdhokull f, pl. *kërdhokulla* 'hip bone'. See *krrokull*.

kërkoj aor. *kërkova* 'to look for, to seek'. Borrowed from Rom **circāre* id. with the assimilation of velars in the original **qërkoj* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 188). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158-159; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HAARMANN 117.

kërlesh aor. *kërlesha* 'to stand on end (of hair)', refl. *kërleshem* 'to quarrel'. A derivative of *lesh* with a prefix *kë(r)-* (CAMAJ Alb. *Worthb.* 104). Cf. also *ngërleshem* 'to bristle, to stand on end (of hair)'.

kěrrabě f, pl. *kěrraba* 'hook, staff'. A suffixal derivative of an unattested PALb **kara* further related to *karthi*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 129 (to *grep*).

kěrris aor. *kěrrita* 'to grunt (of pigs), to gurgle'. A descriptive stem imitating corresponding sounds.

kěrrlē f 'sloppy mud, slime'. Another variant is *kěrlē*. From PALb **kar-ilā* related to ON *hqrr* 'snivel', OHG *horo* 'excrement', Gk κόρυζα 'snivel'. A derivative *kěrrnjotē* 'mucus from nose, snivel' also belongs here. ◇ FRISK I 924; POKORNY I 573.

kěrrus aor. *kěrrusa* 'to bend'. From PALb **karnutja*, based on a nominal derivative in *-*ut*- further connected with Gk κυρτός 'curved, bent', Lat *curvus* id. (CAMARDA I 178; MEYER Wb. 190). The original nominal form is represented by *krrutē* 'hunch-backed old woman'. ◇ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 248 (to Lat *curvō* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to ON *hnjópa* < **kneudhō*); FRISK II 55; WALDE-HOFMANN I 317-318; POKORNY I 309, 935; ÇABEJ St. VII 258; DEMIRAJ AE 220 (to ON *hverfa* 'to turn').

kěrrutē f, pl. *kěrruta* 'ewe with horns'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. *cornūta* 'horned' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER Wb. 190, Alb. St. III 73). ◇ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk κερατίας 'horned one'); KRISTOFORIDHI 155 (to Gk κυρτός 'curved, crooked'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 148 (from **ko-krū-to* 'horned'); PASCU RE 40 (from Rumanian); KLEPIKOVA SPT 75 (from Arumanian); ÇABEJ St. IV 76; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 99, 114.

kěsen impers. 'to ache (of the stomach), to have griping pains'. Based on PALb **kantša* < **kankja* related to Lith *kenkiū*, *keñkti* 'to damage, to harm', ON *há* 'to torment' < Gmc **xanxōn* and the like (BARIĆ ARSt. I 39-40). ◇ MEYER Wb. 190 (from Turk *kı smak* 'to pinch'); FRAENKEL 240; POKORNY I 565; ÇABEJ St. I 281 (dialectal form of *kěcej* ~ *kěrcej*).

kěsulē f, pl. *kěsula* 'bonnet, cap'. Borrowed from Rum *căciulă* 'cap', with -*ci*- > PALb *-*iš*- > -*s*-. The Rumanian word itself goes back to Alb *kaçule*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 190-191 (from Lat *casula* 'hooded coat' via Gk κασοῦλα 'thick coat'); PUŞCARIU EWR 21; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI ILR I 274; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XIX/1 48-65 (from NGk κασοῦλα).

këshete pl. 'bran'. A prefixal derivative of *shete* (CAMARDA I 70).

këshill m, pl. *këshilla* 'council'. Borrowed from Lat *consilium* id. (CAMARDA I 80; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 208-209). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 99, 117.

kështallë f, pl. *kështalla* 'splint (in medicine)'. From PAIb **ka-stalā*, a derivative related to Goth *stols* 'chair', Lith *stālas* 'table', Slav **stolъ* 'table, pole'. ◇ VASMER III 764-765; FRAENKEL 893; KLUGE 761; FEIST *Goth.* 455-456.

kështër ~ kështën adj. 'Christian'. Borrowed from Lat *christiānus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

kështjellë f, pl. *kështjella* 'castle, fort'. Borrowed from Lat *castellum* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 281-282). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 191 (from Ital *castello* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 81.

këshyre f, pl. *këshyre* 'mountain path, path in the ravine'. Borrowed from Lat *clausūra*, *clūsūra* 'lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 282). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 103, 110.

këtu adv. 'here'. From PAIb **ka tu* including a pronominal stem **ka* < IE **k'o-* and adverbial **tu*, cf. Skt *tú* 'now, but' (BOPP 496-497; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 5-6). While the prevailing form for 'there' is *aty*, certain dialects preserve *atu* (ELEZOVIĆ *AARBSt.* II 249). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161; MAYRHOFFER I 507; ÇABEJ *St.* I 282; HULD 80-81.

kic aor. *kica* 'to bite'. A descriptive stem.

kij aor. *kiva* 'to prune, to trim'. Another variant is *kiej*. From **këinj* < PAIb **kadinja*, a denominative verb related to *kadhë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 282-283). Derived from *kij* is *kizë* 'pruning-hook'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 226 (from Lat *incidere* 'to cut'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40 (to *shqyej*, from **klednjō*); AJETI *ZfBalkV*/2 139-140 (to Slav **kyjъ* 'stick').

kikë f, pl. *kika* 'top, tip; mane'. Borrowed from Slav **kyka* 'tuft of hair,

plaited hair', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kika*, SCr *kika* (SVANE 181).

kinse conj. 'as, just as, as if'. A univerbation of *kini se* 'you (pl.) have that, you assume that' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 283-284). Cf. also *kish* 'if only' from 3 sg. imperf. *kish*, form of *kam*.

kishë f, pl. *kisha* 'church'. Another variant is *qishë*. Borrowed from Lat *ecclesiā* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◇ CAMARDA I 46 (to late Gk ἐκκλησία id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 279; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 119, 125.

kitë f, pl. *kita* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Slav **kyta* 'tuft, bundle, branch', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kita*, SCr *kita*. This Albanian word is historically identical with the singularized form *kite* 'sheaf; ear of grain' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 284). ◇ SVANE 103.

kith m 'veil of mist'. A derivative of *kitë*.

klečkë f, pl. *klečka* 'splinter, piece of wood'. Borrowed from Slav **klěčka* id., cf. Bulg *klečka*, SCr *klečka* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172, 308). ◇ SVANE 81.

klekë f, pl. *kleka* 'kind of mountain pine'. From PALb **klakā* related to Slav **klokъ* 'tuft, tow'. ◇ VASMER II 252.

klabë f 'pick, pick-axe'. Borrowed from Slav **klapa*, a derivative of **klapati*, with an irregular substitution of **-p-* > *-b-*. A more phonetically regular reflex of the same loanword is *klapë* 'fetter, chain' (BER 419). Note a derivative *klabëz* 'door-bolt'. ◇ TRUBACEV *ÈSSJa* IX 184.

killanë f 'last day of the year, New Year eve, first snow'. Other variants are *kullana*, *kollanë*, *këllanë*, *kllandë*. Borrowed from Rom **calandae*, a form of Lat *calendae* 'first day of a month' attested in Romance and borrowed to Celtic (ÇABEJ *St.* I 296-297). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 196 (from Slav **koľeda* 'New Year day'); MEYER-LÜBKE *REW* 115; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 116.

kllapë f, pl. *kllapa* 'puddle'. From **kë-llapë* further related to *llap*. As to *kllaçë* id., it continues **klapçë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208.

kllapit aor. *kllapita* 'to eat like a dog'. Either derived from *llap* or borrowed from Slav **klapiti* ~ **klapati* 'to sound, to clatter', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *klapam*, SCr *klapati* (SVANE 222).

klashë f, pl. *klasha* 'cape of sheep and goat wool'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *klašn'a* 'woolen shawl', SCr *klašnjë* 'kind of cloth'.

klloçis aor. *klloçita* 'to brood, to cluck'. Borrowed from Slav **klociti* 'to cluck', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *klocam*, Slovene *klociti*. As to *kllukas* id., it is a local borrowing from dialectal Bulg *klukam* < *klokam*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 191 (adduces various Balkan forms but is uncertain of the actual source of the Albanian verb); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 31 (from Bulg *kloča* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 147; SVANE 236.

kllopit aor. *kllopita* 'to gulp'. From a dialectal form of Bulg *klupam* < *klopam* 'to clap, to beat, to quack' belonging to Slav **klopiti* ~ **klopiti*, cf. also SCr *klopiti* id.

kmesë f, pl. *kmesa* 'billhook, sickle'. Another form is *kamesë*. Derived from *kamë*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 9 (to *kep*, suffix *-esë*); HULD 145, 154 (reconstructs **Hekmṇ-tjeH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 220-221 (crossing of *kizë* id. and *kamë*).

kobë f 'theft, augury, deception, disaster'. Borrowed from Slav **kobъ*, **koba* id., cf. Bulg *koba*, SCr *kob*, *koba* (MEYER *Wb.* 193, but treats *kobë* 'theft' as an Italian loanword). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 149, 493; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 32; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 222, 236.

koc m, pl. *koca*, *kocinj* 'bone, skull'. Borrowed from Slav **kostъ* id. with a metathesis in the consonantal cluster *-st- > -ts- (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195). The Slavic diminutive **kostъka* id. is the source of Alb *kockë* id., *koskë* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 202-203 (from Ital *coccio* 'cracked pot'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

koçë f, pl. *koca* 'black goat; girl from 8 to 10 years old'. An allegro

form of Slav **kozьlica* '(young) she-goat', cf. CS *kozьlica*, SCr *kozlica*.

kočě f, pl. *koca* 'rush-trap for fish'. Borrowed from Slav **kotьсь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *koce*, SCr *kotac*.

koč m 'penis'. Another form is pl. *kočet* 'testicles'. Borrowed from Bulg *koč* 'ram'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22 (from Slav **kočanъ* 'head of cabbage'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 194; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *kokě*); OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 140-141.

koděr f, pl. *kodra* 'hill, angular stone, corner'. Borrowed from Rom **codrum* < Lat *quadrum* 'square' on which also Rum *codru* 'forest' is based (SCHUCHARDT *Vokalismus* II 510). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 193 (compares *koděr* with Rum *codru*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XL 212-213 (from Rum *codru*); CAPIDAN *Dacoromania* I 509 (follows PEDERSEN); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 157 (to Alb *katar* 'peak'); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 34; TAGLIAVINI *RivAlb* II 185 (repeats PEDERSEN's etymology); SKOK *AfslavPhil* XXXVIII 83-84 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40 (to Lat *castrum* 'castle, fort'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29-30; HAMP *SCL* XXXI 664 (from early Rumanian); PICCILLO *RLiR* XLV 146-157 (from Rumanian); ÇABEJ *St.* I 284-285 (follows SCHUCHARDT).

kofshě f, pl. *kofshě* 'hip, thigh'. Borrowed from Lat *coxa* 'hip' (CAMARDA I 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 193). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 246, 366; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 99, 124, 134.

kohě f, pl. *kohě* 'time'. From PALb **kāxā* etymologically related to Slav **časъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 194, *Alb. St.* III 3). ◇ PEDERSEN *BB* XX 279, *KZ* XXXVI 279; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 144, *Sprache* IX 151; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 148; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs an inlaut cluster **-sk̥-*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 226; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 35; PORZIG *Gliederung* 174; PISANI *Saggi* 124 (follows SCHEFTELOWITZ and reconstructs **kēsḱā*), *REIE* IV 6; ECKERT *ZfSlaw* VIII 890; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; HAMP *StFil* XXVII (V)/3 68 (reconstructs **kēsḱā* or **kēsḱā*), *St. albanica* X/2 86-87, *Ėtimologija* 1971 268-269; HULD 81; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; SCHMALSTIEG 265; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 66; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X

222; DEMIRAJ AE 221-222 (to OPrus *kīsmān*, reconstructs *kohĕ* < **kēsya*).

koj aor. *kova* 'to feed (children or animals)'. A phonetic variant of *mĕkoj*.
 ◇ CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk *kovéō* 'to hasten'); ÇABEJ St. VII 244.

kokĕ f, pl. *kokĕ, koka* 'head, bulb, berry, grain'. Borrowed from Lat *coccum* 'berry' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; WEIGAND 37). ◇ MEYER Wb. 165 (from Rom **coca*, Lat *cauca* 'kind of dish, bowl'), 194 (on *kokĕ* 'berry, grain'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ St. I 285-286 (agrees with WEIGAND).

kokĕrr f, pl. *kokrra* 'berry, grain'. Derived from *kokĕ* (JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 29). ◇ MEYER Wb. 195 (from Ital *coccola* 'globular fruit (of plants)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *kokĕ*); ÇABEJ St. I 286-287 (agrees with JOKL).

koleshkĕ f, pl. *koleshka* 'cart'. An early borrowing from Slav **kolesъka* id. otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

kolibe f, pl. *kolibe* 'hut'. Borrowed from Slav **kolyba* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *koliba*, SCr *koliba*. Cf. *kalibe* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165). ◇ OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84; SVANE 52.

kolmĕ adj. 'pretty, winsome'. From PALb **kālīma*, a suffixal derivative of IE **kal-*: Skt *kalyā-* 'healthy', Gk Hom *κᾱλός* 'beautiful'. The long vowel in Proto-Albanian remains unclear. ◇ FRISK I 766-767; POKORNY I 524; ÇABEJ St. VII 202.

koll m 'plow-beam'. Borrowed from Slav **kolъ* 'pole', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kol*, SCr *kolac*.

kollĕ f 'cough'. From PALb **kāslā* identical with Slav **kašlъ* id., Lith *kosulys* id. (MEYER Wb. 195, Alb. St. III 2, 63). These forms are derived from IE **kās-* 'to cough'. ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 79; JOKL *Sprache* IX 117-118; VASMER II 214-215; FRAENKEL 284; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 150; MANN *Language* XXVI 380, XXVIII 35-36; PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 649; HULD 81; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; DEMIRAJ AE 222.

kom m 'mane'. Another variant is *komë*. Borrowed from Lat *coma* 'hair' (JOKL *Studien* 110). ◇ BARIC *ARSt.* I 40-41 (from **(s)kēp-no-*, related to Germ *Schaf* 'sheep'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 287 (agrees with JOKL).

kongjill m, pl. *kongjij* 'charcoal'. A variant of *thëngjil* with a different prefix **k-*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

kopër f, pl. *kopra* 'fennel'. Borrowed from Slav **kopръ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kopъr*, SCr *kopar* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 287). ◇ SVANE 109.

kopicë f, pl. *kopica* 'moth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **kopica* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 198).

kopil m, pl. *kopilë, kopila* 'lad, chap, bastard'. Borrowed from Slav **kopylъ* 'shoot, sprout, bastard', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kopil, kopile*, SCr *kopil*. Rum *copil* is of the same origin. ◇ CAMARDA I 162 (to Gk κόπος 'toil and trouble'); MEYER *Wb.* 198 (from Rom **cōpīlis* 'son born from *cōpa*, tavern-keeper'); VASMER *IORJaS* LXXXVI 96 (from Gk κοπέλλα 'girl'); OŠTIR *WuS* V 220 (prefix *ko-* and *-pil* related to *pjell*); JOKL *LKUBA* 6, 14, 311 (follows OŠTIR), *IJb* XXIII 227 (from Modern Greek); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 116-117; SCHÜTZ *WSl* III 17-18; REICHENKRON *Dakisches* 112-113 (from Dacian **kolpīlos*, to IE **guelbh-* 'cub, uterus'); HUBSCHMID *ZfBalk* XVI 61-63, *ZfromPh* XCIX/5-6 497-511; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ABAEV II 279 (to Osset *qæbūl* 'child'); TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1979 129-130, 177; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

kopsht m, pl. *kopshte, kopshtinj, qipshte* 'garden'. A derivative in *-sht* based on PALb **kāpa* identical with Gk κῆπος id., OHG *huoba* 'plot of land' (MEYER *Wb.* 198-199, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). ◇ JOKL *Sprache* IX 118; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 842; KLUGE 318; POKORNY I 529; ÇABEJ *St.* III 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 222.

koqe f, pl. *koqe* 'corn, berry'. A singularized plural of *kokë* (CAMARDA I 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 287-288). The latter is the source of Rum *coacăză*. ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Rom **cocceum*, based on Lat *coccum*, or from Ital *coccia*); MEYER *Wb.* 194-195, 210 (repeats SCHUCHARDT's

etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045 (the same explanation); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLVIII 398-400 (from Rom **cocceum*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238.

korb m, pl. *korbë, korba* 'raven'. Borrowed from Lat *corvus* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 139-140.

korbull f, pl. *korbulla* 'keg, cask, wooden pail'. Borrowed from Lat *corbula* 'little basket'.

kordhë f, pl. *kordha* 'gut string'. Borrowed from Lat *chorda* 'gut, catgut' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119).

kordhë f, pl. *kordha* 'sword'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. CS *korȓda* id., SCr *korda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 199). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052 (from Romance); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

korë f, pl. *kora* 'crust, bark'. Borrowed from Slav **kora* 'bark', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kora*, SCr *kora* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 199). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173; SVANE 94, 121.

kore f, pl. *kore* 'chicory'. Borrowed from Lat *cichorëum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 117.

koris aor. *korita* 'to shame, to dishonor'. Borrowed from Slav **koriti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kor'a*, SCr *koriti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153-154; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191; SVANE 236.

koritë f, pl. *korita* 'trough'. Borrowed from Slav **koryto* id., cf. Bulg *korito*, SCr *korito* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22-23; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 142, 170-171; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 67.

korp m, pl. *korpe* 'body'. Borrowed from Lat nom. *corpus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 84.

korsēm adv. 'perhaps, as if'. Another variant is *korse*. A univerbated phrase *kur se* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 288-289). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 89 (from **kosrem* based on **kosĕ* < IE **k^uā-k^e*).

kortë f 'quarter of a slaughtered animal; liquid measure'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part, quarter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 289). Cf. *kartë*.

korube f, pl. *korube* 'beehive'. Borrowed from Slav **koruba* 'hollow trunk, beehive', cf. Bulg *koruba*, SCr *koruba* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 170 (connected with *kolibe*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 289 (agrees with SELIŠČEV); SVANE 159.

korr aor. *korr* 'to reap, to harvest'. Goes back to PALb **kāśra*. Related to Lith *kasù, kàsti* 'to dig', Slav **kosa* 'scythe' (MEYER *Wb.* 200). The name of July *korrik* as well as *korriqe* 'measure of grain' are derived from *korr*. ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 46 (follows MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 100-102 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; PISANI *RIL* CXII 12 (from Ital *corre* < *cogliere* 'to reap'); FRAENKEL 226-227; POKORNY I 585; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 133-135; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from IE **kēr-nō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 222-224.

korropitet refl. 'to become tired'. A prefixal derivative related to *rropatet* 'to strain'.

korropesh adj. 'dark, dark-haired'. A compound of *korr* and *peshë* structurally similar to *korrozi* id., a compound of *korr* and *zi*.

korrovesh m, pl. *korroveshë* 'jug with a handle; grape', adj. 'without ears'. A compound of *korr* and *vesh*.

kos m 'yogurt, clotted curds'. Borrowed from Slav **kvasъ* 'sour substance', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *kvasъ*, Bulg *kvas*, SCr *kvas* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

kosĕ f, pl. *kosa* 'scythe'. Borrowed from Slav **kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 157; SVANE 236.

kosě f, pl. *kosa* 'plait'. Borrowed from Slav **kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SVANE 181.

kosis aor. *kosita* 'to mow'. Borrowed from Slav **kositi* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kos'a*, SCr *kositi* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 157; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 155; SVANE 236.

kosore f, pl. *kosore* 'small scythe'. Borrowed from South Slavic **kosorъ* 'scythe, pruning knife': Bulg *kosor*, SCr *kosor* (SVANE 33).

kosh m, pl. *kosha*, *koshe* 'basket'. Borrowed from Slav **košъ* id.: Bulg *koš*, SCr *koš* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201-202). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151, 154; SVANE 67, 159.

koshēz f, pl. *koshēza* 'bot-fly'. Another form is *koshas* < **koshaz*. A collective form of **kosh* borrowed from Lat *cossus* 'kind of larva' (CANDREA *GS* III 430). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; ÇABEJ *St.* I 289; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

kot m, pl. *kota* 'useless, vain'. From PALb **kāta* related to Lith *kotùs* 'disgusting'. The latter is further explained as a derivative of *kòks* 'which', Slav **kakъ* 'how'. ◇ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk *kótos* 'rancor'); MEYER *Wb.* 202 (to *kot* 'darkness' and Gk *σκότος* id.); FRAENKEL 280; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IX 118-119.

kot m 'darkness'. From PALb **kāta* further related to OIr *scáth* 'shadow' < **skāto-*, Gk *σκότος* 'darkness' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 202). ◇ FRISK II 739-740; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 19; VENDRYES [S] 36; POKORNY I 957.

kovač m, pl. *kovačē* 'smith'. Borrowed from Slav **kovačъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kovač*, SCr *kovač* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 203). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172, 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; SVANE 87, 197.

kozhuṗ m, pl. *kozhupe* 'shepherd's fur jacket'. A variant of *kazhuṗ*.

krah m, pl *krahē* 'arm, shoulder, side'. Borrowed from Slav **krajъ* 'end,

side, extremity'. For the semantic development cf. Bulg *krajnik* 'arm, leg', *kraište* id. (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). Note the development of *-j-* > *-h-* characteristic of early loanwords from Slavic. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 203 (comparison with Lith *kárka* 'shin, shank' and Slav **korkъ* id., morphologically difficult), Alb. *St.* III 6, 71; LIDÉN *Studien* 92, Arm. *St.* 43 (comparison with Skt *kiṣku-* 'forearm'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 251 (derives *krah* from **krok-skā*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs **kar-skā* and compares *krah* with Skt *kará-* 'hand, elephant's trunk'); BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 384-385; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 91; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (follows LIDÉN); POKORNY I 945-946; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 210, ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from **korok-*); HULD 81-82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 224 (to Arm *srunk* 'calf (anat.)', Lat *crūs* 'shank').

krahëror ~ **krahnuer** m. pl. *krahërorë* ~ *krahnuerë* 'breast, chest'. Derived from *krah* (CAMARDA II 66; MEYER *Wb.* 203). ◇ WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 250 (to *krehër*); WEIGAND *Grammatik* 55 (follows WIEDEMANN); JOKL *LKUBA* 154 (agrees with WEIGAND); ÇABEJ *St.* I 290 (supports CAMARDA).

krahinë f. pl. *krahina* 'region, area'. An early loanword from Slav **krajina* id.; OCS *kraina*, Maced *kraina*, SCr *kraina* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 175). ◇

LANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (*-h-* is a hiatus filler).

local variant of Rom **krahëlorë* 'brain, skull'. For the semantic development cf. *cerebrum* 'brain, skull'. Metathesized in *klere* 'curly, fizzy'.

regularized plural of a less usual *kremtë*. *kreme* is attested. A suffixal form in

ticized form of PALb **krapa* related to *greppo* 'steep, rocky bank' and the ÇABEJ *St.* I 268-269; OREL *ZfBalk* constructs **krHp-* or **krop-*).

wed from Rom **crāpulus*, cf. Lat

krat m 'back'. Borrowed from Lat *crātis* (*spinae*) 'spine'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (from SCr *hrbat* id.).

kredh aor. *krodha* 'to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter'. From PALb **krōda* identical with Slav **kradq*, **krasti* 'to steal', refl. **kradq se*, **krasti se* 'to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed' (OREL *IF* XLIII 110-111). Further connections of the Slavic verb (including a popular comparison with Latv *krāju*, *krāt* 'to gather, to collect') are uncertain. The aorist in *-o-* must be secondary as it is, normally, characteristic of presents in *-e-* < PALb **-e-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to Slav **greznōti* 'to sink', phonetically improbable), Alb. *St.* III 8, 17, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124; VASMER II 364; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XII 103-105.

kreh ~ **kref** aor. *kreha* ~ *krefa* 'to comb'. From PALb **krebska* related (with an irregular unvoicing of the anlaut) to Lith *grėbti* 'to rake', Slav **grebq*, **grebti* 'to row, to rake' (MEYER *Wb.* 204-205, Alb. *St.* III 8, 71). Derived from *kreh* are *krehër* ~ *krehën* 'comb', a singularised plural of **krah*, and *kresë* 'curry-comb'. ◇ FRAENKEL 165-166; POKORNY I 455-456; ÇABEJ *St.* I 290 (on *krehër*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 109-100.

krej aor. *kreva* 'to pull out'. From PALb **krebnja* connected with *kreh* ~ *kref* (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

kreke f. pl. 'maple'. Borrowed from Lat *Crataegus* 'Crataegus maple' (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

krap aor. *krapiti* 'to sweep up (wheat), to cut (branches)', derived from Slav **krajiti* 'to cut, to winnow', otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

krap m, pl. *krep* 'carp'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *krap* id., SCr *krap* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 204). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Lat *carpiō* or Ital *carpa*).

krap m 'collar-bone'. From PALb **krapa* related to W *craff* 'strong' < **krapnos*, ON *hræfa* 'to tolerate, to bear with', Slav **krěpъkъ* 'strong, firm' continuing IE **krēp-* 'strong'. The same root is found in *krape* 'ovary'. ◇ POKORNY I 620; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XII 135-138.

krel m, pl. *krele* 'curl, lock'. From **krele* 'related to the head' based on Lat **krele* 'curl, lock'. For the semantic development cf. *cerebellāre* 'ca

kremte f. pl. *kremte* 'holiday'. A singularized plural of **kreme*. In dialects, a form without suffix *-m-* based on *krye*.

krep m, pl. *krepa* 'rock'. An umlauted form of **krapa*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to Ital *crepa* like); JOKL *Studien* 35 (to *karpē*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 225 (re

krepull adj. 'inebriated'. Borrowed from Lat *crēpulus*.

craputa 'excessive wine-drinking, meditation' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 290-291, with an alternative link to Ital *crepare* 'to burst, to split').

kreshkĕ f 'foliage'. A suffixal derivative in *-shkĕ* of *krĕnd* (attested also as *krend*). As to *kreshk* 'fish scale', it also belongs here. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Ital *crusca*); JOKL *LKUBA* 166 (to *kreshtë*).

kreshmĕ pl. 'fast'. Borrowed from Lat *quadragesima* 'Lent, fast of forty days', cf. Ital *quaresima* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 205). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051 (from Ital *quaresima*); HAARMANN 144.

kreshnik m, pl. *kreshnikĕ* 'hero, knight'. Borrowed from SCr *krajišnik* 'inhabitant of a border region' (SCHMAUS apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 291). ◇ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116 (to *kreshtë*).

kreshpĕ f, pl. *kreshpa* 'sheep with long and rough wool'. From Lat fem. adj. *crispa* 'curled, crisp, uneven'. The verb *kreshpëroj* 'to anger' is based on the same Latin adjective in its different meanings - 'quivering, tremulous'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205 (on *kreshpëroj*); HAARMANN 120.

kreshtë f 'mane, rooster's comb'. Borrowed from Lat *crista* 'rooster's comb, crest of a helmet' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 102, 119.

krĕnd ~ krande m, pl. *krĕnde ~ krande* 'foliage; brushwood; leaves used as fodder; chips; branch without leaves'. From PALb **ka-randa*, a prefix formation connected with IE **rendh-* 'to tear (asunder)' and, in particular, with OHG *rinda*, *rinta* 'rind', OE *rinde* id. and the like (OREL *IF* XLIII 111). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to OIr *grend* 'side-whiskers', OHG *grana* 'mustache' and the like), Alb. *St.* III 8, 71; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 240; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Gk κράνον); POKORNY I 865; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 261; OREL *IF* XCIII 111 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 225.

kri ~ krî f, pl. *kri ~ krî* 'woodworm, moth'. From PALb **kriwi-* continuing a dialectal Indo-European form **k^hui-*: Slav **červъ* 'worm' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46-47). Nazalisation in Geg is secondary. ◇ TRAUT-

krife f, pl. *krife* 'mane'. Borrowed, with the irregular unvoicing of voiced consonants, of Slav **griva* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaimki* 1971: 104; influence of *krinë* 'mane' borrowed from Romance cannot be excluded). ◇ HAMP KZ CVI/2 305-306.

krikloj aor. *kriklova* 'to creak (of wheels)'. Borrowed from Rumanian *riculăre* based on Lat *carrus* 'wagon'.

krimb ~ krym m, pl. *krimba*, *kërminj* ~ *kryma* 'worm'. Reflexive **krim-* connected with IE **k^hrimi-* id.: Skt *kṛmi-*, Lith *kirmis* 'worm' like (STIER KZ XI 247; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 62; MEYER *Wb.* 206). Geg -y- remains unexplained: could it be a rare case of umlaut suggesting PALb **krimu-*? ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 64; SEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 191-192, 318, *Sprache* IX 12; AVINI *Dalmazia* 160; MAYRHOFER I 261-262; FRAENKEL 25; Saggi 132; BARIÇ *Hymje* 36; POKORNY I 649; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 2; II 323; HULD 82; OREL *IF* XLIII 116, *ZfBalk* XXIII 148, *Koll.* 351 (irregular -ry-, -ri- < IE **-r-*); KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr.* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225-226.

kripë ~ krypë f, pl. *kripëra* ~ *krypna* 'salt'. From PALb **krūpā* connected with ON *hrufa* 'scab', Lith *kraupūs* 'rough', *kraupis* 'scab', Lat *krūpa* 'frail, brittle', Slav **krupa* 'groats' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 31, 7; Saggi 124). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowing from Slav **krupa*); NOV *Ist.* 220; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 290; POKORNY I 623; OREL *IF* XLIII 106; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 45.

Krisht m 'Christ'. Borrowed from Lat *Christus* while *krishterë* 'Christian' goes back to Lat *christiānus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Phil.* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 191). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158.

krocë f, pl. *kroca* 'dogrose'. A derivative in -cë from *kromë*.

krodhë f, pl. *krodha* 'bread crust'. Borrowed from Lat fem. acc. < *crūda* 'cruel, rough'.

krodhë f, pl. *krodha* 'beehive'. Goes back to PALb **krādā* related

hrot 'roof', Slav **krada* 'heap, pile'. ◇ POKORNY I 617-618; FEIST *Goth.* 270-271; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XI 58-60.

kromě f, pl. *kroma* 'scabies; dogrose'. Derived from *kruaj*. Another derivative from the same source is *krosě* 'scab'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*).

krongjill m, pl. *krongjij* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Rom **corniculus* based on Lat *cornū* 'horn'.

krua ~ **krue** m, pl. *kronj, kroje* 'spring, fountain'. From PAIb **krāna* < **krasna* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel. Related to Gk κρήνη id., OE *hræn* 'wave' < Gmc **xraznō* (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 207). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 71; TORP *IF* V 204; THUMB *IF* XXVI 3-14 (borrowed from Greek); PETERSSON *IF* XXIV 50 (from **krēnyo-*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 146; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 92 (prefix *k-* and root *-rua* identical to that of *pěrrua*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81-82 (to *krye* and Skt *khánati* 'to dig'); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* II 137 n. 3 (agrees with THUMB); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; PISANI *Saggi* 120; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (prefix *k-*); FRISK II 16; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; ÇABEJ *St.* I 292-293.

kruaj ~ **kruej** aor. *krova* 'to scratch'. From PAIb **krābnja* with a long grade of ablaut, further connected with *kreh*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*); JOKL *Studien* 23-25 (same identification with *grij*), *IF* XXXVII 99; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 381 (to Gk κνάω, Lith *knóju*); ÇABEJ *StF* III/1 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 226.

krunde pl. 'bran'. Another form is *grundě*. Derivative of *kruaj* ~ *kruej*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 132-133 (explains *grundě* in connection with OE *grindan* 'to grind'), *Alb. St.* III 8; JOKL *Studien* 23 (reconstructs zero grade *-un-* < *-*ŋ-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 358 (to Slav **krupa* 'groats'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 293 (to Gk κρίνω 'to separate').

krup aor. *krupa* 'to loathe'. From PAIb **krupa* etymologically related to Lith *kraupùs* 'easily scared', *krupùs* id., *krāpti* 'to scare'. ◇ FRAENKEL 291.

krushk m, pl. *krushq* 'bride's man, unmarried relative'. A metathesis of **kushk(ě)r*, borrowed from Lat *consocer* 'father-in-law' > Rum *cuscru* (MEYER *Wb.* 207). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1045; PUŞ-

CARIU *EW*R 41; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 117-118.

krybe f, pl. *krybe* 'oakum, tow'. From PALb **krūba*, a derivative in *-b-, connected with Gk κρύπτω 'to hide' (where old *-bh- may be alleged), Lith *kráuti* 'to pile up', Slav **kryti* 'to cover, to hide'. ◇ FRAENKEL 291; SCHWYZER I 333 (on the nature of the labial in κρύπτω); FRISK II 29-30; POKORNY I 617; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 71-72.

krydh aor. *krydha* 'to plunge; to steal, to rob'. An Elbasan form. Connected with *kredh* (OREL *IF* XLIII 110).

krye n, pl. *krerë* ~ *krenë* 'head'. From PALb **krānjā* < **krasnjā* with a compensatory lengthening of the root vowel. Etymologically identical with Gk κρᾶνίον 'skull, head' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 33) and further related to IE **k̑erās-* 'head' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23). The word for 'head' is the source of *kryej* 'to finish'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowed from Lat *cerebrum* 'head, brain'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1054; TREIMER *MRIW* I 360 (reconstructs **kreunom* connected with Slav **krušiti* 'to destroy, to grind'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81 (comparison with OIr *cenn* 'head'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 160, *Stratificazione* 91-92; MANN *Language* XVII 16, XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 120; FRISK II 6-7; POKORNY I 574-577; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 86, *KZ* LXXVI 279-280; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HULD 83 (reconstructs **krH-euno-*).

kryq m, pl. *kryqe*, *kryqa* 'cross'. Borrowed from Lat *crucem* id. with an irregular substitution of the short Lat -u- (CAMARDA II 201; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 207). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 198; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 83, 146.

kririlë f, pl. *kririla* 'crane'. Other forms are *koririlë*, *kurrilë* and *kojrrilë*. Borrowed from Gmc **kran-ila*, a diminutive of **kranaz* id.: OHG *krano*, OE *cran*. ◇ KLUGE 399-400; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 59; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 1964 179; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129 (from Rom **gruilla*).

krrok aor. *krroka* 'to caw'. A descriptive stem similar to Lat *crōciō* id.

krrokull f, pl. *krrokulla* 'hip bone, joint, knuckle'. An allegro form of *kërdhokull* id. The latter is a derivative of **kërdhok* 'round object' preserved as a singularized plural in *kërdhoq* 'eye-ball'. As to **kërdhok*, it reflects a suffixal derivative based on the unvoiced variant of *gardh*.

krrokull f, pl. *krrokulla* 'saffron'. Borrowed from Rom **croculum*, diminutive of Lat *crocum* id.

kshetë f, pl. *kshetë* 'nymph, mermaid'. Identical with *kshetë* 'plait', a variant of *gërshetë*.

kthej aor. *ktheva* 'to turn'. A prefixal derivative of *thyej*. ◇ CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk ἐκ-τίθημι 'to set outside'); MEYER Wb. 185 (from Lat *convertere* 'to turn round'); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* 2 I 1054; JOKL *Studien* 94 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ St. VII 258.

kthetër f, pl. *kthetra* 'claw (particularly, of vulture)'. Derivative in **-ter* of *kthej*.

kthill aor. *kthilla* 'to make clear, to brighten'. An older Tosk form is *kthiell*. A prefixal derivative (CAMARDA I 101) of unattested **thiell* reflected in *thjeshtë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 184 (to Italo-Alb *fjeyonem* 'to clear up'); BUGGE BB XVIII 191 (from **kthej diell*); JOKL *Studien* 37-38 (to IE **skēi-* attested in *hije*); ÇABEJ St. I 294 (to *fill*).

ku pron. 'where'. From PALb **ku* identical with Skt *kúha* id., Slav **kъ-de* id., Lith *kuř* id. and the like, originating from IE **k'u-*, a variant of the pronominal stem **k'o-*. ◇ CAMARDA I 67 (to IE **k'o-*); MEYER Wb. 218 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 317, 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161; PORZIG *Gliederung* 168; FRAENKEL 314; MAYRHOFER I 249; POKORNY I 647-648; ÇABEJ St. VII 232, 254; HULD 83-84; DEMIRAJ AE 226-227.

kuar ~ kuer m 'measure, order, free time'. Borrowed from Lat *chorus* 'dance in a ring, harmony, harmonious motion'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 333 (*përkuar* 'moderate' based on **përkoj* < Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); ÇABEJ St. I 294-296 (to *korr*, IE **sker-* 'to cut').

kuç m 'dog'. Borrowed from South Slavic **kučę* 'dog, cub', cf. Bulg

kuçe, SCr *kuče*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 218-219 (various Slavic and Romance parallels); BÜGA II 220; MACHEK *ZfslavPh* XXI 154 (onomatopoeia); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

kuçedër f, pl. *kuçedra* 'dragon (with many heads)'. Another variant is *kulshedër*. Borrowed from Lat *chersydrus* 'kind of snake' (MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 116). ◇ CAMARDA I 192 (compound of *kulish* 'whelp, young' or *kuç* and gen. of ὕδρα 'hydra'); MEYER Wb. 219 (from Lat *excetra* 'snake, serpent'); POLÁK *EBTch* V 29-30.

kuhet refl. 'to redden (of skin)'. Derived from *kuq*.

kujtoj aor. *kujtova* 'to remember, to think'. Borrowed from Lat *cōgitāre* (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER Wb. 194). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 41-42 (to OIr *ciall* 'reason'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162, *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

kuk adv. 'alone'. From PALb **kuka* continuing IE **k^uu-k^o* 'whoever, anybody', cf. Lat *quisquam, quisquis* and the like.

kukas aor. *kukata* 'to wail, to shriek'. Borrowed from Slav **kukati* 'to be alone, to wail', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kukam*, SCr *kukati*.

kukoj aor. *kukova* 'to make fast, to seal (of a barrel)'. Literally, 'to isolate'. Derived from *kuk*.

kukur m 'quiver'. Borrowed from late Lat *cucurum* id. or MGk κούκουρον id. (MEYER Wb. 211).

kukutë f 'fennel'. Borrowed from Lat *cicūta* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048) ◇ HAARMANN 121.

kukzøj aor. *kukzova* 'to bend, to arch over'. Based on **kukëz*, a suffixal derivative of **kukë* borrowed from **kuka* 'hook', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kuka*, SCr *kuka*.

kulaç m, pl. *kulaçë, kuleç* 'pancake'. Borrowed from Slav **kolačъ* 'round bread', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kolač*, SCr *kolač* (MIKLOSICH

Slav. Elemente 22). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155, 303; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 14; SVANE 93.

kular m, pl. *kularë* 'curved piece of wood, ox-collar'. Borrowed from Lat *collare* 'collar' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049) ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 118; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 99.

kulbë f, pl. *kulba* 'kind of freshwater fish'. Another form is *kubël*. Early Slavic loanword: note Alb -u- rendering Slav -ъ-. The source is (South) Slav **кълба* ~ **кълбъ* (Pol *kielb*, Rus *kolba*), see MEYER *Wb.* 212; OREL *Ëtimologija* 1983 143. ◇ MIKLOSICH *EW* 154 (the Slavic and Albanian words are genetically related); BERNEKER I 659; VASMER II 286; OREL *Ëtimologija* 1983 143; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 296 (from Rom **cuplea*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

kulë f 'hernia'. An early borrowing from Slav **kyla* id., with *-y- rendered as Alb -u-. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 212-213 (from Lat *culleus* 'leather sack'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34; SVANE 182.

kulm m, pl. *kulme* 'ridge, peak; wave'. Borrowed from Lat nom. *culmen* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Lat *culmus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 244 (to Gk *κολώνη* 'hill', Lat *columen* 'top'); HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

kulmak m, pl. *kulmakë* 'ruch, road'. Derived from the archaic *kulm* 'chose'

of Lat *cucurbita* 'gourd' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* I 296) ◇ LANDI *Lat.* 114.

kultër f, pl. *kultra* 'pillow, cushion'. Borrowed from Lat *culcitra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213) ◇ HAARMANN 121.

kulloj aor. *kullova* 'to sieve, to sift, to filter'. Borrowed from Lat *cōlāre* 'to filter, to strain' (MEYER *Wb.* 212). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

kulloshtër f 'beestings'. Borrowed from Lat *colostra* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118). ◇ KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 116 (from Italian).

kullos aor. *kullota* 'to put out to pasture, to graze'. A derivative of *kulloj*. ◇ CAMARDA I 295 (to Gk βου-κολέω 'to tend cattle'); MEYER *Wb.* 212 (from Lat *colere* 'to cultivate'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

kullumbri f, pl. *kullumbri* 'blackthorn, sloe; turtle dove'. A derivative of **kullumbë* borrowed from Lat *columba* 'dove', the plant being called after the bird as Rum *porumb* 'maize, corn' after *palumbes* 'dove' (MEYER *Wb.* 212). ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 119; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Lat *palumbes*); HAARMANN 118.

kullusmë f, pl. *kullusma* 'thicket'. A metathesis from **kullumesë* (cf. *gjysmë*) borrowed from Rom **columnātia*, cf. Lat *columnātiō* 'supporting

kumbull f, pl. *kumbulla* 'plum tree'. Other variants are *kumull* and *kumëll*. Borrowed from Gk κοκκύμηλον id. (MEYER Wb. 213). ◇ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 249 (from Rom **columbula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St. I* 297 (borrowed from Doric).

kumerë f 'fear, fright'. A prefixal derivative of *mer*, *tmer*.

kumerq m 'toll, duty'. Borrowed from Lat *commercium* 'trade, commerce' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048.

kumt m 'news, announcement'. Borrowed from Lat *commonitus*, participle of *commonere* 'to remind, to put in mind'. From *kumt* the verb *kumtoj* 'to announce' is derived. ◇ ÇABEJ *St. I* 297-298 (from Lat *computare* 'to sum up, to reckon'); HAARMANN 118.

kumtër m, pl. *kumtër* 'godfather'. Borrowed from Lat *compater* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER Wb. 214). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St. I* 298-299 (based on fem. *kumëtër* borrowed from Lat *commāter* 'godmother'); LANDI *Lat.* 41, 115, 143.

kunat m, pl. *kunetër* ~ *kunetën* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Lat *cognātus* 'kinsman, blood relation'. The feminine form *cognāta* is reflected as Alb *kunatë* (CAMARDA I 158; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER Wb. 214). Note a derivative *kunatoll* 'brother-in-law (wife's brother)' that may continue Rom **cognāteōlus*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 125, 138.

kund adv. 'somewhere'. Goes back to Palb **kum to(m)*, acc. sg. of *ku* and a pronominal stem **to-*, see *ay*. ◇ WEIGAND 41 (to Lat *unde* 'whence'); JOKL *AArbSt* I 35-36 (acc. sg. of **k'o-* and a pronominal **to-*); ÇABEJ *St. I* 299-300 (phonetic transformation of *ku*).

kundër prep. 'against'. Borrowed from Lat *contra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER Wb. 214). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

kundoj aor. *kundova* 'to hesitate'. Borrowed from Lat *cunctārī* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◇ HAARMANN 121; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 52-54 (against MEYER).

kungoj aor. *kungova* 'to communicate'. Borrowed from Lat *commūnicāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 214). As to *kungë* 'altar (of the Orthodox church)', it is a back-formation derived from the verb. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 22; HAARMANN 119; ÇABEJ *St. I* 300 (*kungë* borrowed from Lat *concha* 'shell-fish, mussel, *vault'); LANDI *Lat.* 117.

kungull m, pl. *kunguj* 'marrow, pumpkin, bottle'. From PAIb **kunkula* identical with Lith *kuñkulas* 'bubble' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 214 (from Lat *cucumis* 'cucumber'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

kunj m, pl. *kunja* 'peg, wedge'. Borrowed from Lat *cuneus* 'wedge' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). The verb *kunjoj* 'to close a sack with a peg' continues Lat *cuneāre* 'to wedge'. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

kup m 'heap, pile'. Borrowed from Slav **kupъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kup*, SCr *kup*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 215 (from Rom **cuppus* 'kind of vessel'); SVANE 43.

kupë f, pl. *kupa* 'glass, bowl'. Borrowed from Lat *cuppa* 'tub' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 215). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 100.

kuptoj aor. *kuptova* 'to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *computāre* 'to sum up, to reckon' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St. I* 300-301 (derived from *kap*).

kuq adj. 'red'. Borrowed from Rom **cocceus*, cf. Lat *coccineus* 'scarlet' (MEYER *Wb.* 210). ◇ BOPP 490 (to Skt *śūci-* 'fiery, bright'); CAMARDA I 164 (compares with NGk *κόκκινος* 'red'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; HULD 84.

kur adv. 'when'. From PAIb **kur* formally identical with Arm *ur*, Lith *kuř* 'where', Latv *kūr* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34), derived from IE **k^hu-* (see *ku*). ◇ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 250 (from Lat *quā hōrā* 'at what hour, when', with an irregular development of the inlaut vocalism); MEYER *Wb.* 215 (accepts SCHUCHARDT's etymology); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 317, *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; MEILLET *MSL* X 259, XX 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164 (follows VASMER); AČAREAN *HAB* III 613-614; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 647-648; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 324 (on -*r*); HULD 84; HAARMANN 144; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; DEMIRAJ *AE* 227-228.

kurorē ~ kunorē f. pl. *kurora ~ kunora* 'crown'. Borrowed from Lat *corōna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1048; ERNOUT-MEILLET 144; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 120; JANSON *Unt.* 52-53; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 88.

kursej aor. *kurseva* 'to spare'. Derived from **kurt* 'short' borrowed from Lat *curtus* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 101 (to Lat *curtus*); MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Rom **curtiāre*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; HAARMANN 122.

kurt m. pl. *kurte* 'yard'. Borrowed from Lat *cortem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 216). ◇ GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 472 (from NGk κούρτη id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 301 (on Old Alb *kurtë* id. preserving the gender of Lat *cortem*).

kurth m, pl. *kurthe* 'snare, trap'. Derivative in -*th* of *kurp ~ kulp*, cf. *kulpër*. Somehow connected with Rum *cursă* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Turk *kurs* 'disk'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 42 (to OHG *hurt* 'wicker-work'); MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lat *crātis*, Goth *haurds*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237.

kurvë f. pl. *kurva* 'whore, prostitute'. Borrowed from Slav **kury*, gen. **kurъve* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kurva*, SCr *kurva* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 216). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 194; SVANE 200.

kurrē adv. 'never, ever'. Goes back to PAIb **kur ne* of which the first element is identical with *kur* and the second reflects the Indo-European negation **ne* 'not' (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 317). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 215

(identifies with *kur*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 145; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 302 (phonetic variant of *kur*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 228.

kurriz m 'spine, backbone, hump'. A derivative in *-iz* based on PAIb **kurna* < **kynos* related to Lith *kēras* 'stump', *kīrna* 'pointed end of a trunk, bush', Slav **korenъ* 'root'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 190 (to *kērrus*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY I 573; TRUBACEV *ÈSSJa* XI 62-66.

kush pron. 'who'. From PAIb **kuša* going back to an Indo-European pronominal compound **k^u-so-* consisting of **k^u-*, a morphological variant of **k^o-* id., and demonstrative **so-*. The Albanian form is, thus, quite close to Tokh A *kus* id., B *kuse* id. < **k^u-so-* (MEILLET *Idg. Jb.* I 13; OREL *LB XXX/1* 57-58). Note *-sh-* < **-s-* explained by the "ruki" rule (OREL *Die Sprache XXXI/2* 114). As to acc. *kë* ~ *kâ*, it continues PAIb **kam* < IE **k^oom* (MEYER *Wb.* 217, *Alb. St.* III 2, 88). ◇ BOPP 463 (to IE **k^o-*); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 212 (to IE **k^o-*); MEYER *Wb.* 217-218 (*kush* treated as a borrowing from Lat *quis* with some reserve); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 317 (related to IE **k^o-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 165; MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (follows MEILLET); VAN WINDEKENS I 246; POKORNY I 647-648; ÇABEJ *St.* I 275-276, 302-303; HULD 84; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 280, *LB XXX/1* 58-59, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ *AE* 218, 228 (from **k^u-sm*).

kushëri ~ **kushërî** m, pl. *kushërinj* 'cousin'. Borrowed from Lat *consōbrīnus* id. (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 218). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 119.

kusht m, pl. *kushte* 'vow, bet, boundary, condition'. Back-formation of *kushtoj* 'to cost' continuing MLat *constāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 217). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 303 (borrowed from Ital *costo* 'price').

kushtrim m 'hue-and-cry, war cry, call-up, enrollment, alarm'. A regular deverbative in *-im* based on **kushtroj* borrowed from Rom **conscrīptāre*, cf. Lat *conscribere* 'to enroll (of troops)'. ◇ WEIGAND *BA* I 257 (to *kusht*); LAMBERTZ *Volkspoesie* 247 (divides into *kush trim*

'who is brave?'); ÇABEJ *St. I* 303-304 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

kushull m 'consul'. Borrowed from Lat *consulem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046.

kut m, pl. *kut* 'measure of length'. Borrowed from Lat *cubitus* 'cubit' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138, 141.

kutě f, pl. *kuta* 'young dog, cub'. Borrowed from Slav **kutej* id. attested in East Slavic (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198). Cf. *kuç*.

kutěndoj aor. *kutěndova* 'to thank'. Borrowed from Lat *contentāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049) ◇ HAARMANN 119.

kuvend m, pl. *kuvende* 'speech; council, meeting'. Borrowed from Lat *conventus* 'meeting, assembly' (CAMARDA I 340; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 219). A parallel form pl. *tantum kuvise* 'speeches, words' continues Rom **conventiae*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1044, 1048; JOKL *Idg.Jb.* XI 190 (*kuvise* as a deverbative of **kuvij* borrowed from Lat **convenire*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; HAARMANN 119; ÇABEJ *St. I* 304 (*kuvise* as a plural of *kuvend*, cf. his interpretation of *vise* : *vend*); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 88, 148-149.

ky pron., f. **kjo** 'this'. From PALB **ka-ei*, f. **ka-jā*, based on a pronominal element **ka-* and a demonstrative, see *ai*, *ajo*. ◇ PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315; HULD 84-85 (to *k'o-*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (from **ku-i*, with **-i* < IE **ejom*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 217-218.

kyç m, pl. 'key'. Other forms are *klyç* and *qyç*. Borrowed from Slav **kl'učb* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kl'uč*, SCr *ključ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 193). ◇ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 144, 150, 308; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; SVANE 84.

L

lab m, pl. *labě*, *lebër* ~ *lebën* 'Lab, inhabitant of Laberia'. Back-formation based on *Labëri* 'Laberia' borrowed from an unattested South

Slavic **labanŭja* < **olbanŭja* rendering the native pre-Albanian name of the country: *Albania*, Ἀλβανία. ◇ DESNICKAJA *VËI* 194 (directly from ancient **arb-/alb-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

labërgoj aor. *labërgova* 'to undo, to untie'. A phonetic variant of the same word is represented in *labërkoj* 'to reduce, to diminish, to wear out'. A derivative of an unattested **lapërkë* based on *lapër* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 304).

labiç m 'ghost, bogey', adj. 'importunate, rotten'. From **lamiç*, a derivative of *lamjë* 'bogey' (from NGk λαμία, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 231). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Ital **larviccio*, based on Lat *larva* 'specter, shade'); JOKL *LKUBA* 77-78 (from Slav **l'ubičъ* 'lover').

labrik m 'sea-wolf'. Borrowed from Gk λάβριχος id. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *labrax*); MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from Rom **labracum* < Gk λάβραξ id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

lacë f 'gusset, inlet; white goat'. Continues **larcë*, a phonetic variant of *larëz* id., a derivative of *larë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 304-305). ◇ BARDHI apud ÇABEJ *ibid.* (to IE **leuk-* 'white').

laçkë f, pl. *laçka* 'household goods'. One of the rhyming words appearing together with *plaçkë* 'thing, booty' (of Modern Greek or late Slavic origin, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 344): *me laçkë e me plaçkë* 'bag and baggage', *plaçkë e raçkë* id.

ladut m, pl. 'rogue, rascal'. Probably, borrowed from an unattested Bulg **lɔgut* 'liar' derived from Slav **lɔgati* 'to lie'.

lafatë f, pl. *lafata* 'Judas tree'. Another phonetic variant is *lajthatë*. A form *lofatë* is also attested. Derived from *lajthi*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (from Ital *siliquastro* 'Judas tree').

lafshë f, pl. *lafsha* 'crest (of bird), comb'. Borrowed from Lat *laxa* (*cutis*) 'loose (skin)' (MEYER *Wb.* 234). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 197 (to *lapë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1055; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 84 (deminutive of *lapë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 77-78.

lag aor. *laga* 'to wet, to soak, to bathe, to wash'. From PALb **lauga* to be further compared with *lēgatē*. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *lī-* 'to melt'); CAMARDA 140 (to Gk *λούω* 'to wash'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Slav **volga* 'liquid'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 37 (related to Slav **volga*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 45-46; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (same as VASMER); POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 83; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; HAMP apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *liūgas* 'swamp'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229-230.

lagaterē f 'period of changeable weather (in March - April)'. A compound of *lag* and *ter* (JOKL *LKUBA* 293).

lagje f, pl. *lagje* 'district, quarter'. Singularized plural of **lag* etymologically identical with Gk *λόχος* 'ambush, place for lying in wait', Slav **logъ* 'den, narrow valley' and other continuants of IE **loghos*, a deverbative of **leg-* 'to lie' (JOKL *RIEB* I 58-60). ◇ POKORNY I 658-659; FRISK II 110-112; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 79 (borrowed from Gk *λόχος*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 305 (agrees with JOKL, adduces sg. *lag* 'band, horde'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XV 248-250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 230.

laj ~ **lāj** aor. *lava* 'to wash'. Originates from PALb **launja* related to Gk *λούω* id., Lat *lavō* id. (PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 211, 215). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (borrowed from Lat *lavāre*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; JOKL *IF* XLIII 51; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 84-86 (to Russ *solovyj*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175 (follows MEYER); FRISK II 138-139; WALDE-HOFMANN I 773-774; POKORNY I 692; KLINGENSCHEMITT *Verbum* 117, *Münch. St. Spr.* 109; HAMP *AION-L* II (XIII) 186 (follows PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 211, 247; HULD 85 (if borrowed, Lat *lavāre* would yield **lēvoj* or **loj*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 230-231.

lajkē f, pl. *lajkē* 'caress; flattery'. From **larkē* further related to *larē*. Semantically, the development is identical with that of *laroj* 'to speckle, to spot' and 'to flatter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 305-306). ◇ CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk *λαϊκόζω* 'to wench'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (borrowed from or related to Slav **laska* 'caress'); JOKL *LKUBA* 204-205 (to Gk *λάσκω* 'to shout' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 231 (to *laj*).

lajle f, pl. *lajle* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A contamination of *lajkë* and *lale*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 306 (related to *larë*).

lajthi f, pl. *lajthi* 'hazel-tree, hazel-nut'. In Borgo Erizzo, *lakthi* is attested (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166-167). Based on *lakth* ~ **laqth* 'loop, noose', derivative in *-th* of *lak* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 30). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 234 (to Slav **lěska* 'hazel-nut', Lith *lazdà* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 44 (to Skt *vleška* 'sling'); JOKL *LKUBA* 203-205 (supports MEYER and reconstructs an earlier **ladh* with an epenthetic *-j-*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 109 (from **l-al-thi*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 231-232.

lak m, pl. *leq, leqe* 'trap, snare, rope, bow (of a musical instrument), pass (in the mountains), bend, curve'. From PALb **laka* 'bend, curve' connected with IE **lēk-* ~ **lāk-*, see *flak* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *laqueus* 'noose, snare'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Rom **laquus*, cf. Lat *laqueus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 160; DESNICKAJA *Gr. str.* 9; POKORNY I 674; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 227.

lakë f 'défilé, valley'. Borrowed from Gmc **lakaz* 'brook, river, swamp', cf. OHG *lahha*, OE *lacu* and the like. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *lacus*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Ital *lacca* 'deep bottom', itself from Germanic); KLUGE 416.

lakër ~ lakën f, pl. *lakra ~ lakna* 'cabbage, greens'. Borrowed from Gk *λάχανον* 'greens' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14; MEYER *Wb.* 236). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 208; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 41; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; JANSON *Unt.* 41.

lakmi f, pl. 'greed, avarice'. Derived from **lakēm* 'greedy' borrowed from Slav **olkomъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lakom*, SCR *lakom* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 236). As a result of erroneous segmentation of **lak-ēm*, a new form *lakut* 'greedy, glutton' was produced. ◇ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

lakshte f 'dew'. Derivative in *-sht(ë)* from *lag*.

lakuq adj. 'red (of earth)'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq*.

lakur adj. 'naked'. From PALb **lauk-ura* derived from IE **leuk-* 'to

shine, to be white'. The derivative **lauk-urā* > *lëkurë* 'skin, bark' also belongs to the same root. For the semantic motivation of words for 'bark'. From *lakur* the word for bat *lakuriq*, *laskuriq* is derived. ◊ MEYER Wb. 236 (to Gk λέπω 'to peel'), Alb. St. III 3; JOKL *Studien* 46, n. 1 (compares *lëkurë* with Gk λακίς 'tear, break, crack', Slav **lǫčq*, **lǫčiti* 'to split'), 51 (prefix *lë-* in *lëkurë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; TRUBAČEV *Remesl. term.* 165-166; POKORNY I 687-689; HULD 86; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145, *Orpheus* VI 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 232-233, 240-241 (dialectal form of *lakuriq*, further related to *lëkurë* and based on IE **skeyə-* 'to cover').

lale f, pl. *lale* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A result of assimilation of *liquida* in the plural form of *lar*.

lalë m 'uncle, father' (used as a title). Represents a *Lallwort* widespread in the Balkans, cf. NGk λαλῶς 'grandfather' and the like (MEYER Wb. 236; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167, *Stratificazione* 117). From this stem *lalush* 'to fondle, to caress' is derived.

landër f, pl. *landra* 'tendril (of plants); oleander'. Borrowed from MLat *lorandrum*, a transformation of Lat *rhododendron* (OREL *Orpheus* VI 66).

lanok m, pl. *lanokë* 'robber, thief'. Another variant is *landok*. Borrowed from Slav **lěnъkъ* 'lazy person, idler', cf. Bulg *lenk'o*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 307 (derivative of *lëndë* with the original meaning 'woodcutter').

lap aor. *lapa* 'to slurp, to lap up'. From PALb **lapa*, an onomatopoeia relate to Gk λάπτω 'to lick', Lith *lapth* 'to swallow greedily, Slav **lopati* 'to eat greedily' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER Wb. 237, Alb. St. III 31). Among derivatives, note *lëpij* 'to lick' and *lëpis* 'index' (literally, the licked finger). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (equal to Friul *lapa* 'to lick'); FRISK II 85, 92; POKORNY I 677; FRAENKEL 339-340; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242 (influenced by *pij*, form of *pī*).

laparos aor. *laparosa* 'to make dirty'. Together with Bulg *lapardos-vam* id. borrowed from a Modern Greek formation based on Gk λαπαρός

'soft'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (to *lapërdhi*), *LKUBA* 90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 233 (new formation in *-os* based on *lapër* 'cloth').

lapë f, pl. *lapa* 'hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf'. Continues PALb **lapā* related to Lith *lāpas* 'leaf', Gk *λοπός* 'shell, husk, bark' and the like. Derived from *lapë* are *lapetë* 'peritoneum (of a slaughtered animal); triangular patch of cloth' and *lapër* 'peritoneum, dewlap', adj. 'foul, evil, bad'. As to *labë* 'bark', it is a secondary dialectal variant of *lapë*, cf. ÇABEJ *St.* I 307. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 237 (to Lith *lōpas* 'spot' and its cognates); JOKL *Stud.* 44 (*labë* to Lith *liūbas* 'bark'), *LKUBA* 88-89; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav **lupъ* 'scale', ON *lauf* 'leaf'), XXVI 386 (*labë* to Gk *λοβός* 'pod'); FRAENKEL 339-340; FRISK II 105-107; CHANTRAINE 632; POKORNY I 678; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229, 233.

lapërdhi f, pl. *lapërdhi* 'dewlap; obscenity, dirty joke'. Derivative of *lapër*, cf. *lapë* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 36 (to Skt *lāpati* '(he) whispers', Slav **lepetъ* 'babble'); JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (together with *laparos* 'to make dirty' related to IE **leip-* 'fat, grease, dirt'), *LKUBA* 90.

laps aor. *lapsa* 'to exhaust, to wary'. Although in other cases the cluster *-ps-* indicates the Greek origin, this word may continue PALb **lapitja* related to Gk *λαπαρός* 'weak', *λαπάζω* 'to weaken' (JOKL *Studien* 48). ◇ FRISK II 84-85; ÇABEJ *St.* I 307 (from Gk *βλάπτω* 'to disable, to weaken'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 234.

laps aor. *lapsa* 'to wish, to want'. From PALb **laubitja* related to Skt *lúbhyati* 'to wish', Slav **l'ubiti* 'to love' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 48). ◇ MAYRHOFER III 107-108; POKORNY I 683-684; ÇABEJ *St.* I 308 (identical with *laps* 'to exhaust, to wary'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XV 174-176.

lapush adj. 'big-eared'. Borrowed from Slav **lapuša* 'plant with big leaves', cf. SCr *lapuša* 'kind of oak'. The Albanian usage is obviously metaphorical.

lar m 'laurel'. Borrowed from Lat *laurus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 237). From *lar* a diminutive *larth* 'holly' as well as *larëz* 'wild vine' and *larushk* id. are derived. ◇ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17 (*larushk* from Lat *labrusca*); HAARMANN 132; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 110, 140.

lara pl. 'menstruation; rinse water'. Substantivized form of *larĕ* ~ *lanĕ*, participle of *laj*.

laracoj aor. *laracova* 'to variegate'. Together with *laraman* 'motley, spotted' and *laragan* id. derived from *larĕ*.

lardh m 'fat bacon'. Borrowed from Lat *lāridum*, *lārdum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169.

larĕ f, pl. *lara* 'white spot', adj. 'spotted, motley'. From PALb **laurā*, derivative in *-r-* based on *laj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laros*, cf. *laroj*).

larg adv. 'far (away)'. Borrowed from Lat *largus* 'big, large' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1050; HASDEU *EMR* I 583; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 132; HULD 85 (gross misinterpretation of MEYER's view); LANDI *Lat.* 49.

laroj aor. *larova* 'to speckle, to variegate; to flatter'. Another morphological variant is *laros*. Derived from *larĕ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (borrowed from NGk λερώνω 'to dirty'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 153 (*laroj* 'to flatter' to Slav **laskati*); JOKL *IJ* X VII 67 (united *laroj* 'to speckle' and *laroj* 'to flatter' by comparing it to Gk ποικίλλω 'to speckle, to paint, to flatter'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 308 (follows JOKL).

lartĕ ~ **naltĕ** adj. 'high'. Based on the adverbial Lat *in altum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 297). ◇ MEYER *BB* XIV 54, *Wb.* 238 (rejects his earlier explanation); JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (from PALb **laudra*, to IE **leudh-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 34 (on prothetic *l-*), 201; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 147-148 (< **tlā-ro-*, to Lat *tollō*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 246; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 49.

lashtĕ adj. 'old; early, premature (of fruit)'. A parallel form is *lashĕ*. An adjective in *-tĕ* going back to PALb **lauša* related to Goth *laus*

'empty, loosen', with further connection with Gk λύω 'to loose, to release'. Semantically, the development may be compared to that of Gmc **alda-* 'old' if, in our case, an intermediate link 'to release' > 'to let grow' > 'to grow old' is admitted. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (from Lat *lassus* 'faint, languid'); JOKL *LKUBA* 226-228, *Slavia* XIII 309 (to IE **leudh-* 'to grow'); KLUGE 446; FRISK II 149-150; POKORNY I 681-682; FEIST *Goth.* 325; HAARMANN 132; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 56 (to Lith *ilgas* 'long'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 308-309 (derivative of *lag*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

latē f, pl. *lata* 'small axe'. From PALb **laptā* related to *lapē* (JOKL *Studien* 47, *LKUBA* 88) and reflecting a derivation close to (thematic) Slav **lopata* 'spade', Lith *lópeta* id. and (athematic) OPrus *lopto* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). On the semantic link between 'leaf' and 'spade' see TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 43. ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 17 (related to Slav **delbto*); TOPOROV *PJa* IV 358-363.

latredh m, pl. *latredha* 'uncastrated ram or goat'. A prefixal derivative of *tredh* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110).

latyrē f, pl. *latyra* 'rinse water'. Borrowed from Rom **lavātūra* from Lat *lavāre* 'to wash' (MEYER *Wb.* 237).

lavare f, pl. *lavare* 'noose, hangman's rope'. Singularized plural of *lavar* 'dog-collar'. A prefixal form of *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309). The corresponding verb is *lavirem* 'to hang down'.

lavij aor. *lavita* 'to become mad'. Another variant is *lavem* id. Historically identical with *lavos* 'to wound, to injure' from NGk λαβώνω id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 239 (on *lavos*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 108.

lavire f, pl. *lavire* 'filthy rags; whore; brook, rill; ridge (of a hill)'. Derivative of *lavirem*, see *lavare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310).

lbardh aor. *lbardha* 'to make white'. A prefixal derivative of *bardh*.

le part. Accompanies verb in jussive. Goes back to PALb **laide* identical with the Baltic particle of optative and permissive: Lith *lai*, Latv *lāi*, *leī*, OPrus *-lai*. It coincides with the old unattested imperative as well as with 2 sg. pres. of *lē* (CAMARDA I 255; PEKMEZİ 76-77). ◇ FRAENKEL 329; ÇABEJ *St.* I 310.

lele f, pl. *lela* 'dirty woman, slut'. Borrowed from Slav **lěl'a* 'aunt', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lěl'a*, *lel'a*, Bulg *lel'a*, SCr *ljelja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25).

lemarak m, pl. *lemarakë* 'glutton'. Another variant is *lemacak*. Expressive derivatives based on *lemcë*.

lemcë f 'uterus (of animals)'. A morphological variant in *-zë* is represented by *lemzë* 'female sexual organ'. Both words are based on *lemë*, a participle of *lej* (GAZULLI 234). As to *klemzë* id., it is a prefixal derivative of *lemzë* (GAZULLI 204). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 313.

lemeri f, pl. *lemeri* 'fear, terror'. Prefixal derivative of (*t*)*merr*.

lend m, pl. *lende* 'acorn'. From PAIb **lenta* compared with the Indo-European word for 'lentil' **lent-*: Lat *lēns*, *lēntis*, OHG *linsi*, Slav **letja* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 313-314). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *glānde(m)* 'acorn' but how to explain Lat *gl-* > Alb *l-*?); MEYER *Wb.* 243 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 22 (compares with *lēnd*); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (to Gk βάλανος id.); VASMER II 553-554; WALDE-HOFMANN I 783; POKORNY I 677; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 131-132 (same as MANN); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16 (from Latin); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XV 63-65; OREL *IF* XLIII 111 -113 (unconvincing comparison with *lej*).

lenicë f, pl. *lenica* 'female salmon'. Derivative of *lej* using a suffix of Slavic origin. The specific term is connected with the salmon spawning.

lenoj aor. *lenova* 'to mitigate, to soften, to relieve'. Borrowed from Ital *lenire* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◇ CAMARDA I 173 (to Lat *lēnīre* 'to make soft, to alleviate'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; ÇABEJ *St.* I 314 (derived from *leh*, *lehtë*).

lepër f 'leprosy'. Borrowed from Lat *lepra* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from NGk λέπρα id.).

leptyrë f 'muddy place'. Borrowed from Rom **lippitūra*, cf. Lat *lippitūdo* 'blearedness, rheum'.

lepur m, pl. *lepra*, *lepuij* 'hare'. Borrowed from Lat *leporem* id. (STIER KZ XI 139; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 241). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1043, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 9; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 144-145.

lerë f, pl. *lerë* 'dirt, mud'. From PALb **laurā* etymologically identical with Lith *laūrė* 'dirty person', further related to **leu-* reflected in *lum*. ◇ CAMARDA I 146 (to ὀλερόν· κόπρον, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laroj*, ὀλερόν); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (derivative in *-rë* of *lyej*), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; LAMBERTZ KZ LIII 12 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 346-347; ÇABEJ *St.* I 315 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 237 (dialectal form of *lyrë*, cf. *lyej*).

lerë f, pl. *lera* 'heap of stones, pebble bank'. Continues PALb **laurā* related to Gk λαύρα 'alley, pass between rocks' (JOKL *RIEB* I 43-46). ◇ FRISK II 91; PISANI *Saggi* 85; POKORNY I 683; GINDIN *JaDN* 164; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 79 (borrowed from λαύρα); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 237-238 (originally Geg).

lerth m 'ivy'. Another variant is *lerdh*. Diminutive in *-th* of *lar*.

lesë f, pl. *lesa* 'harrow, wicker-work, frame'. Borrowed from Slav **lēsa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lesa*, SCr *ljesa* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. nasele-nie* 156). A parallel form *leshë* id. belongs to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. ◇ SVANE 31.

lesë f, pl. *lesa* 'cleaning rag, cloth'. A derivative of *lyej* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315).

leskër f, pl. *leskra* 'scale (of fish), shred, slate, thin metal shavings'. A derivative of **lesk* borrowed from Slav **listъkъ* 'small leaf', cf. South Slavic continuants: Maced *listok*, SCr *listak*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 316 (from SCr *liska* 'metal plate'); SVANE 149.

lesh m, pl. *leshra* ~ *leshna* 'wool, fleece, hair'. From PALb **laiša* etymologically connected with the Balto-Slavic word for 'foliage': Lith *laiškos* 'leaf', Latv *laiška* 'leaf on a linen stalk; stalk', Slav **listъ* 'leaf'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav **volsъ* 'hair'); *Wb.* 241 (comparison with Gmc **fleusaz* 'fleece'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 38, 61; JOKL *Studien* 49 f. (to

Skt *laví-* 'sickle', Gk *λαῖον* id.), *Slavia* XIII 292 (borrowed from Slav **lěsa*); KRISTOFORIDHI 205 (to Gk *λάχνη* 'down, fleece, frizzy hair'); BARIĆ ARSt 45 (to Gk *οὔλος* 'curly'), *Hymje* 26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38-39 (to ON *vlōh* 'hair', Gk *λάχνη*, same as KRISTOFORIDHI); RIBEZZO *Riv. indo-gr.-it.* I 16 (to Gk *λάσιος* 'hairy, covered with hair'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (agrees with MEYER Wb.); PUDIĆ IX *Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows MEYER); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; ÇABEJ St. I 315-316, IV 78; FRAENKEL 333-334; VASMER II 500-501; POKORNY I 681; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 198 (borrowed from Slav **volsъ*); TRUBACEV *ĖSSJa* XV 143-144 (Slavic and Baltic words derived from IE **lei-* 'to spring up [of plants]'); HULD 85-86 (to OS *wlōh* 'fringe'); DEMIRAJ AE 238-239 (to Lat *vellus* 'wool').

leshko m, pl. *leshko* 'credulous, gullible'. This homonym of *leshko* 'hairy one' (to *lesh*) is borrowed from Bulg *lečko*, *лъčko*, adv. 'lightly', cf. *lečok* 'light'.

leshnje f 'moss'. Derivative of *lesh*.

lez m, pl. *leza*, *lezë* 'wart, mole, pimple, birthmark'. Another morphological variant is *lezë*. There exists a dialectal form *lemzë* that reflects the original structure of the word and allows to identify it with *lemzë* ~ *lemcë* and, in the long run, with *lej* (JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 31). For the semantics cf. E *birthmark*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 316-317 (to *lyej*).

lë ~ lâ aor. *lashë* 'to let'. From PAIb **laidna*, a present in *-*ne/o-* replacing a more archaic **laida* (see *lej*). Related to IE **leid-* attested in Baltic and Germanic: Lith *lėisti* id., Latv *laīst* id., Goth *letan* id. (MEYER Wb. 242, *Alb. St.* III 28, 65, IV 24). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 252, *Sprache* IX 118; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 351-352; POKORNY I 666; FEIST *Goth.* 329-330; ÇABEJ St. I 317 (to Lat *lēnis* 'soft, smooth' - semantically difficult); DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 227; OREL *IF* XLIII 113; HULD 155; JANSON *Unt.* 81 (on part. *lënë*); DEMIRAJ AE 239.

lēbarke f 'dysentery'. A prefixal derivative of *bark* (MEYER Wb. 242). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 51; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

lēbyr aor. *lēbyra* 'to dazzle, to maze, to confuse'. A prefixal deriva-

tive of *byr*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 317-318 (reconstructs two prefixes *lě-* and *b-*); MURATI *Probleme* 86-87 (to *lyej*).

lěfore f, pl. *lěfora* 'rind, peel, scale of fish'. A dialectal phonetic variant of *lěvore* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 318).

lěfos m, pl. *lěfosě* 'glutton'. From **lěpues* 'lapping', see *lap*. The feminine form *lěfosě* is attested in a different meaning - 'woman or animal with hanging breasts'.

lěfyt m, pl. *lěfytā* 'pipe, tube'. A prefixal derivative of *fyt* (MEYER *Wb.* 115). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 109; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

lěgatě f, pl. *lěgata* 'marsh'. Cf. also *lěngatě* under the influence of *lěng* ~ *lang*. From PALb **leugatā* connected with Illyr ἔλος Λούγεον καλούμενον (Strabo 7.43), Lith *liūgas* id., Slav **luža* 'pool' (MEYER *Wb.* 242). ◇ MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 52 (to Gk λέμφος 'mucus'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 45-46 (to *lag*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86, *IF* XLVI 383; KRAHE *BNF* XIV 120-124 (Illyrian parallels); FRAENKEL 379; POKORNY I 686; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 239-240 (to *lag*, *lagě*).

lěkore f, pl. *lěkore* 'chicory'. A prefixal derivative of *kore* id., probably influenced by *lěkurě*.

lěkostěr f 'bast'. A prefixal derivative of unattested **kostěr* borrowed from Slav **kostra* 'bark, grass'. In South Slavic only a derivative **kostr'ava* 'kind of grass' has been registered: Bulg *kostr'ava*, SCr *kostrja-va*.

(G) **lěkue** m, pl. *lěkonj* 'water lily'. Borrowed from Lat (*lilium*) *Lacōnem* 'Spartan (lily)'.

lěkund aor. *lěkunda* 'to rock, to swing, to sway, to shake'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **kund*, a nasal present reflecting PALb **kunda* and related to Gmc **xutan* 'to swing': MHG *hutzen*. ◇ BUGA *RFV* LXV 317 (compares Germanic forms with Lith *kuzdėti* 'to tremble', *kūdulti* 'to pull hair or beard'); POKORNY I 956-957; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269.

lĚkuq aor. *lĚkuqa* 'to tinge red, to dye red'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 101).

lĚkurĕ f, pl. *lĚkurĕ* 'skin, hide'. Derived from *lakur*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 102, 108 (prefix *lĕ-*); DEMIRAJ AE 240-241.

lĚmaqe f, pl. *lĚmaqe* 'expanse of rubble, stoneslide, pile of stones'. A singularized plural of **lĚmak*, a derivative in *-ak* of *lĚmĕ*.

lĚmashk m, pl. *lĚmashqe* 'mud, scum, moss, fur on tongue'. Another variant is *lĚmyshk* 'moss, fur on tongue'. A prefixal derivative from *myshk*.

lĚmazĕ f, pl. *lĚmaza* 'thin skin, shell'. A prefixal derivative of *mazĕ* (CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 108).

lĚmehem refl. 'to put on make-up'. A reflexive form of *lĚmoj* 'to smooth, to polish'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 318 (derived from *lyem*, participle of *lyej*).

lĚmekem refl. 'to become wet; to faint'. A prefixal denominative (CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 110) of an unattested **mek* 'wet' continuing PALb **maka* and connected with *makĕ*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 242.

lĚmĕ ~ lamĕ f, pl. *lĚmĕ ~ lamĕ*, *lĚmĕnj ~ lamĕnj*, *lĚmenj ~ lamenj* 'threshing-floor, wine-press'. There also exists a more archaic masculine form *lĚm ~ lam*. From PALb **lamā* etymologically identical with OHG *lam* 'lame', Slav **lomъ* 'breaking; crow-bar; broken branches', reflecting **lomos* further derived from IE **lem-* 'to break' (MEYER Wb. 243, Alb. St. III 64). ◇ SCHMIDT KZ LVII 17 (to *lej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167-168 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 674; ÇABEJ St. I 318-319 (to Lith *lomà* 'pit, hole'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 25-27; DEMIRAJ AE 241 (to Gk ἄλωή 'threshing-floor').

lĚmoj aor. *lĚmova* 'to file, to polish'. Borrowed from Lat *limāre* id. (MEYER Wb. 243). ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 184.

lĚmoshĕ f, pl. *lĚmosha* 'alms, charity'. Borrowed from Germanic, cf. OHG *alamuosa* id., OS *alemōsa* id. Based on *lemoshĕ* is *lemoshtĕr*

'crumb, speck, offering to the dead enclosed in coffin with corpse'.
 ◇ KLUGE 15; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

lĕmsh ~ **lamsh** m, pl. *lĕmshe* ~ *lamshe* 'ball (of wool, thread), globe (of earth), pool, speller'. The meaning 'globe of earth' < *'broken lump of earth' may be one of the oldest. The word goes back to PALB **lemesja* and is formally identical with Latv *lemesis* 'sharp edge of the plow', Slav **lemešъ* 'plowshare', with a parallel form with a voiced auslaut in Lith *lĕmežis* 'wooden part of plough to which the plowshare is fixed', Slav **lemežъ* 'plowshare'. The resulting IE **lemesjo-* is a derivative of **lem-* 'to break', cf. *lĕmĕ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 243 (from Rom **glemus*, cf. Lat *glomus* 'ball, clue of yarn, thread'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 23-24 (follows MEYER); TREIMER *Slavia* III 451 (against MEYER for phonetic reasons: Lat *gl-* cannot yield Alb *l-*; suggests a comparison with Slav **lomiti* 'to break'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 324 (-*sh* explained as the ending of locative!); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 20 (to OIr *loman* 'cord'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; FRAENKEL 354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319 (from IE **ylo-m-* based on **yel-* 'to turn'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIV 108-110; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

lĕmuq adv. 'in a heap, piled up', m 'pile'. Another variant is *lĕmuç*. A variant of *lĕmaqe*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255.

lĕndĕ ~ **landĕ** f, pl. *lĕndĕ* ~ *landĕ* 'wood, timber, material'. Goes back to PALB **lentā* etymologically related to Gmc **lendō* 'linden' (OHG *linta*, OE *lind*), Lith *lentā* 'board', Slav **lqrъ* 'bast' (MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 117; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 36). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 152, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93; MANN *Language* XVII 20; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 203; FRAENKEL 357-358; VASMER II 536; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 217; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 150-151; HULD 87; CLACKSON *LR* 135, 227.

lĕndinĕ f, pl. *lĕndina* 'untilled land, fallow field, grassland'. Borrowed from Slav **lĕdina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ledina*, SCr *ledina* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 187). ◇ SVANE 166.

lĕndoj ~ **lendoj** aor. *lĕndova* ~ *lendova* 'to irritate, to make sore, to hurt'. Borrowed from Lat *lentāre* 'to make flexible, to bend'. ◇

MEYER *Alb. St.* V 92 (to *linda*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 319 (from Lat *laedere* 'to hurt, to wound').

lěng ~ **lang** m. pl. *lěngje* ~ *langje* 'juice, liquid, broth'. From PAIb **langa* obviously connected with *lag* and *lēgatē* but reflecting an unexpected nasal infix. Morphologically not clear. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to Slav **slęknęti* 'to become wet'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430.

lēngatē f, pl. *lēngatē* 'illness, sickness, ailment'. Another variant is *ligatē* 'liver phthisis (in sheep)'. From PAIb **ligatā* derived from **liga* > *lig*. The inlaut *-ēn-* has appeared under the influence of *lēngoj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to *lēngoj*).

lēngoj aor. *lēngova* 'to weaken, to languish'. Borrowed from Lat *languēre* 'to be faint, languid' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). Note a nominal derivative *lēngjyrē* 'typhus'. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 132.

lēngor adj. 'pliant, supple'. Derived from *lēngoj* (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 50 (to Lith *leñkti* 'to bend'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *lēng*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 242.

lēnur ~ **lnuer** aor. *lēnura* ~ *lnora* 'to card, to comb (flax)'. A prefixal derivative of *nvar*, a variant of *mvar*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (from Rom **lānōrius* 'worker in wool').

lēpec m 'old ox or cow; ailing person'. Derivative of *lopē* (MEYER *Wb.* 248). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *lapē*).

lēpiskē f, pl. *lēpiska* 'scale (of fish)'. A prefixal derivative of *pisk*.

lēpitkē f, pl. *lēpitka* 'slipper'. A derivative of *lapē* with a Slavic suffix. A homonymic *lēpitkē* 'blade (of knife)' is borrowed from Bulg *lepídka*, diminutive of *lepida* id., itself a Modern Greek loanword (BER 364). ◇ MANN *HAED* 241 (explains *lēpitkē* 'blade' directly from Greek).

lēpizē f, pl. *lēpiza* 'shelf, rack'. As well as *lēpozē* 'roof', related to *lapē* (JOKL *LKUBA* 86-95).

lëpjetë f, pl. *lëpjeta* 'orach, dock'. Borrowed from Gk *λάπαθον* id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14-16) or, rather, from an unattested **λάπεθον*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from Lat *lapathum* id.), *Alb. St.* V 92; JOKL *LKUBA* 119 (agrees with THUMB); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (Albanian and Greek forms derived from the same Mediterranean source).

lëplungë f, pl. *lëplunga* 'webbing for tying cradle to mother's back, cheese-cloth used as a strainer'. A secondary phonetic variant of *naplungë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

lëpushë f, pl. *lëpusha* 'mullein; broad-leaved plant'. Derived from *lapë*.

lëroj aor. *lërova* 'to cultivate, to till'. Borrowed from Lat *labōrāre* 'to labor, to take pains'.

lërushkë ~ **larushkë** m *lërushq* ~ *larushq* 'wild vine, kind of grape, clematis'. Borrowed from Lat *lābrusca* 'wild vine' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; HAARMANN 132.

lëshoj aor. *lëshova* 'to let, to leave, to free'. Borrowed from Lat *lassāre* 'to render faint, to tire, *to let' (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk *λίσσομαι* 'to beg, to pray'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (from Ital *lasciare* 'to let'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228, 243; HAARMANN 132.

lëti ~ **lëti** adj 'Italian, Latin, Catholic'. Borrowed from Lat *Latīnus* 'Latin' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 238-239). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169-170; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 309.

lëvare f, pl. *lëvare* 'waterfall'. Another variant is *livare*. A prefixal derivative of *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310) structurally close to *ujvarë* id. < *ujë varë* 'hanging water'. For the original meaning of *lëvare* cf. a derivative *livarzë* 'catkin' < *'hanging'.

lëvere f 'cloth, rag, laundry'. A singularized plural of **lëvar*, the latter being a prefixal derivative of *var*, cf. *lëvare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309-310). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (with a metathesis, from Lat *velarium* 'covering, screen'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 109.

lëvirem ~ lëvyrem refl. 'to beg, to beseech'. A semantic development of an older *lëvyrem* 'to scratch oneself (as a sign of grief)', the latter being based on *lëvyr* 'to scratch, to lacerate', a prefixal derivative of *var*, *vjerr*.

lëviz aor. *lëviza* 'to move, to stir'. Related to *luaj* from which it is derived with an unusual suffix *-iz* < PAIb *-idja.

lëvore f, pl. *lëvore* 'peel, skin; rag'. A formation parallel to *lëvere* but with a different vocalism (ÇABEJ *St.* I 321). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 108 (prefix *lë-*).

lëvorzoi aor. *lëvorzova* 'to peel'. Based on *lëvorzë ~ lëvorxë* 'peel, skin', derived from *lëvore*.

lëvozhgë f, pl. *lëvozhga* 'hard shell, peel, skin'. Other variants are *lëvezhgë*, *lëvexhgë*, *levoxhgë*. Derivative in *-kë* or *-shkë* of *lëvorxë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 476 (borrowed from Slav **luska ~ *l'uska* 'peel, shell'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 321 (derived directly from *lëvorë*).

li ~ lī m, pl. *linj* 'flax, linen'. Borrowed from Lat *linum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 244-245). ◇ CAMARDA II 161 (compares *li* with Gk *λίov* id., Lat *linum* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1056; JOKL *LKUBA* 256; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (same as CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; JANSON *Unt.* 53.

licë f, pl. *lica* 'flax tow'. A metaphoric usage of Slav **lice* 'face' as 'face side' or 'upper part', cf. such meanings as Bulg *lice* 'upper part' or SCr *lice* id.

lidh aor. *lidha* 'to bind, to tie'. From PAIb **lidza* etymologically close to Lat *ligare* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St.* III 17). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 43-44 (to Lat *volvō* 'to roll'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI

LP II 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 358; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; PISANI *Saggi* 129; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448; HAMP *IF* LXVI 53; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HULD 86-87; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242-243.

lifqer m, pl. *lifqere* 'waterfall'. Another form is *lifqar*. Borrowed from Rom **lavcārum* < Lat *lavācrum* 'bath'. The vowel of the first syllable results from the development of the unstressed -ě- to -i-. ◇ XHUVANI *KLetr* I/5 9 (from Lat *liquor* 'liquid'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 321-322 (related to *lëvare*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

lig adj. 'bad, ill'. Reflects Palb **liga* while *ligë* 'illness' goes back to Palb **ligā*. Further connected with Gk ὀλίγος 'small, few', λοιγός 'destruction, death', Lith *ligà* 'illness', Latv *liga* id. (CAMARDA I 66 on λοιγός; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St.* III 7). The related adjective *ligshtë* 'ailing' is identical with Lith *ligūstas* 'ill' (DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 60-61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 45; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRAENKEL 370; FRISK II 376; CHANTRAINE 645; HAMP *AION-L* II (XIII) 190; POKORNY I 667; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199; HULD 87; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243.

ligj m, pl *ligje* 'law'. Other morphological variants of sg. are *ligje* and *ligjë*. The word is borrowed from Lat *lēge(m)* id. (CAMARDA II 69; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 245). Note Alb -i- < Lat -ē- (explained by the Sicilian dialectal mediation in MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 43 (*ligj* vs. *zakon*), *WuS* XII 83; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 15 (related to Lith *lygūs* 'equal', OPrus *ligan* 'court'); TOPOROV *SBJa Ètnokul't.* 25 (follows ŠIROKOV); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 133; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361-362; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 85.

ligje pl. 'mourning, dirge'. Historically identical with *ligj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (from Rom **elēgium* instead of Lat *elogium*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044.

lijë f, pl. *lija* 'smallpox'. Borrowed from Slav **lixo* 'evil'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (to Lat *lira* 'furrow').

lik m 'level'. Borrowed from Slav **likъ* 'face, surface', cf. Bulg *lik*, SCr *lik* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322). ◇ SVANE 126.

likardhë f 'chickenpox'. Probably, from **lēkurdhë*, a suffixal derivative of *lēkurë*. As to the unexpected -a- in *likardhë* it could be explained by the analogy with the dialectal *likar* 'doctor' of Serbo-Croatian origin. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* IV 369 (to Russ *kor* 'chickenpox'); RUSAKOV *Lls* 1980 173.

likogjone pl. 'sacrum, loins, lumbar regions'. An adaptation of the unattested Slavic compound **lēdvo-gonъ* 'place from where hips begin', based on **lēdva* 'hip, kidney, loin'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to Gk κοχώνη 'part between the pudenda and the anus'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

likoq m 'animal with one testicle'. A prefixal derivative of *koe* one of the meanings of which is 'testicles'.

liktyrë f 'rope for binding a bundle of wood; band, bandage'. Another variant is *lyktyrë*. Borrowed from Lat *ligatūra* 'band, bunch' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17). ◇ HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* I 327-328.

lil m, pl. *lila* 'lily'. Borrowed from Lat *lilium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35).

lilë f, pl. *lila* 'small iron ring, loon-ring, link'. From PALb **leilā* d, further, to *uetas* 'big'; related to Lith *lilės* 'band'. MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

lis m, pl. *lisa* 'oak, high tree'. A borrowing from Slav **lěsъ* 'wood, forest, tree' (MEYER *Wb.* 247). The Slavic dialect from which the word was borrowed must have had a narrow **ě* > Alb *i*, i.e. it may be identified as "ikavski" Serbo-Croatian (JOKL *LKUBA* 177). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 48 (to Gk ἅλσος 'holy grove'), *AArbSt* I/1-2 205-206; HULD 87 (compares *lis* with *lende* and *lëndë* as a parallel of *vise* ~ *vend*).

lisë f, pl. *lisa* 'woof, weft'. Goes back to PALb **litšā* continuing **leikʷā* and related to *liq*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (borrowed from Bulg *lesa* 'fishing-line, rope, plaiting'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

lismë f, pl. *lisma* 'slate, fragile earth, stony field, clay'. From PALb

'to run (unattached)'. For forms with a nasal infix cf. Lith *linguoti* 'to swing'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 246 (*ling* 'trotting' from Turk *link* 'trot'); FEIST *Goth.* 319-320; FRAENKEL 330-331; MAYRHOFER III 72; POKORNY I 667.

lingë f, pl. *linga* 'small bell'. From PALb **lingā* etymologically identical with Lith *lingė* 'flexible pole; bend', Latv *liņa* 'loop'. ◇ FRAENKEL 331; POKORNY I 676; ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (onomatopoeia).

linjë f, pl. *linja* 'linen shirt; linen'. Borrowed from Lat *līneum* 'linen garment' (MEYER *Wb.* 245). The homonymic *linjë* 'line' either goes back to Lat *līnea* 'thread, line' or to its continuations in Romance. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 133.

lipë f, pl. *lipa* 'lime-tree'. Borrowed from Slav **lipa* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lipa*, SCr *lipa* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322). ◇ SVANE 126.

liq m 'woof, weft'. A singularized plural of **lik* going back to PALb **lika*. A nominal deverbative of IE **leikʷ-* 'to leave, to remain': Skt *rinākti* 'to leave', Lat *linquō* id., OHG *līhan* and the like. ◇ MAYRHOFER III 59; WALDE-HOFMANN I 808-810; POKORNY I 669-670; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

liroj aor. *lirova* 'to free'. Borrowed from Lat *liberāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.*

limë f, pl. *lima* 'file'. Borrowed from Lat *līma* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 246). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 133.

lind aor. *linda* 'to bear, to beget; to be born'. A nasal present of *lej* (OREL *IF* XCIII 112-113). ◇ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 12; JOKL *Studien* 63; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 33-35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205, 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243-244.

ling m 'hurry, haste'. From PALb **linga*, a substantivized nasal present related to Skt *réjate* 'to spring', Goth *laikan* 'to jump', Lith *lāigyti*

**litšimā*. A derivative of *liq*, *lisē*. The original meaning of the word might be 'remaining (earth), remainders'.

loc m 'dear, darling'. As demonstrated by the derivative *ločkē* 'pupil (of the eye)', also used metaphorically as a synonym of *loc*, the original meaning of the latter must have been 'pupil'. It is, therefore, a continuation of PALb **lātjā*, derivationally connected with *lot*. Another derivative of *loc* is *loke* 'dear' (addressed to mother).

lodroj aor. *lodrova* 'to spring, to dance, to play'. Derived from *lodēr* 'game, play' based on *loz* (SPITZER *MRIW* I 326). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175.

lodh aor. *lodha* 'to tire, to weary'. From PALb **lada* related to Goth *letan* 'to let', Gk ληδεῖν·κοπιᾶν, κεκμηκέναι (Hes.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28). ◇ CAMARDA I 124 (to Gk λῶβη 'maltreatment'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 250; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32, 36; PISANI *Saggi* 130; PORZIG *Gliederung* 104; FRISK II 114; KLUGE 424; FEIST *Goth.* 329; POKORNY I 666; HULD 143; BEEKES *IF* XCIII 36; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 54; DEMIRAJ *AE* 244-245.

log m, pl. *logje* 'meadow'. Borrowed from Slav **logъ* 'ravine, low place' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 75, 187). Note that in these meanings the word is not attested in South Slavic where it usually stands for 'lying' or 'den'. ◇ SVANE 167.

logori f, pl. *logori* 'wailing, mourning, dirge'. Assimilated from **lēgori*. Borrowed from Lat *allēgoria* 'allegory'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to *ligje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 211 (related to Gk λόγος used to denote 'dirge'); JOKL *WuS* XII 88 (from NGk μυρολογῶ 'to mourn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (identical with *llogaris* 'to count', of Modern Greek origin), IV 78.

lojc adj. 'unstable'. Literally, 'playful'. Derived from *lojë* 'play' < **loě* related to *loz*.

lopatě f, pl. *lopata* 'shovel, oar'. Borrowed from Slav **lopata* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lopata*, Bulg *lopata*, SCr *lopata* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 245). The derivative *lopatěž* 'tadpole' has derived its unusual meaning from the South Slavic usage in which Bulg *lopata* and SCr *lopata* may stand for 'unpro-

portionately large parts of the body'. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 169, 303; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 81 (from SCr *lopata*); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 76.

lopë f, pl. *lopë* 'cow'. Continues PALb **lāpā* related to Latv *luōps* 'cattle' (ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 62). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 206; MEYER *Wb.* 248 (parallels with Alpine words for 'cow'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 22 (to Celt **lāpego-* 'calf': OIr *lāeg*, Bret *leue*); JOKL *IF* XLIII 57, *Sprache* IX 149; MIKKOLA *BKIS* XXI 219-220 (to ON *lamb* 'lamb'); PETERSSON *Heter.* 22; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175-176, *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 654; ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXV 51; HAMP *RomPh* XII 153; SCHRIJVER *BC* 309; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245.

loqe f, pl. *loqe* 'penis; testicles'. A singularized plural going back to a paradigm sg. **lok* ~ pl. *loqe*. From PALb **lāuka* closely related to Lith *liaukà* 'gland' further based on IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322-323). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (compares with SCr *lokanja* 'belly', Bulg Gypsy *lokatši* 'penis'); PEDERSEN *St. Balt.* IV 152 (on Lith *liaukà*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; FRAENKEL 361-362; POKORNY I 687-690; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427.

lorzë f 'parrot'. Used in a phrase *flas si lorza* 'to chat like a parrot'. A suffixal diminutive of an unattested **lori* 'parrot lori, one of the Lorinae'.

losh adj. 'tearful'. Continues **lot-sh*, derived from *lot*.

lot m, pl. *lot* 'tear'. From PALb **lā(i)ta*, an adjective in *-*to-* based on IE **lēi-* 'to pour, to flow' (BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 148-150). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 249 (from Lat *flētus* 'weeping, wailing'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176 (agrees with BARIĆ); POKORNY I 664-665; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

loz aor. *lojta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PALb **lādja*, a denominative verb based on . The latter is etymologically identical with Slav **ladъ* 'order, peace' from which a similar verb **laditi* 'to make order, to make peace' is derived. ◇ CAMARDA I 50 (related to *luaj*); MEYER *Wb.* 248 (related to Lith *palóda* 'lack of restraint, licentiousness' and separated from *luaj*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 152 (connects *loz* with *luaj*); JOKL *Studien* 75, *LKUBA* 224; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 323-324 (to OIr *luaid* 'to move'); TRUBAČEV *ESSJa* XIV 9-12.

loze f, pl. *loze* 'tendrils (of a plant)'. A singularized plural of a less widespread *lozë* id. Borrowed from Slav **loza* 'vine, tendril', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *loza*, Bulg *loza*, SCr *loza* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164). ◇ SVANE 118.

lter m 'altar'. Borrowed from Lat *altārium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1040, 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 38, 115.

luaj ~ **luej** aor. *lojta* ~ *luejta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PALb **lādnja*, a denominative verb closely connected with *loz* (CAMARDA I 50). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (borrowed from Lat *ludere* 'to play'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAARMANN 133.

luan ~ **luâ** m, pl. *luaj* ~ *luanj*, *luanë* 'lion'. Borrowed from Lat *leōnem* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141-142; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 249). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 89, *IF* L 49-52 (from Slav **lvъ* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (related to Gk λέων id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 324 (follows MEYER).

lubenicë f, pl. *lubenica* 'water-melon'. Borrowed from Slav **lubēnica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *lubenica*, SCr *lubenica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 249). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 304; SVANE 106.

lubi f, pl. *lubi* 'ogress, dragon-woman with seven heads'. Another variant is *luvgi*. Note also *luvgi* 'voracity, greed' representing a metaphoric usage of this word. It seems probable that *lubi* is a back-formation

based on *luvgat*, see *lugat*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 72-74 (to Slav **l'ubiti* 'to love').

**l'uxati* 'to strike', cf. in South Slavic - Bulg *l'uxam* 'to strike at a short stick while playing chelik'.

lukër f. 'sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *lucrum* 'gain, profit, wealth' (JOKL *LKUBA* 257-259). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; ÇABEJ *St.* I 324 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 118.

'swamp, marsh; podzol (a kind of soil)'; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

luftë f, pl. *lufta*, *luftëra* ~ *luftna* 'fight, war'. Borrowed from Lat *lucta* 'wrestling' > Rum *luptă* 'fight' (CAMARDA I 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 250). Note the East Romance type of the development of -ct- in this word. The verb *lëftoj*, *luftoj* 'to fight' corresponds to Lat *luctāri* id. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049, 1054; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 86; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 145, 366; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 267; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 55-56; HULD 86; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 22-123, 135.

lug m, pl. *lugj*, *lugje* 'trough, water-trough, long gutter, pipe'. Related to *lugë* 'spoon' with which it continues PALb **luga* ~ **lugā* etymologically connected with Slav **lŭga* 'spoon, blade', **lŭžica* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 143-145, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93). Both Albanian and Slavic forms are based on IE **leugh-* 'to break', cf. Skt *rujāti* 'to break'. Note *lugatë* 'oar' derived from *lugë* under the structural influence of *lopatë* and *lukth* 'stomach' based on *lug* (MEYER *Wb.* 250). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 250 (*lugë* borrowed from Slavic); MEYER *IF* II 368-369, *Wb.* 250 (*lug* treated as a Turkish loan, from *oluk*, *uluk* 'channel'; for *lugë* follows MIKLOSICH); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XVII 14; MAYRHOFER III 64; POKORNY I 686; HAMP *SCL* XXVII/2 183; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, apud DEMIRAJ (to OE *long* 'vessel'); TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XVI 257-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245-246.

lugat m, pl. *luget*, *lugetër* 'bogey, vampire'. Another variant is *luvgat*. Borrowed from an early Romance compound the first element of which was, undoubtedly, Lat *lupus* 'wolf' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37;

peccātus 'false wolf'. ◇ POLÁK *EBTch* V 34-3

luce f, pl. *luca* 'mud, mire'. Important parallel *juzi*. Borrowed from Lat *lutea* 'muddy' (MEYER *Wb.* I 88 (connected with Lat *lutum* 'mud'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (borrowed from *lutum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 44 (to Lith *jáudra*); FRAENKEL 198-199; KRISTOFORIDHI 143 (to *IV*/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; OREL *FLH* V

source, probably, from Copt
source is postulated for Gk
50 (from Lat *lilium* with *i*
questions MEYER's expla-
00-101; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.*
ULD 87-88.

from PAIb **lubna*, an adjec-
ove, to wish' (JOKL *Studien*
icular Goth *liufs* 'dear'. ◇
ÇABEJ *St.* I 325 (to *lus*);

other form is *lëmak*. A suf-
continuing PAIb **lubna*. The
**leubh-* 'to peel, to skin',
luba 'bark, board', OPrus
''. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 251 (from
Ā ARSt I 48-50 (a prefixal
NKEL 388; ÇABEJ *St.* I 325-
25-228; OREL *Orpheus* VI

etymologically identical
d to IE **leu(ə)-* 'dirt'. ◇
MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*
YER *Wb.* 251 (follows MIK-
pour'); FRISK II 144-145;
ULD 88 (to IE *(s)*leubh-* 'to

borrowed from Rom **lunter*,
e 36; MEYER *Wb.* 251). ◇
/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133;

Rom **lunter* id. (MEYER-

lunge f, pl. *lunga* 'swelling, tumor'. From PAIb **lunkā*, a derivative
of IE **leu-k-* 'to bend' with a nasal infix, similar to that of OPrus
lunkis 'angle', Lith *luñkanas* 'supple', Latv *lūnks* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.*
252 (to *bulē*, *bulungē*); BÜGA *RR* I 369; JOKL *Studien* 53 (to Skt *rōga-*
'pain, illness'); FRAENKEL 390; POKORNY I 681-682; ÇABEJ *BUSHt*
XV/4 76-77 (follows MEYER), apud DEMIRAJ (Lat *volvō* 'to roll');
DEMIRAJ *AE* 248 (to *lēng*).

lupesh m 'glutton'. Derivative of *llup* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 153). ◇
ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (from a non-existent Bulg *lupež* 'thief').

luqerbull f, pl. *luqerbullā* 'werewolf'. Other variants are *ruqerbull*, *riqe-*
bull. Borrowed from Rom **lupus cervulus*, cf. a more usual Romance
**lupus cervarius* as in Fr *loup-cervier* id. (LA PIANA *Prefisso* 21). ◇
ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (a prefixal derivative of *qelb*).

luqerë f 'lamp, lantern'. Borrowed from Lat *lucerna* id. (MIKLOSICH
Rom. Elemente 37; MEYER *Wb.* 250, *Alb. St.* IV 80). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE
Gr. Grundriß ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133;
ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (adduces Old Albanian data); LANDI *Lat.* 89, 112-114.

luroj aor. *lurova* 'to howl, to wail'. A phono-morphological variant of
ulërij.

lurtoj aor. *lurtova* 'to cajole, to flatter, to caress'. A phonetic modifi-
cation of **larëtoj*, to *laroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 326-327).

lus aor. *luta* 'to pray, to invoke, to beg'. From PAIb **lugtja* related to
Lith *lūgate* 'to ask, to pray', Latv *lūdzu*, *lūgt* 'to ask, to invite', OHG
lockōn 'to lure, to entice' (TREIMER *MRIW* I 377-378), further related
to IE **leugh-* 'to lie, to cheat'. ◇ CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk *λίσσομαι* 'to
beg, to pray'); MEYER *Wb.* 251 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb.*
St. III 25; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50-51 (to IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish'); TAGLI-
AVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Slav **l'utiti* 'to
be fierce, to be violent'); KLUGE 444; FRAENKEL 389; POKORNY I 686-
687; JOKL *Die Sprache* IX/2 150 (agrees with TREIMER).

luspë f, pl. *luspa* 'scale (of fish)'. Borrowed from Slav **luspa* 'scale,
shell', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *luspa*, SCr *ljuspa* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 327).
◇ SVANE 119, 237.

ancient Balkan loanword from an oriental s
hrêri, *hlêli* 'lily' < Eg *hrr.t* id. The same s
λείριον id., Lat *lilium* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 2
> *u* after *l-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 178
(nation); MANN *Language* XVII 16; FRISK II
109 (prefix *l-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203, 254; H

lum adj. 'blessed, happy, lucky, fortunate'. F
tive in *-*no-* derived from IE **leubh-* 'to l
52-53, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86), cf. in par
FEIST *Goth.* 333; POKORNY I 683-684;
DEMIRAJ *AE* 247-248.

lumak m, pl. 'bud, shoot; lichen, moss'. An
fixal derivative of an unattested **lum* cor
latter is an adjective in *-*no-* based on IE
cf. Lith *lubà* 'board (of a ceiling)', Latv
lubbo 'board', Slav **лѣбъ* 'forehead, skul
Lat *limācem* 'snail'), *Alb. St.* IV 94; BAR
derivative of *makë*); POKORNY I 690; FRAE
326 (from *lumë*); TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XVI
67.

lumë m, pl. *lumenj* 'river'. From PAIb **lun*
with Gk *λῦμα* 'dirt', and further relate
CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk *λούω* 'to wash');
27 (borrowed from Lat *flūmen* 'river'); ME
LOSICH); JOKL *Studien* 51-52 (to IE **lei-* 't
POKORNY I 681; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, 258; H
be slick, wet'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 246-247.

lundër f, pl. *lundra* 'boat, barge, ferry'. Bo
cf. Rum *luntre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemen*
PUŞCARIU *EWB* 86; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV
LANDI *Lat.* 116, 129.

lundër f, pl. *lundra* 'otter'. Borrowed from
LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046).

lush m, pl. *lushë* 'berserk; carrion'. Back-formation based on fem. *lushë* 'bitch; berserk woman'. As far as the latter has a parallel form *lutë* 'bitch, glutton', *lushë* must be explained as resulting from **lut-shë* based on an unattested **lutë*, borrowed from Slav **l'utъ* 'angry, wild, violent' (in particular, of animals).

luzmë f 'swarm (in particular, of bees)'. From **luazmë* ~ *luezmë*, derivative of *loz*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

luzhi f 'flood'. Based on **luzhë* borrowed from Slav **luža* 'pool', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *lužā*, SCr *lužā* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 327). ◇ XHUVANI *Shkëndija* III/4 5 (related to *lëgatë*); SVANE 170.

lyç adv. 'in a mess, in a muddle, out of joint'. Derived with an adverbial marker -ç from *lyej*.

lyej aor. *leva*, *lyejta* 'to smear, to oil'. Since the original meaning seems to be 'to cover with oil', the expected Proto-Albanian form may be reconstructed as **elaiwanja*, with -ye- resulting from the contraction of the inlaut cluster **-aiwa-*. This is a denominative verb based on an unattested **elaiwā* borrowed from Gk ἔλαι(ν)ον 'oil'. Note *lyrë* 'fat' derived from *lyej*. ◇ CAMARDA I 242 (to Gk ἄλειψω 'to oil'); MEYER *Wb.* 251-252 (borrowed from Lat *linō* 'to daub, to besmear' or related to IE **lēi-* 'to flow, to pour'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50 (to IE **leip-* 'fat', thus repeating CAMARDA's etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 67; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 327 (to IE **lēi-* 'to flow, to pour').

lylyver m, pl. *lylyvere* 'rainbow'. A phonetic variant of *yllber*.

lym m, pl. *lyme* 'mud, alluvium'. Borrowed from Gk λῦμα 'dirt', cf. *lum*. ◇ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86 (to *lerë*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *lum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 248-249.

lyp aor. *lypa* 'to beg, to ask, to seek, to need'. In Tosk also *lip*. Despite an irregular development of the root vowel, continues Palb **leipa* related to Gk λίπτομαι 'to be eager, to long for', Lith *liepiù*, *liepti* 'to order'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 247 (to *lipsem* 'to miss', itself a Modern Greek loanword); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50-51 (to IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 179 (against MEYER); FRAENKEL 367; FRISK II 127-128.

lyr aor. *lyra* 'to make dirty'. Derived from *lerĕ* 'dirt'.

lyrdhĕz f, pl. *lyrdhĕza* 'wart'. Apparently, from **lyr-th-ĕz*, a derivative of *lyrĕ*. Cf. *lyth*.

lyshtĕr f, pl. *lyshtra* 'flotsam, alluvium; crowd'. Borrowed from Lat *lūstrum* 'slough, bog, morass, puddle; house of ill-repute, debauchery'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (to *lyej*).

lyth m, pl. *lytha*, *lythĕ* 'wart, corn'. A derivative in *-th* of *lyej* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 328).

Ll

llabiç m, pl. *llabiçĕ* 'bogey, vampire; glutton'. From **lubiç*, derivative of *lubi*.

llacĕ f, pl. *llaca* 'ladder'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **lazьca* related to **laziti* 'to climb'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llallĕ f, pl. *llalla* 'wet-nurse; moth'. An onomatopoeia. In its second meaning *llallĕ* may be a calque of Slav **baba* 'woman, grandmother; butterfly, moth'.

llap aor. *llapa* 'to lap up' (of animals). From PALb **lapa* compared with Gk λάπτω 'to gulp, to drink greedily', Lith *lapėnti* 'to swallow food' (of pigs), Slav **lopati* 'to eat up' (CAMARDA 127; MEYER *Wb.* 237). ◇ FRAENKEL 340; FRISK II 85; POKORNY I 651; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

llapĕ f, pl. *llapa* 'tongue, language'. From PALb **lapā* connected with the verb *llap*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 237; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

llapush adj. 'long-eared'. An early borrowing from an unattested Slav **lop(o)ušь* id., cf. **lopouxъ* id.

llapushĕ f, pl. *llapusha* 'broad-leafed cabbage, covering leaf of maize'. Borrowed from Slav **lopušь*, derivative of **loruxъ* 'burdock, broad-

leafed plant', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lopux*, SCr *lopuh*. ◇ SVANE 112; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llaskonjě f 'twig, shoot'. A derivative in *-onjě* of **laskě* borrowed from Slav **lozъka*, diminutive of **loza* 'vine'. Another form of **laskě* is attested as *llashkě* 'shoot'.

llazurě f 'agitation, noise, swarm'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Slav **orzorъ* 'ravage, destruction', cf. SCr *razoriti*.

llēnjēz f 'mud, silt'. A derivative from PALb **slinjā* related to Lith *slīėnas* 'saliva, mucus, slime', Slav **slina* 'saliva'. ◇ FRAENKEL 826; VASMER III 672; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llērě ~ llaně f, pl. *llērě ~ llaně*, *llěra ~ llana* 'forearm, ell'. From PALb **alenā* related to Gk ὀλάνη 'elbow', Lat *ulna*, OHG *elina* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 76 (borrowed from Rom **ulnāna*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 44, *Kelt. Gr.* II 59; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; FRISK 1146-1147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 812; POKORNY I 307; HULD KZ XCIX 247 (from Gk ὀλάνη); HAMP *AION-L* II 185-187; JANSON *Unt.* 30; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 249-250.

lloç m 'mud, mire, sludge'. Derived from *llohě*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (from Bulg *ločka* 'mud').

llohě f 'rain with snow, snow broth, dampness'. An early borrowing from Slav **lojъ* **'anything liquid'* (SLAWSKI V 259) > 'fat, lard; flooded area; crater, funnel' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 233 (compares with Slav **loky* 'pool, pit'); SVANE 173; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

llokmě f, pl. *llokma* 'lump, chunk'. Another variant is *llomkě*. Borrowed from Turk *lokma* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (from Bulg dial. *lomka* id.).

llom m 'mud, sludge, sediment'. Derived from *llohě*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from the non-existent Slav **lomъ* 'swamp'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 36.

llomis aor. *llomita* 'to pound, to crush'. Borrowed from Slav **lomiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lom'a*, SCr *lomiti* (DESNICKA-JA Slav. zaim. 16). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 188; SVANE 91, 237.

llomotis aor. *llomotita* 'to brawl, to chatter'. Borrowed from Slav **lomoti*-*ti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lomot'a*, SCr *lomotiti*.

lloskĕ f, pl. 'kind of fish, roach'. Borrowed from Slav **loska* unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *losk* 'kind of insect, Ixodes ricinus'.

llosh m, pl. *lloshe* 'nest, den'. Borrowed, with the unvoicing of the anlaut consonant, from Slav **loža* ~ **ložb* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *loža*, SCr *loža*, *lož*.

lloz m, pl. *lloze* 'bolt, bar'. Another variant is *loz*. Derived from the verb *loz*.

llubatĕ f 'sediment'. A derivative from *llurbĕ* as well as *lluburdinĕ* id.

llukĕ f, pl. *lluka* 'lime-tree'. An early Slavic loanword, from **lyko* 'bast' and, in particular, 'lime-tree bast'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llukĕ f, pl. *lluka* 'foul egg'. From PAIb **lukā* related to *lerĕ* and derived from IE **leu(ə)*- 'dirt'. ◇ POKORNY I 681.

llup aor. *llupa* 'to gulp down, to swallow'. Continues PAIb **lupa* etymologically connected with Skt *lumpāti* 'to break, to injure', Lith *lūpti* 'to peel', Latv *lūpt* 'to peel; to eat', Slav **lupiti* 'to peel' (hesitantly - MEYER Wb. 233). ◇ FRAENKEL 391-392; POKORNY I 690-691; MAYRHOFFER III 108-109; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 183-184.

llurbĕ f 'sediment, mud'. Continues PAIb **lur(i)bā* derived from **lur-a*, a form related to *lerĕ*.

M

macĕ f, pl. *maca* 'cat'. Borrowed from Slav **maca* id., cf. South

Slavic forms: Bulg *maca*, SCr *maca* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 263). Derived from *macě* is *mackě* 'cat; bush (on wheel)'.
 ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 166; SVANE 138.

macollë f, pl. *macolla* 'mallet'. Dissimilated from **malollë*, borrowed from Lat *malleolus* id.

macukë f 'shepherd's staff'. A lexicalized phonetic variant of *matukë*.

mačë f, pl. *mača* 'hard soil'. Borrowed from Slav **mača* 'swamp, marsh' (Czech *máča*) unattested in South Slavic.

madh adj. 'big, large'. From PALb **madza* related to Hitt *mekkiš* id., Skt *mahānt-* 'great, large', Gk μέγας id., Lat *magnus* id. and the like (BOPP 489, 491; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 6; MEYER *Wb.* 252). The irregular vocalism may be explained by an unusual reduction (MANN *Language* XXVI 385, XVII 17); in any case, it is reminiscent of -a- in Lat *magnus* and OIr *maige* id. Rum *mare* id. seems to have been borrowed from dial. Alb *mall* with -ll- < -dh-. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18, 63, 81, *Gr. Gr.* 277; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 535; JOKL *IF* XLIV 57; PUŞCARIU *EWB* -88-89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180-181; MANN *Language* XVII 17; ERNOUT-MEILLET 379; FRISK II 189-190; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; MAYRHOFFER II 609-610; WALDE-HOFMANN II 10-12; POKORNY I 708; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 344; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448; HULD 88-89; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXVI/3, 95-96 (reconstructs **məḡios*), *AE* 250-251.

magar m, pl. *magarë* 'donkey'. Another variant is *magjar*. As it is clear from *margaç* id., the original form of *magar* was **margar*, with the dissimilation of sonorants. Both words are derivatives of an unattested **margë*. The latter appears to be a borrowing from Gmc **marxjō*, cf. OHG *mar(i)ha* 'mare', *mar(a)h* 'horse', ON *merr* 'mare' and the like. The form *magar* was borrowed to other Balkan languages. ◇ CAMARDA II 73 (from *gomar*); MEYER *Wb.* 253 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); BARIĆ *ARSt* 54 (prefix *ma-* + *krrič*); KLUGE 454; IL'INSKIJ *Rodna reč* VII 9-10 (to IE **mek-* ~ **meg-* 'to bellow'); SKOK *AArbSt* IV 124-132; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 1964 180; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (prefixed derivative of Old Alb *gare* 'she-ass'), *Etim.* 14-15.

mahajër f 'fallow'. A compound *mah ajër* 'feeds the air', cf. for the semantic motivation Russ *pole pod parom* 'fallow' = 'field under the vapor'. ◇ JOKL *Glotta* XXI 121-124 (from Rom **majārium*, cf. Ital *maggiatico* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 134.

mahnis aor. *mahnita* 'to astound, to stupefy'. Another variant is *manis*. Borrowed from Slav **maniti* 'to lure, to charm', with -h- influenced by **maxati* 'to wave'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 254 (from **maxati*). ◇ SVANE 250.

maj ~ **mâj** aor. *majta* 'to feed, to fatten'. Another morphological variant is *mah* id. From PALb **mazdnja*, a deverbative based on IE **mazd-* 'feeding': OHG *mast*, Skt *médas-* 'fat, marrow' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 251-252). ◇ CAMARDA I 37 (to IE **meǵh-* 'big'); MEYER *Wb.* 259 (to Lat *mandō* 'to chew'), Alb. *St.* III 28, 63; JOKL *Studien* 54, LKUBA 183 (to Skt *mádati* 'to boil'); KLUGE 465; MAYRHOFER II 683-684; POKORNY I 694.

maj m 'May'. Borrowed from Lat *Mājus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◇ HAARMANN 134.

maj m, pl. *maja* 'hammer'. Borrowed from Lat *malleus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (uncertain of Latin origins of the word); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1050 (from Ital *maglio* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330; HAARMANN 134.

majere f 'terraced land'. Derived from *majë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (from Rom **majārium* 'fallow' reconstructed by JOKL for *mahajër*).

majë f, pl. *maja* 'tip, top, point, peak, summit'. Another form is *malë*. From PALb **malā*, a feminine form of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255). Derived from *majë* is *majos* 'to fill to the brim'. ◇ CAMARDA II 69-70 (from IE **meǵh-* 'big'); MEYER Alb. *St.* III 63 (to Lat *mōns* 'mountain'); JOKL LKUBA 162-163 (from **moljā*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88-189; HULD 89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 252-253.

majmë adj. 'fat'. Derived from *maj* 'to feed, to fatten' (CAMARDA I

37; MEYER Wb. 259). ◇ GRIENBERGER *Goth*. 156-157 (to Goth *mats* 'food', Skt *mádati* 'to boil', MĪr *mát* 'pig').

majtĕ ~ mâjtĕ adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom **manctus*, based on Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm', cf. also Ital *manca* 'left hand' (MEYER Wb. 273). Cf. *mëngjër*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

makar adv. 'at least'. The word is also used as an interjection. Based on MGk μακάρι < μακάριον, neut. 'blessed' (FILIPOVA-BAJROVA *Gr. zaemki* 122). The same word is attested in other Balkan languages. ◇ MIKLOSICH *EWb* 181 (from Turk *meyer* 'but, however, only' < Pers *meger*); MEYER Wb. 255 (follows MIKLOSICH); SKOK II 359 (from NPers *mā* 'not' and *ägār* < Iran **hakaram* 'unless, maybe').

makĕ f, pl. *maka* 'glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)'. Goes back to PALb **makā* related to Lith *makėnti* 'to walk through a swamp', Slav **mokръ* 'wet', **moknĕti* 'to become wet' (MEYER Wb. 255). ◇ POKORNY I 698; FRAENKEL 399-340; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIX 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 253-254.

makĕrr m 'stagnant green on ponds'. A derivative of *makĕ* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 254) reflecting PALb **makra*, an exact correspondence of Slav **mokръ* 'wet'. From **makra* other forms are derived: *makrohem* 'to get covered with a film (of liquids)' and *makrosĕ* 'stagnant green on ponds'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

makth ~ mâkth m 'kind of clover'. A parallel form is *mokth*. Derived from *mak* 'opium poppy'. The latter is borrowed from Slav **makъ* 'poppy'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

makth ~ mâkth m 'place where the cattle gives birth to their young'. Based on an unattested **mak ~ mâk* derived from *maj*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138.

makth ~ mâkth m 'bogey, nightmare'. Other variants are *mangth*, *mankth*. A secondary formation based on *ankth* with an expressive prefix *m-*. ◇ DEMIRAJ *AE* 254.

makth ~ mâkth m 'leveret'. Derived from *mang*. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIII 57-60 (related to Goth *magus* 'youth' and continuing IE **maghu-*); BARIĆ

ARSt. 16 -17; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ AE 254.

makush m, pl. *makushë* 'ostrich'. Derived from *makut*.

makut adj. 'greedy, gluttonous'. Suffixal form in *-ut* based on an unattested **mak ~ mâk* derived from *maj*. Cf. also *makth*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 195.

mal m, pl. *male* 'mountain'. From PALb **mala* identical with Lith *malà* 'land', Latv *mala* 'bank, shore' (JOKL LKUBA 162 f., 320, *Reallex. Vorges.* I 87); cf. also **mal-* reflected in the ancient Balkan toponymy: Illyr *Maluntum*, Dac *Dacia Maluensis* vs. *Dacia Ripensis*. Note an archaic derivative in PALb **maljā > majë* 'summit, peak' (MEYER Wb. 273, Alb. St. III 63, 78; OREL FLH VIII/1-2 39). From Proto-Albanian **mala* was borrowed into Rum *mal* 'bank'. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *marú-* 'mountain'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 543; JOKL ZONF X 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 181, *Origini* 149; KRAHE *Balkan-ill.* 53-55; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 90; MÜHLENBACH - ENDZELIN II 556; MAYER II 73-74; LA PIANA *Studi* I 112 (to Skt *mūrdhān-* 'top, summit', OE *molda* 'forehead'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387, XXVIII 36 (to rare Ir *mol* 'heap'); PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 400-401; POKORNY I 722; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; HULD 89 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ AE 254-256.

malcoj aor. *malcova* 'to inflame, to make sore'. Borrowed from Rom **malitiäre*, cf. Lat *malitia* 'badness, spite' (MEYER Wb. 256). ◇ MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ St. I 330 (euphemistic use of *mëlcoj*); HAARMANN 134.

mall m 'homesickness, longing, affection'. Borrowed from Lat *malum* 'evil, misfortune' (MEYER Wb. 256). ◇ MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ St. VII 255; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

mallesë f, pl. *mallesa* 'pasture, meadow'. A variant of *mballesë*, see *mballoj*.

mallëngjej aor. *mallëngjeva* 'to touch, to move, to stir'. Used in the figurative sense only. Borrowed from Lat *malum angere* 'to cause pain', instead of *angere* proper (MEYER Wb. 256). ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 233.

mallkoj aor. *mallkova* 'to curse, to excommunicate'. Another form is *malkoj*. Borrowed from Lat *maledicere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◇ CAMARDA I 105 (to Gk μαλακός 'soft, gentle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HAARMANN 134.

mallth m 'pad under the claw (of animals)'. Based on an unattested **mall* continuing PAIb **maldwa* and related to Lat *mollis* < **molduis* 'soft', Skt *mr̥dú-* id. and the like. ◇ POKORNY I 718; WALDE-HOFMANN II 103-104; MAYRHOFER II 676; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

mamicë f, pl. *mamica* 'wet-nurse, midwife'. Borrowed from Slav **mamica* 'mother', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mamica*, SCr *mamica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25). ◇ SVANE 190.

mamuz m, pl. *mamuza*, *mamuze*, *mamuzë* 'spur'. A suffixal derivative of *mamis* 'to allure, to embroil, to spur' borrowed from Slav **mamiti* id., cf. Bulg *mam'a*, SCr *mamiti*.

man m, pl. *mana*, *mane* 'mulberry'. Other variants are (T) *mën*, (G) *mand*. From PAIb **manta*. The same word is attested in Dac μαντεία 'blackberry', Diosc. 4.37, *mantia*, App. Herb. 87 (POTT *KZ* XIV; MEYER *Wb.* 257). ◇ WEIGAND *BA* II 213, III 236; BERTOLDI *Glotta* XXI 258-260 (Dac μαντεία to Gk βῆτος 'blackberry'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; PISANI *Saggi* 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330-331 (quotes *mani* 'strawberry' of the Alpine Romance).

mandile f, pl. *mandile* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Lat *mantile* 'towel, napkin' (MEYER *Wb.* 258).

mang m 'small (of animals); urchin'. Borrowed from Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm'. The adjective *mangët* id. with a recently added suffix -*ët* and the adverb *mangut* 'less, missing, short' go back to the same source. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38 (*mangut* from Ital *manco* 'maimed'); MANN *HAED* 262 (metaphorical usage of *mangë* 'flax-breaker', see *mëngë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 182; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* I 331 (to IE **men-* 'little'); LANDI *Lat.* 48.

maraj m 'fennel'. Other variants are *mërajë* and *maraq*. Borrowed from Rom **marathrium*, derivative of Lat *marathrum* 'fennel' (MEYER

Wb. 259) or, as reflected by *maraq*, from **marathricum*. The intermediate form **mararja* was borrowed to Rum *mārar*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *marathum* or Gk μάρathon); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk *μάραθριον); ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247.

marauzhğĖ f, pl. *marauzhga* 'horse-fly'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg **maravuška*, diminutive of dialectal *marave* 'ant' (DESNICK-*AJA Slav. zaim.* 13). ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mardhĕ f 'chill, frost, ice'. Goes back to PAIb **mardzā* etymologically identical with Slav **morzъ* 'frost' (MEYER *Wb.* 260, *Alb. St.* III 17, 63, 72). Both forms continue IE **mergh-* 'to rot, to soak'. The verbs *mardh* 'to chill, to freeze' and *mërdhij* id. are deverbatives. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, *Kelt. Gr.* I 105; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; MANN *Language* XVII 18; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 739; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XX 10-14; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256.

mare f, pl. *mare* 'bearberry, strawberry-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *marum* 'cat-thyme, kind of sage'.

mareñĕ f, pl. *mareña* 'marsh rosemary'. Borrowed from Slav **marĕna* 'plant *Rubia tinctorum*' attested in West and East Slavic.

margaç m, pl. *margaçĕ* 'ass, donkey'. A derivative of **margĕ*, see *magar*. ◇ KONITZA *Albania* VIII/Ser. 9 52 (from Rom **marcātum* ~ **mercātum* 'market').

(G) **margjĕnuer** m 'ledge of a rock serving as a cover'. A suffixal derivative of **margjĕn* borrowed from Lat *marginem* 'edge, brink' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 332).

marmur m 'marble'. Borrowed from Lat *marmurem* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332.

mars m 'March'. Borrowed from Lat *Martius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 215; HAARMANN 135.

martĕ f, pl. *marta* 'Tuesday'. Borrowed from Lat *Martis (dies)* '(day

of) Mars, Tuesday' (MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Ital *martē* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (supports MEYER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

martesė f, pl. *martesa* 'marriage'. Borrowed from Rom **maritātiō* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Lith *marti* 'sister-in-law'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183.

martoj aor. *martova* 'to marry'. Borrowed from Lat *maritāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1050; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308; JOKL *LKUBA* 13-15 (to IE **merī* 'young woman'); SKOK *A ArbSt.* I 210 (derived from IE **merī* 'young woman'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (questions JOKL's etymology); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256-257.

marr aor. *mora* 'to take, to grasp'. From PALb **marna*, a deverbative based on the heteroclytic word for 'hand' preserved in Gk *μάρη*, Lat *manus* (NEISSER *BB* XIX 121-122). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 261 (to Skt *mṛśāti* 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (to Gk *μάρπω* 'to grasp, to seize'); JOKL *Studien* 53-54 (agrees with NEISSER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk *μείρομαι* 'to divide'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; FRISK II 175; CHANTRAINE 667; WALDE-HOFMANN II 34-35; POKORNY I 740; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140 (compares *marr* with Gk *ἄρνωμι* 'to take' and reconstructs **(s)med-Hernō*, Norw. *JLing.* XXIII 13-14, *Sprache* XXX 157; HULD 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 257-258 (to Skt *prá-mṛṇa*, imper. 'to pack').

marřė adj. 'mad, foolish, crazy'. Literally, 'dim, murky'. See *marřė*. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *mūrā-* 'stupid'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Hitt *maršaš*).

marřė 'murky, cloudy, dim, dull'. A suffixal derivative of PALb **marsa* related to Slav **morxъ* 'dusk, fog'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIX 222; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mas aor. *mata* 'to measure'. From PALb **matja*, a denominative verb based on an adjective in **-to-*, **ma-ta-* further related to IE **mē-* id.: Skt *mīmāti*, Tokh A *me-* and the like (CAMARDA I 35; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 262-263, *Alb. St.* III 24, 63, 81). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II

575; JOKL *Sprache* IX 118-119; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 703-704; ÇABEJ *StF* I (XIX)/3 41; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; MAYRHOFER II 638; VAN WINDEKENS I 295-296; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 258.

mashë f 'gum, paste, glue'. Borrowed from Lat *massa* 'lump, mass, adhering stuff'.

(G) **mashën** f 'barn, hayloft, cowshed'. A singularized plural of **mashë* borrowed from Lat nom. *mansiō* 'place of abode, dwelling'.
 ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332 (from Lat *massa*).

mashkull m, pl. *meshkuj* 'man', adj. 'male'. Borrowed from Lat *masculus* 'male, masculine' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 262). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 94, 137-138.

mashkull m, pl. *mashkuj* 'hook'. Borrowed from Lat *masculus* 'male, masculine' used to denote the part of the hinge which is inserted into another called *fēmina* 'female'. Thus, Lat *masculus et fēmina* > Alb *mashkull e femër* 'hook and eyelet'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mashterk m, pl. *mashterq* 'big wooden platter, dish'. Another variant is *mashtër*. Borrowed from Rom **magistericus*, literally, 'master's (dish)'.
 ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332-333 (from SCr *masur* 'wooden platter').

mashurkë f, pl. *mashurka* 'green bean, pod'. Derived from *mashë*.

mat m 'bank, shore'. Continues PALb **mata* < **māto*- related to Lat *mōns* 'mountain' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 39-40). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 314-315 (borrowed from Gk ἄμθος 'sand, sandy soil'); BARIĆ *Lingv. stud.* 17 (agrees with VASMER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 108-109; POKORNY I 726; ÇABEJ *St.* I 333-334 (related to OIr *math* 'sand').

matkë f, pl. *matka* 'queen-bee'. Borrowed from Slav **matъka* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *matka*, SCr *matka* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286-287).
 ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167; SVANE 158.

matukë f 'mattock, hoe'. An early borrowing from Slav **motyka* id.

mbes aor. *mbeta* 'to remain, to stay'. A prefixal derivative of *jes* (CAMARDA I 134; MEYER Wb. 163). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186.

mbesë f, pl. *mbesa* 'niece, granddaughter'. Borrowed from Lat *nepōtia* id. known only in Dalmatia, > ODalm *nepoça* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1040; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118). ◇ MEYER Wb. 264-265 (phonetically incredible comparison with Lith *mōša* 'sister-in-law'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 180 (from Rom **neptia*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232 (reconstructs IE **nepōtiā*), KZ XXXVI 308, *Kelt. Gr.* I 93; JOKL *LKUBA* 27 (against the Latin etymology), WuS XII 82; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118; ERNOUT-MEILLET 438; HULD 90; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

mbë prep. 'at, in'. Another variant is *mž*. From the atonic form of PALb **ambi* continuing IE **ambhi*: Gk ἀμφί 'about, around', Goth *bi*, OIr *imm-* < Celt **mbi* and the like (MEYER Wb. 265, *Alb. St.* III 35, 64). ◇ BOPP 499 (to Skt *āpi*); CAMARDA I 170 (to Gk ἐπί 'upon'); FEIST *Goth.* 87-88; FRISK I 98; POKORNY I 34; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 95; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130, *Ēriu* XXVIII 145; MANN *Language* XVII 22; ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 128; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 45; DEMIRAJ *ZfBalk* XXIX 64-67, *AE* 260-261.

mbëltoj aor. *mbëltova* 'to plant'. Borrowed from Rom **implantāre* 'to plant', cf. Lat *plantāre* id. ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (derived from *baltë*); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 79, VII 230.

mbërdhe adv. 'on the ground'. A compound of *mbë* and *dhe* with an epenthetic *-r-*.

mbërthej aor. *mbërtheva* 'to fasten, to button'. A prefixal derivative of *birth* (see *birk*). For the semantic development cf. Germ *knöpfen* 'to button' ~ *Knopf* 'button, knob, bud'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 265 (from Lat *invertere* 'to turn upside down'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 336-337 (phonetic transformation of *mbath*).

mbërrij ~ mbërrĭj aor. *mbërrita ~ mbërrina* 'to arrive'. Another variant is *mërrij*. Derived from *arrij* (MEYER Wb. 17). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 337 (related to *mbar*).

mbëshel aor. *mbëshela* 'to shut, to close, to lock'. Other variants are *mbëçel* and *mbërshel*. A prefixal derivative of *çel* (JOKL *Studien* 55).

mbështet aor. *mbështeta* 'to stand, to prop'. From PALb **ambhi-stata* based on an adjective **stata* identical with IE **st(h)atos* 'standing', cf. Skt *sthitā-*, Gk *στατός* id., Lat *status* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 250). ◇ FRISK I 739; MAYRHOFER III 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; POKORNY I 1006; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

mbi adv. 'on, upon'. Originally, an adverb. From a tonic form of PALb **ambi*, cf. *mbë*.

mbiatu adv. 'immediately, at once'. A Calabrian phonetic variant of *mbi ato* 'on this' > 'at once' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 337). ◇ CAMARDA II 153 (*mbi* + Ital *atto* 'act'); MEYER *Wb.* 265 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

mbij ~ **mbîj** aor. *mbiva* 'to thrive, to grow, to shoot'. From PALb **en-bünja* related to IE **bheu-* : **bhū-* 'to grow, to be' (CAMARDA I 48; MEYER *Wb.* 36-37, *BB* VIII 189). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 35; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 504 (to IE **bher-* 'to bring'); POKORNY I 146-150; ÇABEJ *St.* I 66 (to IE **bhei-* 'to beat, to strike'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 100-101 (follows ÇABEJ).

mbjell aor. *mbolla* 'to sow'. A prefixal derivative of *pjell* (MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

mblatë f, pl. *mblata* 'shewbread'. Borrowed from Lat *oblata* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38), with a non-etymological nasal in the anlaut. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 292; ÇABEJ *St.* I 337-338.

mbledh aor. *mblodha* 'to gather, to collect'. Continues PALb **ambiledza*, a prefixal verb related to Gk *λέγω* id., Lat *legō* 'to read, *to gather' (MEYER *Wb.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 17). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 13; JOKL *LKUBA* 8; LA PIANA *Studi* I 56; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; PORZIG *Gliederung* 192, 211; PISANI *Saggi* 129; ERNOUT-MEILLET 350; FRISK II 94-96; CHANTRAINE 626; WALDE-HOFMANN I 780; POKORNY I 658; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 15 (to Goth *lisan* 'to gather'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 28; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243; HULD 145, 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 261-262.

mbloj aor. *mblova* 'to fill'. Borrowed from Lat *implēre* id. (MEYER Wb. 265). ◇ CAMARDA I 125 (related to *plotē*); LAMBERTZ LVII 71 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 254-255; ÇABEJ *St.* I 338.

mbloj aor. *mblova* 'to betroth'. Historically identical with *mbloj* 'to fill'.

mbrapa adv. 'behind, back', prep. 'behind'. Together with *prapa* id. continues PALb **(en)-per-apa*, cf. *për* and *pa* (CAMARDA I 61; MEYER Wb. 351). ◇ JOKL *MRIW* I 302; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

mbraz adj. 'empty, void'. Results from the recombination of *mbrazēm* < **(m)brazēn*, borrowed from Slav **porzdyňz* id., cf. Bulg *prazen*, SCr *prazan* (MEYER Wb. 266). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 323-325; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15.

mbrej aor. *mbreja* 'to harness, to yoke'. Another variant is *mbreh*. From PALb **en-breunja*, further related to *brez* (MEYER Wb. 46). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

mbrenda adv., prep. 'inside, within'. Variant of *brenda*.

mbres aor. *mbreta* 'to bruise, to beat'. A prefixal derivative of *pres*.

mbret m, pl. *mbretër* ~ *mbretën* 'king'. Borrowed from Rom **imperātus* for Lat *imperātor* 'emperor'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER Wb. 266 (directly from *imperātor*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 191, 256; ROSETTI *RRL* XXVII/6 495; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239, 280; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 145.

mbrëma ~ **mbrama** adv. 'in the evening'. From PALb **en-prama* the second element of which is identical with Gk *πρόμος* 'foremost man', Goth *fram* 'from', OHG *fram* id. (MEYER Wb. 266, *Alb. St.* III 64, 72). ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 164; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRISK II 600; POKORNY I 814.

mbrodh aor. *mbrodha* 'to help, to do good'. A suffixal derivative of *prodh* 'to produce', a back-formation of *prodhoj*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 266 (continuation of Ital *prode* 'brave, valiant'); MANN *Comp.* 4 (from IE **en-pro-aǵō*).

mbroj aor. *mbrojta* 'to defend, to protect'. Borrowed from Rom **imparāre* id. (HAARMANN 140).

mbruaj ~ **mbruej** aor. *mbrujta* 'to knead'. From PALb **brunja* related to *brumē* (MEYER Wb. 266) and, further, to Lat *ferveō* 'to boil' (JOKL LKUBA 263). Derived from *mbruj* is *mbrus* 'to stuff full'. ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to OE *beorm* 'barm', Lat *fermentum*); PISANI *Saggi* 126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 111.

mbufas aor. *mbufata* 'to inflate, to swell'. A prefixal derivative of **bufas* borrowed from Slav **buxati* 'to beat, to swell' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 338). ◇ MEYER Wb. 54 (to Ital *buffare* 'to blow').

mbulim m 'source; burial, grave'. Deverbative of *mbuloj*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (to *bule*).

mbuloj aor. *mbulova* 'to cover, to bury'. Another variant is *mbloj*. Borrowed from Rom **manipulāre* 'to dig in handfuls', cf. Lat *manipulus* 'handful'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 267 (from Rom **invēlāre* 'to cover'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAARMANN 131; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; ÇABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (identical with *mbloj*).

mbuloj aor. *mbulova* 'to seal'. Attested only in BUZUKU. Based on **bulē* borrowed from MLat *bulla* 'seal' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 340). ◇ HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla* id.).

mburr aor. *mburra* 'to praise'. Denominative of *burrē* (MEYER Wb. 55). ◇ MANN *Comp.* 126 (to Lat *furō* 'to rage').

mbush aor. *mbusha* 'to fill'. Continues PALb **en-busa* related to Gk βυνέω < *βυσ-v-έω 'to fill up' and its cognates (CAMARDA I 52; MEYER Wb. 267, *Alb. St.* III 32, 61, 80). ◇ LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk φλύω); FRISK I 276-277; CHANTRAINE 202; POKORNY I 101; DEMIRAJ *AE* 262 (reconstructs a nasal present for Proto-Albanian).

mbutoj aor. *mbutova* 'to seal, to bung'. Denominative based on *but* 'barrel, tub'.

mbyll aor. *mbylla* 'to shut, to fasten'. Continues PALb **ambi-wela*, originally, **'to encircle'*, related to Skt *valati* 'to turn', Gk εἰλέω 'to roll tight up, to close', OIr *fillid* 'to bend' and the like (HAMP *Evidence* 139-140). ◇ ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 130; FRISK I 457-458; MAYRHOFFER III 161; POKORNY I 1140-1143; ÇABEJ St. VII 230, 233.

mbys aor. *mbyta* 'to strangle, to drown, to kill'. From PALb **ambi-witja* with the regular development of **-iwi- > -y-*. Further related to Skt *vyáthate* 'to sway, to rock', Goth *wipon* 'to pour'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 56 (to Lat *confūtāre* 'to suppress, to restrain', ON *bauta* 'to strike'); POKORNY I 1178; CIMOCHOWSKI St. IE 130; ÇABEJ St. VII 233, 254; HULD 90-91; ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 130; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139 (derived from IE **ued-* ~ **ud-* 'water', cf. also *zhys* 'to dive'); DEMIRAJ AE 262-263 (derived from *pī*).

me m 'insufficiency, lack', adj. 'insufficient, scanty, not full'. From PALb **manu* etymologically close to Gk μάνν· μικρόν. Ἀθαμᾶνες (Hes.), μανός 'thin' and Arm *manr* 'small, thin' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430). The form *metē* 'insufficient' is derived from *me* after the fall of the final nasal. Related to *me* is *mej* ~ *měj* 'to reduce, to diminish'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 273 (comparisons with Lat *minuō* 'to lessen', Ital *meno* 'less' or Slav **тънь* 'small(er)'); MEILLET MSL VIII 164; KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (to *mangut*, *mungoj*); AČAREAN HAB III 257; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*mej* < IE **mniō*); FRISK II 171-172; POKORNY I 728-729; NEROZ-NAK *Paleob.* 199 (to IE **(s)meik-* 'small'); ÇABEJ St. IV 79.

me prep. 'with'. From PALb **me(t)* etymologically connected with Goth *mip* id., Gk μέτα 'in the middle, between' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 32). ◇ CAMARDA I 314 (identifies *me* with NGk μέ); MEYER Wb. 268 (borrowed from NGk μέ); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188 (against MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 364; FRISK II 216; POKORNY I 702; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140, NTS XXIII 13 (follows MANN); HULD 91.

mečkē f, pl. *mečka* 'she-bear'. Borrowed from one of South Slavic tabooistic names for bear: Bulg *mečka*, SCr *mečka*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 184.

mefshtē adj. 'slow, sluggish'. A suffixal derivative of *mehem*.

meh ~ **mef** aor. *meha* ~ *mefa* 'to soak'. From PALb **meu-ska* related to Latv *maūt* 'to dive', Slav **myti* 'to wash' and other continuants of

IE **meu-* ~ **meuə-* 'wet'. ◇ VASMER III 26; POKORNY I 741-742; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mehem refl. 'to fail'. Goes back to PALb **mōja* related to OHG *muoan* 'to work diligently', Gk μῶλος 'toil (of war)', Slav **majati* 'to work slowly'. ◇ FRISK II 282; POKORNY I 746; BER 702; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVII 132-134; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mekem refl. 'to gasp, to choke'. Related to *mekēt* 'wet' (JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508) according to a semantic universal linking words for 'being silent' and 'melting'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 63 (to Slav **mьlčati* 'to be silent'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 549; TRUBAČEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (examples of this semantic development); ANIKIN 67-78 (semantic parallels); DEMIRAJ AE 264 (expressive word).

mekēt adj. 'wet'. Cf. also the verb *mek* 'to make wet'. Continues PALb **maka* related to *makē* (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◇ JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508 (to Lith *minkau* 'to knead'); CIMOCHOWSKI LP V 193; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 110; DEMIRAJ AE 263-264 (borrowed from SCr *mek*, Bulg *mek*).

meksh m, pl. *meksha* 'buffalo-calf'. Another variant is *meshk* 'bull-calf'. From **megsh* continuing PALb **maguša* related to OIr *maug* 'slave', Goth *magus* 'youth' (from IE **maghu-* : **maghos*). ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 339; POKORNY I 696; ÇABEJ *St.* I 340 (related to *mekēt*).

mel m 'millet'. Borrowed from Lat *milium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 523; MEYER *Wh.* 268). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 136.

mellë f 'clay, loess'. Borrowed from Slav **mělъ* ~ **mělъ* 'chalk, loess', cf. Bulg *mel*, SCr *mel*.

memec m, pl. *memecë*, *memeca* 'deaf-mute, dumb'. Borrowed, with assimilation of nasals, from Slav **němьсь* 'stranger, mute person', cf. Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nemac*, *nijemac* (MEYER *Wh.* 269). Such assimilation is, in fact, attested in Bulg dial. *memkin'a* < *nemkin'a* 'kind of haricot', originally, 'Germ woman', fem. of **němьсь*. ◇ SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 214; SELISČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195-286; SVANE 185.

memzi adv. 'hardly, scarcely'. Another variant is *mëzi*. Based on *mem*, a participial form of *mej* ~ *měj* 'to reduce, to diminish', see *me*.

menati adv. 'early in the morning'. A lexicalized phrase *me natë* with an adverbial marker.

mençëm adj. 'clever, intelligent'. A derivative in *-shëm* of *mend* (JOKL *LKUBA* 106).

mend pl. 'mind'. Borrowed from Lat *mentem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA I 306; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40-41; MEYER *Wb.* 274). Note the denominative verb *mendoj* 'to think, to count'. ♦ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE **mṛtis*), XXVIII 32 (from Latin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 83-85, 116.

mendër f, pl. *mendra* 'mint'. A suffixal derivative based on **mendë* borrowed from Lat *menta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 55). ♦ MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from Ital *menta* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; ÇABEJ *St.* I 340 (from Gk *μίνθη* id.); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 135.

mendull f 'almond'. Borrowed from Rom **amendula*, cf. Ital dial. *ammen-nola* < **amendula* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 341). ♦ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 485 (from Ital Venet *mandola* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 258-259 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189-190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110 (from Lat *amyndala*).

(G) **merajë** f 'winter pasture'. A derivative of *mera* 'pasture', of Turkish origin (ÇABEJ *St.* I 341). ♦ MEYER *Wb.* 259-260 (from Lat *hibernālis* 'wintry'); JOKL *LKUBA* 265 (from Rom **invernālia*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129.

merendoj aor. *merendova* 'to arrange'. A recent formation based on the adverb *merend* 'in order', a lexicalized phrase *me rend*, cf. *rend*.

merë f 'fear'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190).

merë f 'measure'. Borrowed from Slav **měra* id., cf. in South Slavic:

Bulg *m'ara*, dial. *mera*, SCr *mera*, *mjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182; SVANE 89.

merě f 'scent, fragrance'. Borrowed from Lat *myrrha* 'myrrh' > Rom **mĭrra*.

merimangě f 'spider'. Other variants are *merimagě*, *mirĕmangě*, *mil-imangě*, *milingoně* and *merimajkě*. Tabooistic transformations of *merming* id. borrowed from NGk μυρμήγγι 'ant, midget' (MEYER *Alb. St.* I 77). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 274-275 (compound the first element of which is compared with Slav **paqkъ* 'spider'); KRISTOFORIDHI 220, 234 (to Gk μύρμηξ); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk Dor μύρμαξ 'ant'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 341-342 (follows MIHĂESCU).

mesě 'skin (of onion), milk-skin, film'. Goes back to PALb **matšā* related to *makě* and reflecting IE **mokʰi-*. Thus, Albanian seems to reflect a labiovelar in this root.

mesnik m 'meat pasty'. Borrowed from Bulg *mesnik* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 270 (to Slav **męso* 'meat').

meshě f, pl. *meshě* 'mass'. Borrowed from Lat *missa* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 209; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 56.

meshnohem refl. 'to become senile, to dote, to be childish'. A prefixal derivative (in *me-* < *mbĕ-*) of **shenoj* borrowed from Lat *senĕre* 'to be old'.

metale f, pl. *metale* 'snow-drift'. Borrowed from Slav **metadlo* 'heap', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *metaló*, SCr *metaló*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 342 (from Bulgarian). ◇ SVANE 174.

(G) **meteh** m 'boundary, frontier'. Another variant is *metef*. A deverbative based on an unattested **meteh* 'to partake, to share'. The latter is borrowed from MGk μετέχω id. From MGk μετόχιον 'priory, farm', *metoq* 'stable' has been borrowed. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 342 (borrowed from MGk μετόχιον 'priory', later - 'farm').

metë f, pl. *meta* 'swallow, mouthful'. A deverbative based on Slav **metati* 'to throw' (depicting a swallow as a 'throw' of food into the mouth).

mezhdë f, pl. *mezhdä* 'baulk, strip of land between fields'. Reflects a Bulgarian continuant of Slav **medja* 'boundary' > *mežda*. Another regional loanword, *megjë* id., reflects a Serbo-Croatian continuant of the same provenance, SCr *medja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26).

më ~ mâ adv. 'more'. Continues PAIb **mai* from IE **mājes* with a secondary nasalization. Related to Goth *maiza* id., Oscan *mais* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 271 (borrowed from Lat *magis* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 86-88 (< IE **māison*-); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (same as MEYER); KLUGE 470; FEIST *Goth.* 342; POKORNY I 704.

mëgashtër f, pl. *mëgashtra* 'sage'. Another variant is *mugashtër*. Borrowed from Rom **medicāster* reflected in Ital *medicastro* (JOKL *LKUBA* 211-213). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* I 342; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 82, 109, 136.

mëkat m, pl. *mëkate* 'sin'. Borrowed from Lat *peccātum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; CAMARDA II 199; MEYER *Wb.* 271). The initial *m*-results from *mp*- as demonstrated by the form *mpkat* in BOGDANI (WEIGAND *BA* III 205) and seems to be a prefix added already in Albanian. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* I 343; HAARMANN 141.

mëkeq aor. *mëkeqa* 'to anger'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

mëkëmb ~ mëkamb aor. *mëkëmbe ~ mëkamba* 'to set up, to erect'. A prefixal denominative of *këmbë*.

mëkoj aor. *mëkova* 'to feed'. Borrowed from Lat *medicāre* 'to heal, to cure' (MEYER *Wb.* 282). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 244; HAARMANN 135.

mëkresë f, pl. *mëkresa* 'tombstone'. Together with its morphonological variant *mëkrejcë* 'baulk', reflects a prefixal derivative of *krye*.

mëlcoj aor. *mëlcova* 'to sweeten'. Other variants are *ëmbëlcoj* ~ *ambëlcoj*. Derivative of *ëmbël* (MANN *HAED* 279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 343). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 281-282 (from Rom **mellitiāre* based on Lat *mellitus* 'of honey, related to honey'); JOKL *LKUBA* 212, 287-288 (derivative of *mjaltë* in *-ësoj*); PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 111 (agrees with JOKL).

mëlçi f, pl. *mëlçi* 'lung, liver'. Also used in phrases *mëlçi e bardhë* 'lung' and *mëlçi e zezë* 'liver' and, originally, representing a word for spleen borrowed from Ital *milza* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 271-272). ◇ HAMP *Festschr. Kahane* 310-318, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95.

mëlmej aor. *mëlmeva* 'to add fat and oil to food'. Based on *majmë* even though the origin of *-l-* is not clear.

mëltoj aor. *mëltova* 'to graft, to wed (of plants)'. Borrowed from Lat *marītāre* 'to marry', also used in the sense of *mëltoj*.

mëllagë f, pl. *mëllaga* 'marsh mallow'. Another variant is *mullagë*. From the original **mëllakë*, with an unexplained sonorization of the auslaut. Borrowed from Gk *μαλάχη* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 271). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193 (considers *g < χ* to be strange); ÇABEJ *St.* I 343-344 (from the same pre-Indo-European source as Lat *malva* 'mallow' and Gk *μαλάχη* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208; HULD *KZ XCIX* 247.

mëllenjë f, pl. *mëllenja* 'blackbird'. There exist also phonetic variants *mëllënjë*, *mëllinjë* and the like. Continues PALb **melanjā* from IE fem. adj. **melanjā* 'black' > Gk *μέλαινα* id., cf. also Skt *malinā-*, fem. *malinī* 'dirty, unclean, Latv *mēlns* 'black' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 42-43; ÇABEJ *St.* I 344). ◇ CAMARDA I 45 (borrowing from Gk *μέλαινα*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 207 (Greek origin); MEYER *Wb.* 271 (from Rom **mer(u)lanea*, derivative of Lat *merula* 'blackbird'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 537 (accepts MEYER's etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; WEIGAND 58 (from Rom **merlōnia*, cf. Rum *merloi* < Rom **merlōnius*); JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 720-721; MAYRHOFER II 598; FRISK II 198-199; ÇABEJ *St. Pisani* I 176-177, *St. III* 259; JANSON *Unt.* 205; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 149, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 264-265 (to OHG *amusla*, *amsala* 'thrust').

mëllezë f, pl. *mëlleza* 'kind of elm; blackbird'. Another variant is *mullezë*.

A derivative in *-zë* of *mëllenjë* (VASMER *Alb. St.* I 42; JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194). ◇ ÇABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 176-177, *St.* I 345; DEMIRAJ *AE* 280-281.

mëllë ~ mullâ m, pl. *mëllënj ~ mullanj* 'grief'. From PALb **melana* 'black', the masculine form of the adjective represented in *mëllenjë* (MEYER *Wb.* 283). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Ital *malanno* 'misfortune'); JOKL *LKUBA* 195 (follows MEYER *Wb.* 283); MANN *HAED* 298 (figurative use of *mëllë* 'swelling').

mëllë ~ mullâ m, pl. *mëllënj ~ mullanj* 'swelling, lump'. Derived from *mullë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 345-346). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom **bullāna*, to *bulla* 'bubble'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 145 (prefixal formation with *-llā* being related to *lungë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (related to *bulë*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 545 (connected with *mall* 'property, goods', a Turkish loan-word).

mëllugë f, pl. *mëlluga* 'scale; scar, mark'. Related to *mëllë*.

~~mëllë ~ mullâ~~ m, pl. *mëllënj ~ mullanj* 'swelling, lump'. Derived from *mullë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 345-346). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (related to Gk *μαμμά*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117; ERNOUT-MEILLET 381; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 265.

mënd m, pl. *mënde* 'moment'. Borrowed from Lat *mōmentum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274).

mënd aor. *mënda* 'to suckle, to feed'. Continues PALb **manzda*, a nasal present further related to *maj*. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64 (to Gk *μαζός*); TOMASCHEK *BB* IX 101; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XVI 182; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Lat *mentum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 265 (related to *mëmë*).

mëndafsh m, pl. *mëndafshra ~ mëndafshna* 'silk'. Borrowed from Lat *metaxa* 'raw silk' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 272) or from MGk *μέταξα* id. (CAMARDA I 45), in both cases, through an intermediary stage of Rom **mentaxa*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 135, 140.

mëngë ~ mangë f, pl. *mëngë ~ mangë* 'armful, sleeve'. Borrowed from

Lat *manicae* 'sleeve' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 272). Note a derivative *mëngore* 'short jacket, fur-coat'. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 111.

mëngër ~ **mangën** f, pl. *mëngra* ~ *mangna* 'oil-press, press, roller'. Borrowed from Gk *μάγγανον* 'axis of a pulley, bolt' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 9) or, rather, from MGk *μάγγανον* 'machine, contrivance'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from NGk *μάγγανον* 'press'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 250, XLIV 24-27; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 346 (a Geg variant *mangë* resulting from the decomposition of *mangën*); ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 42; JANSON *Unt.* 42.

mëngo aor. *mëngova* 'to rise early'. Borrowed from Lat *mānicāre* 'to come in the morning', derivative of *māne* 'morning' (MEYER *Wb.* 272-273). ◇ CAMARDA I 141 (to Lat *māne*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 135.

(T) **mëngjër** adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom **mancinus*, cf. Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). ◇ HAARMANN 134; ROHLFS *Spr.* 161; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

mëngji ~ **mangji** f, pl. *mëngji* ~ *mangji* 'sorcery, witchcraft; medicine'. Borrowed from Lat *magia* 'magic, sorcery' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050) influenced by the popular etymology linking it to *mëngjër*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 253 (from Gk *μαγεία* 'sorcery'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 24-27 (from Gk *μάγγανον* 'charm, drug'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 346-347 (derived from *mjek*).

mënoj aor. *mënova* 'to halt, to be late'. Phonetic variant of *vënoj* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274, *IF* VI 105), see *vonë*. ◇ CAMARDA I 44, 61 (to *vonë*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *manēre* 'to stay, to remain'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 134.

mënjane adv. 'at the side'. A univerbation of *më nj(ë) anë*. From it, a verb *mënjanoj* 'to avert' is derived.

mënië f. 'manna; drizzle'. From Rom **mannia*, cf. Lat *manna* 'manna'.

MEYER Wb. 273-274) with the further assimilation
MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23 (from Lat *mane vigil*);

'sapling, shrub, shoot'. Borrowed from Lat *malle-*
with a dissimilation of sonorants (MEYER Wb. 274).
KIII 542; ÇABEJ St. I 347 (from Ital Venet *magli-*
134.

'fascinated, to be charmed'. Borrowed from Lat
to be astonished'.

to exile, to drive away'. Borrowed from Lat *mergere*
(MEYER Wb. 274). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grund-
SCU RESEE IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 136; HAMP
4.

f, pl. *mërgjyze ~ mërgjize* 'marigold, narcissus'.
nd of *mër-* < *Maria* and *gji*, 'Mary's breast'.

i ~ mëni 'hate, wrath'. Borrowed from Lat *mania*
Wb. 273). Note, however, that an alternative
ααρία with its stress corresponding to that of the
HAARMANN 134; JANSON Unt. 54-55.

sha 'man lying in wife's bed after childbirth and
ver'. Borrowed from Rom **māricōsus* 'husband-
mās 'male'. For the formation cf. *bellicōsus*
KUBA 10-13 (related to Skt *mārya-* 'young man,
ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from a poorly
us 'miserable, broken'); DEMIRAJ AE 267-268
merakî 'hypochondriac'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

'Wednesday'. Borrowed from Lat *Mercurii* (*diës*),
Elemente 516. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190;
ARMANN 136.

mërlaqet refl. 'to eat greedily'. An expressive verb of onomatopoeic

mërmëris aor. *mërmërita* 'to murmur, to mutter'. Borrowed from Slav
**mr̥mr̥ati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mr̥mor'a*, SCr
mr̥mr̥ati.

mërqinjë f. 'jujube, kind of brier'. Borrowed from Rom **myr̥cīnia*
based on Lat *myr̥ca* 'tamarisk, kind of shrub' (MEYER Wb. 274). ◇
HAARMANN 137.

mërshë f. 'corpse, carrion'. From PAIb **merusa* based on IE **mer-*
'to die': Skt *mriyāte*, Lith *mi̯ti*. Slav **merti* and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL
457-459; MAYRHOFER II 696-697; POKORNY I 735; TRUBACEV *ÈSSJa*
XVIII 101-102.

mërshinë f, pl. *mërshina* 'wineskin'. Borrowed, with an epenthetical
-r-, from Slav **měšina* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mešina*, SCr *mješina*,
mešina (MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente 26; MEYER Wb. 275). ◇ ÇABEJ St.
VII 185; SVANE 68.

mëru ~ mirû m, pl. *mërunë ~ mërun* 'handle'. Borrowed, with a
metathesis, from Rom **manurus*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *manus*
'hand'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 275 (from **manōbrium* or *manūbrium* 'handle');
MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß ² I 1054.

mërzej aor. *mërzeva* 'to rest at noon (of animals)'. Borrowed from Lat
meridiāre 'to take a mid-day nap' (MEYER Wb. 274). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE
Gr. Grundriß ² I 1052; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 136.

mërzis aor. *mërzita* 'to bore, to hate'. Borrowed from Slav **mr̥ziti*
'to hate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mr̥zi*, SCr *mr̥ziti* (MIK-
LOSICH Slav. Elemente 27; MEYER Wb. 275). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. nase-
lenie 191; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SVANE 237.

mësoj aor. *mësova* 'to teach, to train'. Borrowed from Rom **invitiāre*
id. > Rum *înveṭa*, Prov *envezar* and the like (MEYER Wb. 276, Alb.
St. IV 81). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß ² I 1051; PUȘCARIU EWR
78; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538; VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. 43 (from

mënië m, pl. *mënië*
Lat *vigilia* 'vigil' (M
to Rom **mingilia*. ◇
HAARMANN 157.

mënjollë f, pl. *mënjollë*
olus 'mallet-shoot' w
◇ PEDERSEN KZ XX
olo id.); HAARMANN

mërehem refl. 'to be
mīrārī 'to wonder, t

mërgoj aor. *mërgova* 'to
'to thrust, to push'
riß ² I 1039; MIHĂ
SCL XXVIII/1 73-7

mërgjyze ~ mërgjiz
Based on a compou

mëri ~ mëni f, pl. *mëri*
'madness' (MEYER
source could be Gk
Albanian word. ◇ H

mërkosh m, pl. *mërko*
receiving visitors; lo
like', based on Lat
'warlike'. ◇ JOKL L
lover' and the like).
attested Bulg *mr̥k*
(derived from Turk

mërkurë f, pl. *mërkurë*
cf. MIKLOSICH Rom
ÇABEJ St. I 347; HA

Gk *μανθάνω* 'to learn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 347-348 (a prefixal derivative of *pësoj*).

mësyj aor. *mësyta* 'to attack'. A prefixal derivative of *sy*, cf. Germ *ins Auge fassen* (MEYER *Wb.* 276; ÇABEJ *St.* I 348). ◇ WEIGAND *BA* I 259 (from *mbë syj*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 149-150 (related to *qoj*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; DEMIRAJ *AE* 357-358.

mëshere f 'small piece of cheese'. Borrowed from Rom **mensōra* for Lat *mensūra* 'measure'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 349 (identical with *mueshirë*).

mëshikë f 'bubble, blister, bladder'. Borrowed, with an irregular change of the anlaut, from Lat *vēsica* 'bladder' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 276-277). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1053.

mëshirë f 'pity, mercy'. Borrowed from Lat *miseria* 'wretchedness'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 277 (based on an unattested **mësh(i)roj* borrowed from Lat *miserēre* 'to feel pity'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224; HAARMANN 136.

mëshkenjë f, pl. *mëshkenja* 'cadaver, carrion'. Derived from *mërshë*.

mëshoj aor. *mëshova* 'to be heavy, to bear down'. Another variant is *pëshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *pensāre* 'to weigh' > Rom **pesāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 336). ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 124.

mëshqerrë f, pl. *mëshqerra* 'heifer'. A prefixal derivative of *shqerra* (MEYER *Wb.* 417).

mështekër ~ mështekën f, pl. *mështekra ~ mështekna* 'birch'. Borrowed from Lat *masticinus* 'related to the mastic-tree' (> Rum *masteacan* 'birch'). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* I 349 (from Gk *δένδρον μαστίχινον* 'mastic-tree').

mështekohem refl. 'to become wild, to rave, to rage'. Borrowed from Lat *masticāre* 'to chew', with an unusual semantic development partly reflected by Rum *mesteca* 'to chew, to mix' (MEYER *Wb.* 277) ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 91; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135.

mëtrik m 'disease of cattle, tumor, gangrene of intestines'. Borrowed from Rom **mātricus* based on Lat *mātrix* 'womb' MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 17). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 349; HAARMANN 135.

mëz ~ **mâz** m, pl. *mëza* ~ *mâza* 'foal'. From PALb **mandja* related to *mënd* 'to suckle' (MEYER *Wb.* 276, *Alb. St.* III 28). A closely related form is attested in Messapic, in Jupiter's name *Menzana* (STIER KZ XI 148). From Proto-Albanian, Rum *mînz* 'foal' was borrowed while Ital *manzo* 'ox' and other forms go back to Messapic. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Ital *manzo* 'tame ox'); TOMASCHEK *BB* IX 101; KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 266; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 94; CHARPENTIER KZ XL 436 (to Lat *mandus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184, *Stratificazione* 138; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; ERNOUT-MEILLET 384; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 127; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 33; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; POKORNY I 729; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79; ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXV 51-52; *St.* VII 204, 212; JANSON *Unt.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 267.

mi ~ **mî** m, pl. *minj* 'mouse'. From PALb **mû(s)* related to IE **mūs* id.: Skt *mûṣ-*, Gk *μῦς*, Lat *mūs* and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 278). The nasalization in Geg is secondary. ◇ STIER KZ XI 139 (borrowed from Greek); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63-64, 81; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190, *Stratificazione* 138; LA PIANA *Studi* I 95; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 275-276; MAYRHOFER II 668; WALDE-HOFMANN II 132-133; POKORNY I 752-753; HULD 91-92; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ KZ CVI 100-103, *AE* 267-268.

micë f, pl. *mica* 'cat'. A word of onomatopoeic origin represented in Romance: Rum *miṣa*, Ital *micio*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25 (from SCr *mica* id. - but there is no such word); MEYER *Wb.* 263 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192.

midër f, pl. *midra* 'raspberry'. Another variant is *mitër*. A figurative use of *mitër* 'womb, uterus', of Modern Greek origin.

miell m, pl. *miellra* ~ *miellna* 'flour'. Continues PALb **melwa* closely related to OHG *mēlo* id., ON *mjöl* id., Slav **melvo* 'grain for grinding' and continuing IE **meluo-*, further - to **mel-* 'to grind' (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 75). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; KLUGE 470;

MANN *Language* XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 122; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 9; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 145; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVIII 92-93; POKORNY I 716-718; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268.

mih ~ **mif** aor. *miha* ~ *mifa* 'to dig, to hoe'. From PALb **mik-ska* related to Skt *mīmikṣati* 'to mix', Gk μίσγω < *μίγσκω id. (with a voiced velar), Lat *misceō* id., OHG *miskan* id. and the like. ◇ FRISK II 192-193; MAYRHOFFER II 632-633; WALDE-HOFMANN II 95-96; POKORNY I 714; ČOP *ŽA* IV 294-295; HAMP *Sprache* XI 139 (< IE*(s)mi(d)-sk-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

mijē f, pl. *mijē, mija, mijēra* 'thousand'. A phonetically more archaic variant is *milē*. Borrowed from Lat *milia* id. (CAMARDA I 171; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Wb.* 278). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 136; HAMP *Numerals* 920.

mik m, pl. *miq* 'friend'. Borrowed from Lat *amicus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 278). The derivative *mikloj* 'to flatter, to fondle, to caress' seems to be based on **mikull* continuing Lat *amīculus* 'friend'. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Origini* 209; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 110; HULD 92 (on the apheresis of the pretonic vowel); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257; LANDI *Lat.* 59, 136.

milak m, pl. *milakē* 'leveret'. Borrowed from SCr *milak* 'dear one'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 278 (to *milor* 'young ram', of Rumanian origin); PASCU *RE* 65 (suffixal derivative of **mel* borrowed from Rum *mel* 'lamb'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk μέλλας 'boy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 350 (follows MIHĂESCU).

milinger f 'blight on leaves'. A suffixal derivative of **milinġe* borrowed from Slav **mělinъka* 'crumb, pinch', otherwise unattested in South Slavic. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 279 (comparison with SCr *medljika* 'mildew'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XI 489-490 (from Gk-Rom *melandrya*).

mill m, pl. *mille* 'sheath'. From PALb **meila* 'fastening (of a knife)' related to Skt *minōti* 'to fasten', OIr *-tuidmen* id. and the like. ◇ POKORNY I 709; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233.

mire adj. 'good'. From PALb **mira* forming a separate isogloss with Slav **mirъ* 'peace' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 43-44; as to OLith *mieras*, it was borrowed from Slavic despite VASMER II 626). Further connections are OPrus *mīls* 'nice', Lith *meilūs* 'dear', Slav **milъ* 'nice, pleasant' (MEYER *Wb.* 279, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78) and other continuations of IE **mēi-* ~ **mī-* 'mild, weak, nice'. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *mitrā-* 'friend'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 541; JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (on suffixes **-l-* ~ **-r-* in this stem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (from Lat *mīrus* 'wonderful, amazing'); PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows VASMER); HOLUB-KOPEČNÝ 224 (follows VASMER); FRAENKEL 449; POKORNY I 711-712; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; HULD 92 (confused account of JOKL's analysis); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk σμύρις 'emery'); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268-269.

mis m, pl. *misa* 'limb, member'. Continues PALb **mitja* related to Lith *mīklas* 'supple', *mitrūs* id. (for the semantics, cf. Germ *gelenkig* as a usual translation of *mīklas*), Latv *mikls* id., *mitrs* id., *mikāt* 'to knead'. ◇ FRAENKEL 447-448, 452.

miskē f, pl. *miska* 'turkey'. Unclear.

misur m, pl. *misurē* 'deep plate'. Derivative of an unattested **misē* borrowed from Slav **misa* 'plate', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *misa*, SCr *misa* (MEYER *Wb.* 280). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 44.

mish m/n, pl. *mishra* ~ *mishna* 'flesh, meat'. From PALb **miša* further related to IE **memso-* id.: Skt *māmsa-* 'flesh, meat', Arm *mis*, Goth *mimz*, Slav **męso* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 280, *Alb. St.* III 61, 64, 68). The development of **-em-* to **-i-* seems to precede the "ruki" rule. ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 56, *Kelt. Gr.* I 82; JOKL *LKUBA* 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Stratificazione* 93; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113-114; BARIÇ *Hymje* 39; AČAREAN *HAB* III 323-324; PISANI *Saggi* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 395; MAYRHOFER II 615; FEIST *Goth.* 361; POKORNY I 725-726; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIX 7-11; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 128, *St.* VII 242; HULD 92-93; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *StF* IX/1 359, *AE* 269-270.

mishkonjě f, pl. *mishkonja* 'midge, gnat'. Another variant is *mushkonjě*. A feminine derivative of **mushkē* ~ **mushkue* borrowed from Lat

mulberry; tares'. Other variants are *mjetërr*, used in a phrase *mane mjedhëra* id. A suffix-related to Lith *mēdis* 'tree', Latv *mežs* 'wood', as a wood berry. ◇ FRAENKEL 423-425; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350-351 (from **mer-dā* related to

cloud'. Other variants, *mjergull* and *njegull*, are 1). From PALb **meg(u)lā* related to Gk *ὀμίχλη* id., Slav **mьgla* 'darkness, mist' (CAMARDA the word with an unusual vocalism was reshaped standard pattern with **-e-* in the root. ◇ MEYER from Lat *nebula* 'cloud' or cognate of Slav UGMANN - DELBRÜCK II/1 362; JOKL *Studien* by invoking the influence of **merg-* 'dark', TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; MANN *Language* XXVI 191; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202-204 (derived from); FRISK II 387; FRAENKEL 451; VASMER II 387; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80; ÖLBERG *Festschr.* 351-352; HULD 93; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; to Lat *nūbēs* 'cloud', W *nudd* 'fog' and also

ian, doctor'. Borrowed from Lat *medicus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 282). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* 16; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 109, 137, 139.

, beard'. From PALb **smekrā* etymological-*kur-* 'beard', Skt *śmāsru-* id., Arm *mawruk'* (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 4, 58, 71, 84). PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKL *LKUBA* 268; 191 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PORZIG *Gliederung* 839; MAYRHOFFER III 382; POKORNY I 968; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 683, 687; HAMP 93-94; ADAMS *JIES* XVI/1-2 76; KORTLANDT

RESEE IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 137 (from Rom **muscōnea*).

mitë f, pl. *mita* 'shoot'. Continues PALb **meita* related to Skt *methi-* 'pillar, post', ON *meiðr* 'beam', Lith *miētas* 'post, stake'. ◇ FRAENKEL 451; MAYRHOFFER II 683; POKORNY I 709; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350 (to Gk *μίτλος* 'hornless').

mitë f 'bribe, tip'. Borrowed from Slav **myto* 'payment', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mito*, SCr *mito* (MEYER *Wb.* 281). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 181, 299; SVANE 208.

mizë f, pl. *miza* 'fly'. A derivative in *-zë* of PALb **mūjā* identical with ON *my* id., further connected to Gk *μύια* id., Lat *musca* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 75; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 281, *Alb. St.* III 64, 81). ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 168 (derives *mizë* from **mūs-* rather than **mūjā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193, *Stratificazione* 139; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93, 107; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (to Arm *mžil*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 265-266; WALDE-HOFMANN II 133; POKORNY I 752; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 268; DEMIRAJ *AE* 270.

mizoj aor. *mizova* 'to rage, to snarl, to hate'. Borrowed from Rom **invidiāre* id., cf. Lat *invidia* 'envy, jealousy' (MEYER *Wb.* 268). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; HAARMANN 131.

mizon aor. *mizoi* 'to snow (of light flocks)'. Derived from *mizë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 350), a figurative usage widespread both in Romance and Slavic.

mjalcë f, pl. *mjalca* 'bee'. Continues PALb **melitjā* identical with Gk *μέλισσα* < **μέλιτjα* id. (CAMARDA I 79). Cf. *mjaltë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 281; JOKL *LKUBA* 287; FRISK II 200-201; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

mjaltë m/n/f 'honey'. Continues PALb **melita* related to Hitt *milit* id., Gk *μέλι* id., Goth *miliþ* id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 281-282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Lat *mel*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 162; JOKL *LKUBA* 287-289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; FEIST *Goth.* 359-360; ERNOUT-MEILLET 394; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 203; POKORNY I 723-724; FRISK II 200-201; CHANTRAINE 682; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 38; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 270-271.

onomatopoeic origin.

mjedhër f, pl. *mjedhra* 'mulberry'. Continues PALb **medh-* id., Lith *miētis* id., OIr *merenn* 'mulberry' (POKORNY I 706-707; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350).

mjegull f, pl. *mjegulla* 'cloud'. Continues PALb **meg(u)lā* id., secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 350). Lith *miglà* id. (POKORNY I 70). In Proto-Albanian, the word was reshaped according to a more standard pattern with **-e-* in the root. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (borrowing from **mьgla* and the like); BRUNNEN *Studien* 57-58 (explains *mjergull* id., cf. ON *myrkr* 'dim'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191, 385-386; PISANI *Saggi* 129; DEMIRAJ *AE* 271-273 (to *natë*).

mjek m, pl. *mjekë* 'physician'. Continues PALb **mek-* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 281, 282; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; PISANI *Saggi* 131; DEMIRAJ *AE* 271-273).

mjekër f, pl. *mjekra* 'chin'. Continues PALb **mek-* id., related to Hitt *zamar* id., Lith *smākras* 'chin' (POKORNY I 706-707; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350). ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; ACAREAN *HAB* III 375; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PORZIG *Gliederung* 839; MAYRHOFFER III 382; POKORNY I 968; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 683, 687; HAMP 93-94; ADAMS *JIES* XVI/1-2 76; KORTLANDT

SSGL X 220; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 273.

mjel aor. *mola* 'to milk'. From PALb **melga* identical with Gk ἀμέλω id., Lat *mulgeō* id., Lith *mélžiu*, *mélžti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 40; MEYER *Wb.* 283, *Alb. St.* III 17, 64). The loss of -g- may be rather late if the variant *mjelg* adduced by CAMARDA is not an artefact. ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 23; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 550, *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 275; BARIĆ *ARSt* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language XXVI* 382, *XXVIII* 37; FRAENKEL 434-435; FRISK I 91; WALDE-HOFMANN II 121; POKORNY I 722-723; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139; HULD 94-95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 273-274.

mjellme f, pl. *mjellme* 'swan'. Derived from *miel*, cf. similar connections of Slav **olbōdъ* 'swan' related to Lat *albus* 'white', Gk ἄλφι 'barley flour'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to Slav **bělъmo* 'wall-eye, white spot'); VASMER II 470; POGHIRC *LB VI* 98 (follows MEYER).

mjerë adj. 'unhappy, unfortunate'. Borrowed from Lat *miserem* id. > Rom **misrem* (CAMARDA I 133). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to IE **melan-* 'black'), *Alb. St.* III 64, 78; JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194 (from **mel-*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 541 (to Lat *morior* 'to die'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (to Lat *miser*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 264, apud DEMIRAJ (to OIr *meirb* 'lifeless'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 274 (to Gk μιᾶρός 'stained').

mjeshtak m, pl. *mjeshtakë* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Rom **domestiācus*, cf. Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

mjeshtë m, pl. *mjeshtë*, *mjeshtër* 'master, builder'. Borrowed from Lat *magister* 'master' (CAMARDA II 204; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 284). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 136, 139.

mjet prep/adv. '(up) to, among, between', m, pl. *mjete* 'means; boundary'. From PALb **meta* related to Gk μετά, μέτα 'among', Goth *miþ* 'with' (JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191-192; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; DEMIRAJ *AE* 274-275.

mjetë f 'coarse wool, lint, yarn'. Borrowed from Gk μέτος 'thread

(of the woof)' with the change of vowel similar to that of *mjegull*. ◇ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk μίτος); MEYER Wb. 284 (from Rom **migetta* ~ **micetta* > Fr *miette* 'crumb'); ÇABEJ St. I 352 (a prefixal derivative of *jes*).

mjezditë f 'noon'. While in the parallel forms *mesditë* and *mesnatë* 'midnight' the first element is *mes* 'middle' of Modern Greek origin, in *mjezditë* and *mjeznatë* 'midnight' *mjez* continues Lat *medius* 'middle' (MEYER Wb. 284). ◇ CAMARDA I 89 (*mjez-* to Gk μέσος 'middle'); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191.

mkeqem refl. 'to get worse'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

mlysh m, pl. *mlysha* 'kind of fish, pike'. Another variant is *mlyç*. Borrowed from Rom **maris lūcius* 'sea pike', even though in Albanian the word refers to a sweet water fish. ◇ MEYER Wb. 284 (a hesitant comparison with Ital *merluzzo* 'cod, hake'), NGr. St. III 39; ÇABEJ St. I 352 (from Lat *lūcius* 'pike'); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

(G) **mllef** m 'rancor, wrath'. A derivative in *-f* (= Tosk *-h*) of *mëllë* (ÇABEJ St. I 352-353).

mnerë f 'fear, fright'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr*.

moç m, pl. *moça* 'one year old wether'. From PALb **matuša* derived from *mot*.

moçoj aor. *moçova* 'to insult, to offend'. Borrowed from Lat *monstrāre* 'to show, to report, to witness against'.

modh m 'bushel'. Borrowed from Lat *modus* 'measure'.

modhull f, pl. *modhulla* 'vetch, chickling, chick-pea'. Continues PALb **mādzula* derivationally close to Lith *mažūlis* 'small' (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 335) and further related to Lith *mažas* id. (MEYER Wb. 284-285, Alb. St. III 16, 64, 83). Borrowed to Rum *mazăre*. ◇ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk μόδος 'kind of plant'); JOKL LKUBA 182-186 (to Goth *mats* 'dish, food', OIr *maisce* id.); BARIĆ ARSt 55-56 (to Skt *māṣa-* 'bean'); TREIMER Slavia III 453 (to *mot*); CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 233;

CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 117 (suffix *-ull*); FRAENKEL 422-423; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; HAMP *SCL* XXX 89; BURROW *Henning MV* 95; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 276.

mokĕr ~ mokĕn f, pl. *mokra ~ mokna* 'millstone'. Borrowed from Gk *μυχανή* 'device, instrument' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 16). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (from Lat *machina* 'machine, instrument'); MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Latin); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 19 (follows THUMB); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 195 (prefers the Latin etymology); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 42; HAARMANN 134 (from Latin); JANSON *Unt.* 43; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 112.

mokĕrr f, pl. *mokrra* 'millipede, woodlouse'. Borrowed from the substantivized Slavic adjective **mokra*, fem. 'wet', cf. **mokrica* 'millipede'.

molar adj. 'dirty, muddy'. A prefixal formation based on *larĕ*, a participial form of *lyej*.

molĕ f, pl. *mola* 'moth'. Borrowed from Slav **molъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mol*, SCr *molj*. A parallel form *molice* continues Slav **molica* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 285). The verb *molis* 'to eat away (of moth)' is derived from *molĕ*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 154.

molikĕ f, pl. *molika* 'silver fir'. An early borrowing from Slav **moldika* 'young tall tree', cf. Bulg *mladika*, SCr *mladika*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 196-197, 200 (to *mĕllenjĕ* and its cognates); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; SVANE 127.

molis aor. *molisa, molita* 'to make tired, to weaken'. Borrowed from Slav **mъdliti* id., cf. CS *mъdliti*, Slovene *medliti*.

mollĕ f, pl. *mollĕ* 'apple, apple tree'. Borrowed from Lat *mālum* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 285). ◇ CAMARDA I 46 (compares with Gk *μήλον* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk *μήλον*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210, 254; HULD 94 (*mollĕ* described as a cognate of Lat *mālum* and Gk *μήλον*).

mollok m, pl. *mollokë* 'boulder, rock, lump'. Derived from *mollë*.

moračë f 'fennel'. Borrowed from South Slavic **moračъ* id.: Bulg *morač*, SCr *morač* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 259).

more interj. A vocative particle used in a call to a man. Other variants are *mre*, *bre*, *ore*. In feminine forms *moj* and *mori* are used (but *vore* in Italo-Albanian). The same interjection is used in all Balkan languages. The source of *more* may be one of the aoristic forms of *marr*. ◇ CAMARDA I 323 (to Gk ὁράω 'to see'); MEYER *Wb.* 286.

morë f 'bogey, nightmare'. Borrowed from Slav **mora* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mora*, SCr *mora* (MEYER *Wb.* 286-287). ◇ SVANE 216, 237.

mori f 'swarm, mass, crowd'. Borrowed from Slav **mor'e* 'sea; (fig.) large amount, swarm', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *more*, SCr *more*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 209, 281

mornica pl. 'shivering fit'. Borrowed from Slav **morьnica* 'shivering; kind of illness', cf. Bulg *mornica*, Slovene *mornica* (SVANE 184).

morovicë f 'ant'. Borrowed from South Slavic **morvica* id., cf. Bulg *mravica*, SCr *mravica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 287). Alb *-oro-* seems to reflect an analogical change of **morvica* to **morovica*, cf. Ukr *muravic'a* and the like. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nasele-nie* 198; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196 (contamination with *morr*).

morovinë f 'sultriness'. Borrowed from Slav **morovina*, deverbative of **moriti* 'to destroy' otherwise unknown in South Slavic. ◇ SVANE 172.

mort m 'death'. Borrowed from Lat *mortem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 145; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 85.

morth m 'chilblain'. Derivative of *morr*, cf. a similar semantic relationship in Rum *păducei* 'chilblain' ~ *păducel* 'small louse, nit'

(ÇABEJ *St.* I 353). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 260 (to *mardh*); MURATI *Probleme* 91.

morr m, pl. *morra* 'louse'. From PALb **mērwa* based on IE **mer-* 'to die' as Gk φθείρ 'louse' is based on φθείρω 'to destroy' (OREL *Fort.* 79). ◇ STIER KZ XI 245 (to Lat *mordeō* 'to bite' or to NGk μωρά); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (follows STIER); JOKL *Studien* 58 (to Skt *marcāyati* 'to endanger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196, *Stratificazione* 139; FRISK II 1012-1013; DEMIRAJ *AE* 277.

mos adv. 'not' (prohib.). From PALb **mātš* connected with IE **mē* id. (BOPP 497; CAMARDA I 102, 214; MEYER *Wb.* 287). The Indo-European prohibitive **mē* is directly reflected in a simple form *mo*. The second element may go back to IE **k^e* 'and' so that *mos* continues **mē k^e* as reflected in Gk μήτε 'and not' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 149-150). ◇ BOPP 497 (identifies -s in *mos* with s 'not' so that *mos* is treated as a double negation); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (-s = s 'not' < Lat *dis-*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 322; JOKL *A ArbSt.* I 37-38 (connects -s with the pronominal stem **k^o-* ~ **kⁱ-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 205; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 90; PISANI *Saggi* 110; POKORNY I 703; CHANTRAINE 692; ÇABEJ *St.* I 353-354 (analyzes *mos* as two subsequent negations *mo* + s'; HAMP *SCL* XXX/1 89; HULD 94-95 (follows OREL); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349; DEMIRAJ *AE* 275-276.

moshë f 'age'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *mocë* is preserved. Goes back to PALb **mātušā* derived from **māti-* > *mot*. Borrowed to Rum *moş*, 'grandfather' after the change of **-t(u)š-* to **-š-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 33: reconstructs **mēt-sjo-*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 263 (to *mas*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 354; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

mot m, pl. *mote* 'time, weather, storm, thunderbolt'. Goes back to PALb **māti-* etymologically identical with Skt *māti-* 'measure', Gk μῆτις id., OE *méd* id. derived from IE **mē-* 'to measure' and, in particular, to Iran **mātya-* 'day': Sogd *myδ*, Yagn *mēt*, Yazg *mīθ*, and also Osset *met*, *mīt* 'snow' (TRUBACEV *Ėtimologija* 1965 14). Semantically, *mot* is also close to Lith *mėtas* 'time, year' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 263, *Alb. St.* III 23, 63, 87) which, however, displays a

short vowel in the root, and to Hisp-Celt *maTus* '(favorable) period of time' reflecting a zero-grade. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 33, 40, 326, *Sprache* IX 117; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197; LA PIANA *Studi* I 114; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; FRAENKEL 445; FRISK II 232-233; MAYRHOFFER II 638; POKORNY I 703-704; MORGENSTIERNE *Frontier* II 24, 229 (Baltic ~ Iranian comparison); ABAEV II 124 (isolates the Ossetic word from the rest of Iranian); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187, 252; HULD 95; ESKA *Botorrita* 75-76; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

motĕr f, pl. *motra* 'sister'. From PAlb **māter* going back to IE **māter* 'mother': Skt *mātār*-, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter* and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 72; MEYER *BB* VIII 190 ('mother' > 'elder sister'), *Wb.* 287-288, *Alb. St.* III 24, 64, 72, 82). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 48; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197, *Stratificazione* 118; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; ERNOUT-MEILLET 390; FRISK II 232; CHANTRAINE 699; MAYRHOFFER II 619-620; WALDE-HOFMANN II 49-50; PISANI *Saggi* 99; BARIÇ *Hymje* 38, 71; POKORNY I 700; HULD 95-96 (reconstructs the Omaha-kinship system for Proto-Albanian); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

motovile f, pl. *motovile* 'reel, spool'. Borrowed from Slav **motovidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *motovila*, SCr *motovilo* (MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 306; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 46, 252.

mpij ~ **mpĭj** aor. *mpiva* ~ *mpĭva* 'to benumb, to make stiff'. Goes back to PAlb **en-pāginja* related to Gk πηγνυμι 'to make firm, to make stiff', Lat *pangō* id., Goth *fāhan* 'to catch' and the like (CAMARDA II 157; MEYER *Wb.* 265). ◇ FRISK II 525-526; WALDE-HOFMANN II 245-246; FEIST *Goth.* 134-135; POKORNY I 787; ÇABEJ *St.* I 354-355 (reconstructs **en-pāginja*).

mraz m, pl. *mraze* 'rain-storm, bitter frost'. Borrowed from Slav **morzъ* 'cold, frost', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mraz*, SCr *mraz* (SVANE 174, 237).

mrekull f, pl. *mrekull, mrekullra* 'miracle'. A singularized plural of **mrakull* borrowed from Lat *mirāculum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

41-42; MEYER Wb. 288). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 536; ÇABEJ *St.* I 355; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 86, 141-142.

mret m, pl. *mreta* 'arbutus, wild strawberry'. Derivative of *mare* id.

mrezhë f 'net'. Borrowed from Slav **merža* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *mreža*, SCr *mreža* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER Wb. 288). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; SVANE 153.

mti ~ **mtî** m 'churn'. Other variants are *bëti*, *pëti*, *muti*, *tpî*. Borrowed from Rom **patîna* for Lat *patina* 'broad dish, pan'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 295 (based on Slav **męsti* 'to sweep' or **mętiti* 'to stir'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 355-356 (to *tirë* 'barrel').

mu ~ **mû** adv. 'just, right, exactly'. Borrowed from Lat *immûne* 'freely, absolutely'. ◇ CAMARDA I 311 (to *me*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 356 (to *më* 'more').

muaj ~ **muej** m, pl. *muaj* ~ *muej* 'month'. From PALb **māsnja*, derived from an earlier **mēsn-*, metathesis of IE **mēns-* 'moon, month': Skt *mās-*, Gk μᾱς, Lat *mēnsis*, OIr *mí* and the like. The same metathesis may be supposed for Slav **měsěcъ* < **mēsen-ko-* id. ◇ BOPP 467 (direct comparison with reflections of IE **mēns-*); CAMARDA I 58 (follows BOPP); MEYER Wb. 288, *Alb. St.* III 64; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247, *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKL *IF* XLIX 276, *WuS* XII 81, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 194-195; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 44; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 398; FRISK II 227-228; MAYRHOFER II 631-632; WALDE-HOFMANN II 71-72; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 24; VENDRYES [M] 46; POKORNY I 731-732; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 127; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVIII 192-194; HULD 96 (treats *-j* in *muaj* as a suffix similar to *-i* in *ari*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 279-280.

muf adj. 'unripe'. From PALb **muska* (with *-f* < *-h*) related to IE **meu-* 'wet', cf. Latv *maût* 'to plunge, to swim', Slav **myti* 'to wash' and, formally, Lat *muscus* 'moss' belonging to the same root. ◇ POKORNY I 741-742.

mufas aor. *mufata* 'to puff up, to swell, to inflate'. From **mpufas*, a prefixal derivative of *puhas*.

mug m. pl. *mugje* 'twilight'. From PALb **smuga* related to OE *smoca* 'smoke', OIr *múch* id., Arm *mux* id. (ÇABEJ St. I 356). ◇ CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk μυχός 'inside'); MEYER Wb. 272-273 (to *měngo*); BARIĆ ARSt. I 104 (to Gk ἀχλὺς 'mist, gloom' < IE **ṃgh-*); AČAREAN HAB III 353; VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* I 45 (to ON *mykr* 'dung'); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 41; VENDRYES [M] 69-70; POKORNY I 971.

mugull m. pl. *muguj* 'shoot, bud, sprout'. Another variant is *mungull*. From PALb **mugula* identical with Lith **mugulas* on which *muguliúoti* 'to move' is based. The latter is further related to *mugóti* 'to go through the mud', *müğinti* 'to touch, to move' and the like. Borrowed to Rum *mugur*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 288 (quotes the non-existent Skt *mulula-* 'bud'); BARIĆ ARSt 54 (prefix *mu-* and a cognate of Gk βλαστός 'sprout, shoot'); JOKL LKUBA 267 (suffix *-ull*); FRAENKEL 468; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI ILR I 279; IONITA SCL XL 485 (from an unattested Rom **muculus*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

muj ~ **muej** aor. *mujta*, *mufta* 'to be able, to prevail'. From PALb **mundnja*, a secondary formation based on *mund*.

mujoj aor. *mujova* 'to disprove'. Derived from *muj* (ÇABEJ St. I 356). ◇ CAMARDA I 47 (to Lat *mūniāre* 'to defend, to protect').

mullë r 'stomach'. Borrowed from Rom **mula* > OFr *mule* id. (MEYER Wb. 289). ◇ JOKL LKUBA 285; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Skt *mūrdhan-*).

mulli ~ **mullſ** m. pl. *mullinj* 'mill'. Borrowed from Lat *molinum* id. (MEYER Wb. 289). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Ital *molino* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1049; JOKL IF L 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 199; ERNOUT-MEILLET 411; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 55; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 137, 158.

mund aor. *munda* 'to be able'. Continues PALb **munda*, a nasal present related to Lith *mudà* 'possibility', *mudúoti* 'to try, to attempt', Skt *módate* y 'to rejoice, to be merry'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 291 (to OHG *muntar*

'fresh', Lith *mundrūs* 'cheerful, merry'), Alb. *St.* III 64, 80; JOKL *Studien* 58 (adds Lith *mandrūs* 'high-spirited', Slav **mōdrъ* 'wise' to MEYER's parallels), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91, *IF* XXXIII 127, XXXVI 131; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 37; LA PIANA *Studi* I 23; FRAENKEL 467; CHANTRAINE 664; MAYRHOFFER II 693; POKORNY I 741-742; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (adduces Lith *išmintis* 'to be able'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 357-358 (to OHG *magan* 'to be able' or to Gk *μóγος* 'trouble, distress'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 281-283 (follows ÇABEJ).

mungoj aor. *mungova* 'to lack'. A more archaic variant is *mëngoj*. Borrowed from Rom **mancăre* > Ital *mancare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 273). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251.

murg ~ **mung** m, pl. *murgj* ~ *mungj* 'monk'. Borrowed from Lat *monachus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 14; ÇABEJ *St.* I 358; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 49; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 45-46; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 138-139.

murg adj. 'dark, grey'. From PALB **murga* related to Lith *márgas* 'multicolored', *mirgúoti* 'to sparkle, to shine', Latv *mirga* 'gleam', *mūrgs* 'fantastic image'. The word for 'mould', *murgjan*, is derived from *murg*. Borrowed to Rum *murg* 'brown'. ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (from Lat *amurca*); MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to ON *myrkr*); FRAENKEL 410-411; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; PISANI *Saggi* 122; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279.

murgë f 'lees of oil'. Borrowed from Lat *amurga* id. ◇ CAMARDA II 163 (from Gk *ἀμόργη* id.).

murmë adj. 'dark, grey'. Related to *murrët*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 286 (related to *muer* ~ *mor* id. borrowed from Turk *mor* id.).

murmuroj aor. *murmurova* 'to murmur'. Borrowed from Lat *murmurāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wb.* 292).

murtajë f 'plague'. Another variant is *mortajë*. Borrowed from Rom **mortălia*, based on Lat *mortalis* (MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 147.

murrash m, pl. *murrashë* 'sparrow'. Identical with *murrash* 'dark, dark grey', cf. *mëllenjë*.

murrelē f, pl. *murrela* 'horsefly, gadfly'. Related to *murrēt*.

murrē ~ murrâ m 'North wind'. Borrowed, with an assimilation of the initial *b-*, from Rom **boreānus*, an adjectival formation of *Boreas* id. (MEYER Wb. 42). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; ÇABEJ *St.* I 358-359 (to *murrēt*).

murrēt adj. 'dark'. A derivative in *-ēt* based on **murr* continuing Palb **mura*. The latter is etymologically related to Lith *mūras* 'mud', *mūrinas* 'dirty', Latv *murīt* 'to besmirch' and other reflexes of **meu-ro-* 'dirt'. ◇ FRAENKEL 419; POKORNY I 742.

murriz m, pl. *murriza* 'brier, hawthorn, whitethorn'. Since it is also translated as 'Schwarzdorn' by MEYER, *murriz* may be linked to *murrēt*. ◇ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 250 (connected with Ital *marruca* 'Christ-thorn'); MEYER Wb. 292 (from **mburniz-* connected with NGk προυνελιά 'brier'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 148 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); TREIMER *Slavia* III 455 (from a compound **mollë drizë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 359 (to *morr*).

mushicë f, pl. *mushica* 'midge'. Another variant is *mushiqe*. Borrowed from Slav **mušica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mušica*, SCr *mušica* (MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 27). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 198; SVANE 155.

mushk m, pl. *mushqe* 'mule'. Together with Bulg *мъск* id., ORuss *мѣскъ* id. and other Slavic forms (presumably, spreading from the South), *mushk* forms an areal Balkan word for 'mule'. Rum *muşcoi* id. is derived from **muşcu* borrowed from Albanian. ◇ MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); CAMARDA II 158; STIER KZ XI 149; HIRT *IF* XII 225 (to Lat *mūlus* id., Gk μυχλός id.); MEYER Wb. 293-294 (to Lat *mūlus* id. < **muslus*; adduces Ital dial. *musso* 'ass'), Alb. *St.* III 64; BARIĆ ARSt 56; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 139; ERNOUT-MEILLET 420; PISANI *Saggi* 129; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; CHANTRAINE 720; HAARMANN 137; CLACKSON *LR* 231.

mushk m 'shoulder'. Results from the recomposition of *mushkull*. ◇

MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 549 (borrowed from Lat *musculus* 'muscle'); CAMARDA II 158; MEYER *Wb.* 294 (follows MIKLOSICH); BARIĆ *ARSt* 56 (to Lat *umerus* 'shoulder'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 200; ÇABEJ *St.* I 359-360; HAARMANN 137.

mushkëllyer adj. 'dun, grey-brown, red-brown'. A parallel form is *mushkyl-luar*. Borrowed from Rom **muscellarius* 'colored like a mouse', cf. Lat *muscellarium* 'mouse-trap'.

mushkëri ~ **mushkni** f, pl. *mushkëri* ~ *mushkni* 'lung, liver'. As *mëlçi*, this word may be used in phrases *mushkëri e bardhë* 'lung' and *mushkëri e zezë* 'liver'. Derived from *mushk* 'shoulder'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Lat *musculus*).

mushkuar ~ **mushkuer** m 'buffalo steer'. A prefixal derivative of *shkuar*, participle of *shkoj*. Here a wide-spread pattern of calling cattle as 'walking' is used (cf. BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 145). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 360 (somehow related to Gk *μόσχος* 'young bull').

mushkull f 'muscle'. Borrowed from Lat *musculus* id.

mushllinzë f, pl. *mushllinza* 'clambering vetch'. A parallel (secondary) form is *bushllizë*. Based on **mushllî* borrowed from Rom **mustēlina*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *mustēla* 'weasel'. For the semantic development cf. Russ *myšij gorošek* 'mouse vetch'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 360 (from **mbështëllizë*, to *mbështjell*).

mushkëll m, pl. *mushkëlla* 'buffalo steer'. Borrowed from Rom **musculus* id. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wb.* 294). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1046, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137.

mushtëkohem refl. 'to settle down'. Borrowed from Rom **domesticāre* based on Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

mushtuar ~ **mushtuer** adj. 'adult, ripe (of human beings)'. A participial form of *mushtoj* 'to train, to accustom, to make ferment (of wine)', derived from *musht*.

mut m, pl. *mutra* ~ *mutna* 'excrement'. Continues PALb **mukta* for-

mally identical with Skt *muktá-* 'released' (MEYER Wb. 294, *Alb. St.* III 5, 64). The latter is derived from *muñcāti* 'to loose, to free', cf. also Lith *mùkti* 'to get free, to flee' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 418; MAYRHOFFER II 649-650; POKORNY I 744.

muz m 'corn-measure'. A rare word from a Shkodran document in Turkish reflecting a Latin loanword from *modius* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 360).

muzg m 'dusk'. From PALb **muzga* borrowed from to Slav **mъzga* 'rainy weather'. The position of *muzgë* 'mud' is not clear: it may be related to *muzg* or, less probably, to represent a borrowing from Slav **muzga* 'sap, mud' (but neither Bulgarian, nor Serbo-Croatian preserve the meaning 'mud').

(T) **mvrojtur** adj. 'dark'. A secondary phonetic form of *mvrëjtur*, a participle of *mvrëj* 'to cloud over'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *vrër*.

mycë f, pl. *myca* 'brushwood'. Derivative in *-cë* of *myjë*.

myjë f 'hardwood interior of trees, medulla'. Another variant is *my* ~ *mi*, *mî* id. Borrowed from Lat *medulla* id. ◇ JOKL LKUBA 195 (related to *mëllenjë* and based on IE **melə-* 'black').

myk m 'mould, slime'. Borrowed from Lat *mūcus* 'slime' (MEYER Wb. 295). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 24.

mykë f 'back edge (of knife)'. From PALb **mūkā* etymologically related to Gk *μυχός* 'innermost part', Arm *mxem* 'to put into, to insert'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 360 (identical with *pykë*); FRISK II 279; POKORNY I 745.

myll m 'mule'. Borrowed from Lat *mūlus* id. (MEYER Wb. 295). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 24.

mys m 'clod (of earth); bread crust'. From PALb **mūtja*, based on IE **meuə-* 'wet, dirty, to wash'. For the development of meaning, cf. LGerm

Rom. Elemente 31 (borrowed from Lat *honōrem* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 298-299 (continues an unattested **ner* borrowed from Lat *honōrem* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202-203 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 366; TREIMER *ZfomPhil* XXXVIII 402 (prefixed formation in *nd-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; ÇABEJ *St.* I 361-363 (to *ëndërr*); LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 101.

ndes aor. *ndesa* 'to have troubles', refl. *ndeset* 'to get tangled up (of threads)'. Goes back to PALb **en-datša* reflecting IE **dek** and closely related to the isolated Lith *dàkyti* 'to mix up, to put in disorder', *dàknyti* id., *dàkanoti* id. ∅ FRAENKEL 80-81; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ndesh aor. *ndesha* 'to meet'. Continues PALb **en-da-sja* etymologically related to Gk δῆω 'to find' (OREL *Orpheus* VI 69). ∅ PEDERSEN *IF* V 47 (to Slav **desiti* 'to meet' - but it continues IE **dek̑-*); JOKL *Studien* 60-61 (follows and compares *ndesh* with *ndieh*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; FRISK I 383; POKORNY I 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 285.

ndez aor. *ndeza* 'to set alight, to ignite'. From PALb **en-dadžja*, a causative formation based on *djeg* and continuing **-dogʰejō* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 323-324). ∅ JOKL *LKUBA* 333; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208; LA PIANA *Studi* I 74, *St. Varia* 33; ÇABEJ *St.* III 124, VII 217, 219; HULD 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286.

ndë prep. 'in, into'. A frequently used parallel form is *në*; in Old Albanian the initial vowel was still preserved in *ende* (BUZUKU). Goes back to PALb **en-da* composed of IE **en* 'in' (cf. Gk ἐν, Lat *in* and the like) and IE **do*: Slav **do* 'to', Gmc **tō* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ∅ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201; MANN *Language* XVII 22; FRISK I 508-509; WALDE-HOFMANN I 687-688; ONIONS 927; POKORNY I 181-183, 311-313; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 59-66; TRUBAČEV *ESSJa* V 37-38; HULD 97-98 (separates *ndë* from *në* and derives the latter from IE **eni*).

ndër prep. 'under, between'. Borrowed from Lat *inter* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ∅ BOPP 500 (related to Lat *inter*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 213; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (reconstructs **Henter*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286-287.

ndërgoj aor. *ndërgova* 'to suck'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Lat *integrāre* 'to restore, to refresh'.

ndërliq aor. *ndërliqa* 'to tangle up threads; to interlace, to weave'. Another variant is *ndërlik* preserving the original form of the auslaut velar. Derived from *liq* (KRISTOFORIDHI 271). The dialectal form *ndrëliks* id. < **ndërliks* is derived from *ndërlik* (ÇABEJ St. I 364). ◇ CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk ἐντυλίσσω 'to roll, to wrap up'); MEYER Wb. 301 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ St. IV 80.

ndërtoj aor. *ndërtova* 'to build, to construct'. A derivative of Rom **directāre*, cf. Lat *directus* 'straight' (MEYER Wb. 66). ◇ CAMARDA I 123 (derived from *drejt*); WEIGAND 60 (follows CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ St. I 364-365 (to *trajtoj*).

ndërzej aor. *ndërzeva* 'to mate'. A prefixal derivative of *zë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 300 (borrowed from Slav **drasniti* 'to irritate, to arouse'); ÇABEJ St. VII 250.

ndërroj aor. *ndërrova* 'to change, to alter'. Borrowed from Lat *alterāre* id., with an irregular change of the sonorant (MEYER Wb. 300, Alb. St. IV 15). ◇ CAMARDA I 45 (to *tjetër*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ St. I 365 (to Skt *ántara-* 'other' and the like); MANN *Comp.* 27 (same as ÇABEJ).

ndëshkoj aor. *ndëshkova* 'to punish'. A prefixal derivative of **dëshkoj* borrowed from Lat *dēspicārī* 'to despise'. ◇ MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ St. I 365-366 (from Lat *castīgāre* 'to correct, to chastise, to punish'); HAARMANN 116 (same as ÇABEJ).

ndiç adv., conj. 'well, at any rate'. Another form is *ndish*. Goes back to *në diç* 'if you know' (ÇABEJ St. I 366).

ndiçëm adj. 'old, withered, stale'. Another form is *ndishëm*. Historically identical with *ndishëm* 'sensitive', an adjectival derivative of *ndiej*.

ndiej aor. *ndjeva* 'to feel, to perceive, to hear'. A prefixal derivative of *di* (MEYER Wb. 66). ◇ CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk νοέω 'to see, to perceive'); MEYER Alb. Gr. (to *gjegj*, variant of *dëgjoj*); JOKL *Studien* 60, IF XXXVI 112; BARIĆ ARSt. I 33-34; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 547 (to

dëgjem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; ÇABEJ *St. I* 366-367 (related to Goth *þagkjan* 'to think'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 287-288.

ndih ~ **ndif** aor. *ndiha* ~ *ndifa* 'to help'. Continues PALb **en-diska* related to Gk *δίεμαι* 'to hurry, to drive', Skt *dīyati* 'to fly, to soar' and the like. For the semantic development cf. Russ *s-po-speš-estvovat* 'to assist, to help' ~ *spešit* 'to hurry'. ◇ CAMARDA *I* 135 (to Gk *τείχος* 'wall' or *τύχη* 'luck, fortune'); MEYER *Wb.* 300 (to Goth *þeihan* 'to thrive, to flourish'), *Alb. St.* III 6-7; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 208-209 (to the non-existent Skt *dāy-* 'to take care'); FRISK *I* 389-390; ÇABEJ *St. I* 367-368 (continues IE **deik-* 'to show'); MAYRHOFER *II* 46; POKORNY *I* 187.

ndikoj aor. *ndikova* 'to influence'. Borrowed from Lat *indīcāre* 'to impose, to inflict'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St. VII* 257-258.

ndjej aor. *ndjeva* 'to pardon, to forgive'. More archaic forms are *ndëjej* and *ndëlej*. Borrowed from Lat *indulgēre* 'to be indulgent, to concede' (MEYER *Wb.* 299). Note the development of the group *-lg-* as in *mjel*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 130.

ndjek aor. *ndoqa* 'to follow, to chase, to pursue'. From PALb **en-teka*, a prefix formation related to IE **tek-* 'to run, to flow': OIr *techim* 'to flee', Lith *tekù, tekėti* 'to run', Slav **tekq, *tekti* 'to flow, to run' (MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 300-301, *Alb. St.* III 3, 24). Another verb, **awa-teka*, is reflected as *vdjek* 'to pursue' instead of **ftjek* under the influence of *ndjek*. ◇ FRAENKEL 1074-1075; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 291; VENDRYES [T] 40; VASMER IV 37; POKORNY I 1059; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Gk *διώκω* 'to pursue'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 96; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (on *v-* in *vdjek*); ÇABEJ *St. VII* 269; HULD 97; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288.

ndjell aor. *ndolla* 'to entice, to lure; to call (to an animal)'. Continues PALb **en-delna*, a denominative related to the Balto-Slavic word for 'palm (of the hand)': Lith *dėl̃na*, Slav **dolnъ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lith *dėl̃ka* 'fishing-rod'); FRAENKEL 87-88; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 63-64.

ndodh aor. *ndodha* 'to happen, to take place, to occur'. From PALb

**en-tādza* continuing IE **tāg-* (or **tāg-* as implied by Baltic): Gk τάσσω 'to arrange, to put in order', τᾱγή 'ordering, array', Lith *pa-togùs* 'comfortable', *su-tógti* 'to marry'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 301 (to Lat *tangō* 'to touch' or to Goth *tekan* id.), Alb. St. III 17; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 335; BARIĆ ARSt. I 57-58 (to Lat *cadō* 'to fall'); FRISK II 845-846, 859; FRAENKEL 551; POKORNY I 1055; ÇABEJ St. I 369-370 (to Gk τεύχω 'to prepare').

(T) **ndohhtë** adj. 'dirty, foul'. Based on *ndoh* 'to make dirty', an inchoative derivative of *ndyj* (MEYER Wb. 301; KRISTOFORIDHI 229). ◇ JOKL Studien 61-62 (to *dhjes*); DEMIRAJ AE 290-291.

ndorë f 'charge, tutelage, patronage'. A back-formation based on *ndoroj* 'to manage, to control, to protect'. A metathesized borrowing from Rom **pantōrāre* < **patrōnāre*, cf. Lat *patrōnus* 'protector, defender'.

ndormë adj. 'unleavened; ordinary'. Derived from *dorë* with the original meaning 'handy, easy to make' (ÇABEJ St. I 370). ◇ CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 321 (to Skt *tāruṇa-* 'young, fresh'); ÇABEJ St. VII 212, 242.

ndorrina conj. 'although'. Other variants are *ndorina* and *ndori*. More frequent variants use the adverbial element *-na* but the original conjunction is *ndori*, a form of *ndor* ~ *ndorë*. The underlying meaning is '(even) with the protection of'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 370-371 (from *ndo rri* 'although you are sitting').

ndoshta adv. 'perhaps, maybe'. Derived from *ndosh* 'to happen', a secondary formation based on *ndodh* (KONITZA apud ÇABEJ St. I 371). ◇ WEIGAND BA I 260 (from *në do të ishte*); ÇABEJ St. I 370-371 (from SCr *doista* 'truly'); MURATI *Probleme* 92.

ndrag aor. *ndraga* 'to make dirty'. From PAIb **en-traga*, a denominative verb related to OHG *drec* 'dirt, dung', ON *þrekkr* id., Gk στεργάνας 'dung' (Hes.) and the like (MEYER Wb. 301). ◇ KLUGE 141; FRISK II 790; POKORNY I 1032.

ndreq aor. *ndreqa* 'to put in order, to arrange'. Derived from *ndreq* ~ *ndrejt*, adv. 'straight, direct', cf. *drejtë*.

ndrikull f, pl. *ndrikulla* 'godmother; midwife'. Borrowed from Lat *mātrīcula* used in the sense of Rom **mātrīna* id. > Ital *madrina* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 301). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054 (from Lat *nutrīcula*); HAARMANN 135.

ndrizë f, pl. *ndriza* 'band, bandage'. Continues **n-dridh-zë* related to *dredh* (JOKL *Studien* 18).

ndrydh aor. *ndrydha* 'to press, to squeeze, to twist'. From PALb **en-trūda* etymologically connected with Lat *trūdō* 'to thrust, to push, to press on', Goth *us-priutan* 'to burden' and the like. The verb *ndrydh* is a source of secondary expressive forms *ndryp* 'to press, to squeeze' and *ndrys* 'to massage' (the later may be a derivative in **-tja*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (from Rom **intrūdō*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; WALDE-HOFMANN II 710; FEIST *Goth.* 535-536; POKORNY I 1095-1096; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372 (to *dredh*).

ndryj aor. *ndryva* ~ *ndryna* 'to lock'. Derived from *dry*. MANN *Language* XVII 16 (from *dru*). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

ndryqem ~ **ndriqem** refl. 'to stretch oneself'. Continues PALb **en-truka* related to *W. truchen* 'to cut'. OHG *drucken* 'to press'. Lith **drikti*

ERNOUT-MEILLET 186; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; KLUGE 885; FEIST *Goth.* 478-479; WALDE-HOFMANN I 377-378; POKORNY I 220-221; ÇABEJ *St.* I 373-374; DEMIRAJ *AE* 291.

ndulkem refl. 'to ripen'. From PALb **en-tulka* etymologically linked to Lith *telkiù, telkti* 'to gather, to bring together', Slav **telkti* 'to beat, to pound'. MEYER *Wb.* 313 (derived from Lat *dulcis* 'sweet'); VASMER IV 73-74; FRAENKEL 1078; ÇABEJ *St.* I 374 (to *tul*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ndyj ~ ndyej aor. *ndyra* 'to make dirty, to soil, to dip, to immerse'. From PALb **en-dünja* related to Gk *δύω* 'to sink, to cause to sink, to plunge in'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 307 (to OHG *tūhhan* 'to immerse'); FRISK I 427-428; POKORNY I 217-218.

ne pron. 'we'. From PALb **nō(s)* etymologically related to Skt *nas-*, Av *nō*, Lat *nōs* id. and other continuations of this stem in Indo-European (BOPP 464; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 216-217; MEYER *Wb.* 296, *Alb. St.* III 63, 65). Oblique cases have *na* from the Indo-European form of accusative with a short vowel. In some dialects, *na* appears in nom. sg. while *ne* represents oblique cases. ◇ JOKL *Sprache* IX 142; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85, 90; ERNOUT-

nemec m, pl. *nemeca* 'dumb, stuttering person'. Borrowed from Slav **němьсь* id. also denoting Germans, cf. in South Slavic Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nijemac*, *nemac* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27). The form *nemc* 'German' goes back to the same source. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195, 286.

nepërkë f, pl. *nepërkë* 'adder, viper'. A more archaic form is *nepërtkë*. Borrowed from Slav **nepъrtkъ* attested in Bulg *neprъtkъ* 'buttercup, yellowgold' (its other name being *žabun'ak* 'related to toads') connected with some other marginal Slavic forms such as **jъzportъkъ* 'miscarried fetus' and **vyportъkъ* id. The original form being the source of *nepërkë* described a freshly hatched snake. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *năpîrcă*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (from Lat *vîpera* 'viper'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 139; VASMER I 369; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 204; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXXII/2 204 (borrowed from Rum *năpîrcă* continuing Rom **natricipertica*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

nesër adv. 'tomorrow'. From PALb **natšōr* continuing **nok'tjōr*, an adverbial derivative of **nok't-* 'night', cf. W *neithiwr*, *neithwyr* 'last night', Bret *neizær*, *neizür* id. (MANN *Hist. Gr.* 204). ◇ CAMARDA I 309 (to Gk ὑστεραία 'the day after tomorrow'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (to Goth *nehva* 'near' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 13, 65; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 236-237, *KZ* XXXVI 336 (from an earlier **nati herë* 'at the hour of night'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 58-60 (from **en auso-* 'at dawn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204 (supports PEDERSEN); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 41, 109; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 45-46 (compound of *nes-* < **en ōku-* 'swift' and *herë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 374-375 (from *në esëll herë* 'at the time of morning fast'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 292-293.

neveris aor. *neverita* 'to desert, to neglect'. Borrowed from Slav **ne věriti* 'not to believe' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 246.

nevojë f, pl. *nevoja* 'need'. Borrowed from Slav **nevol'a* 'lack of freedom, necessity', cf. South Slavic parallels: Bulg *nevol'a*, SCr *nevolja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; SVANE 222

němě ~ namě f, pl. *němě ~ namě* 'curse'. From PALb **namā* related to *něm ~ nam* 'to curse' from PALb **nama*. Etymologically connected with Gk *véμω* 'to distribute', Goth *niman* 'to take' and the like, with the semantic shift justified by the development in Greek, cf. *véμεσις* 'wrath' (CAMARDA I 36; MEYER Wb. 297, *Alb. St.* III 64-65). ◇ FRISK II 302-304; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; POKORNY I 763; ÇABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 184; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ AE 293.

něměroj aor. *něměrova* 'to number, to count'. Borrowed from Lat *numerāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER Wb. 312, *Alb. St.* IV 19). Other similar forms, such as *numër* 'number', are of Italian or learned Latin origin (ÇABEJ *St.* I 384). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

něn prep. 'under'. A more conservative variant is *nděn*. An extended form of *ndě* (MEYER Wb. 299).

něně ~ naně f, pl. *něna ~ nana* 'mother'. An onomatopoeia comparable with that of SCr *nana* id., Rum *nană* id. and the like (MEYER Wb. 297, *Alb. St.* III 65). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27 (from Slavic); SCHMIDT KZ LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201, *Stratificazione* 118; HULD 98 (traces *něně ~ naně* back to Indo-European); JANSON *Unt.* 97-98; DEMIRAJ AE 294.

něněris aor. *něněrita* 'to murmur'. An onomatopoeia.

něng ~ nang adv. 'not'. A difficult form. Probably, a Latin loanword, cf. Lat *numquam* (MEYER Wb. 304), but then the vowel remains unexplained. Is it a double negation from **ne nuk* developed to **nenk* > *něng*? ◇ HULD 99.

něngj m 'knot'. Borrowed from Rom **nodunculus* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054).

něntě ~ nand num. 'nine'. The Tosk form is an analogical innovation that has replaced **něndě*. Continues PALb **neunti-* representing a *ti*-derivative of IE **neyn* id.: Skt *náva*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun* and the like (BOPP 459; MEYER Wb. 304, *Alb. St.* III 65). ◇ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 85; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 61; LA PIANA *Studi* I 84; PISANI *Saggi* 106;

MANN *Language* XVII 20; MAYRHOFFER II 141-142; WALDE-HOFMANN II 179-180; FEIST *Goth.* 378-379; POKORNY I 318-319; HAMP *IF* LXXXI 43-44 (to Illyr *Neunt(i)us*), *Numerals* 915-916; HULD 154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 294-295.

nĕpĕr prep. 'through'. A compound of *nĕ* and *pĕr*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

nĕse conj. 'if'. A lexicalized sequence of *nĕ* and *se* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 375).

nga prep. 'out'. Goes back to PALb **en-ka*, a compound consisting of **en-* identical with IE **en* 'in' and **ka* (also preserved as dialectal *ka* 'out'), a reflex of IE **kom*, cf. Slav **kъ* 'to, towards' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 150). A particularly interesting parallel of PALb **en-ka* is found in Slav **vъn-kъ* (Czech *venku*, Ukr *vonka*) < IE **en-kom*. The unusual semantic shift of *nga* is a part of a general transformation of prepositional meanings in Albanian, cf. *ith*. ◇ CAMARDA 84; MEYER *Wb.* 304-305 (*ka* < Gk *κατά* 'down' with an inexplicable loss of the second syllable); POKORNY I 311-312, 612-613; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 105-106 (on Slavic prepositions); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 211.

ngac aor. *ngaca* 'to check, to halt'. A denominative based on **ngalcĕ* derived from *ngalem*.

ngacmoj aor. *ngacmova* 'to incite, to tease'. A form parallel to *ngall-moj* and based on **ngacmĕ*, derivative of **ngacĕ* - ultimately, to *ngas*.

ngaj aor. *ngava*, *ngajta* 'to run'. Another variant is *nga(h)*. From PALb **en-ganja* related to the reduplicated Skt *jāhāti* 'to leave, to abandon', OHG *gān*, *gēn* 'to go' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 305, *Alb. St.* III 6-7). Other morphological variants of the verb are *nga(h)* < **en-gaska* and *ngas* < **en-gatja*. ◇ CAMARDA I 40 (to NGk *ἐγγίζω* 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav **nukati* 'to prompt, to urge'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 205; KLUGE 241; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (to Slav **kotiti* 'to roll'); MAYRHOFFER I 426; POKORNY I 418; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *quatiō* 'to shake'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 295 -296.

ngalem refl. 'to be limping, to be lame, to be paralyzed'. From PALb **en-gala*, a denominative based on an unattested **gala* 'end, obstacle' related to Lith *gālas* 'end', Latv *gals* id., OPrus *gallan* 'death'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incagliare* 'to halt'); HELBIG 23-24 (from Rom **incalleāre*); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 165-168 (to *gul* 'hornless');

FRAENKEL 130; ÇABEJ *St.* I 375-376 (to Lat *callum* 'hardened, thick skin').

ngallis aor. *ngallita* 'to sprout, to shoot'. Another morphological variant is *ngalloj*. Denominative based on *ngallë* 'flowering head of an onion' <*sprout, shoot'. The latter is derived from **ngall* 'to sprout, to shoot', a prefixal verb built from *kall* ~ *kalli* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 376-377 with differences in details). A related form with a different prefix *c-* is *ckalloj* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 51). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 80 (to *shkal*, *shqelm*).

ngallis aor. *ngallita* 'to annoy, to irritate'. A derivative of *ngas* based on an unattested nominal form **ngall(ë)*.

ngallmoj aor. *ngallmova* 'to urge, to irritate, to arouse'. Based on **ngallmë*, a deverbative noun in *-më* related to **ngall*, see *ngallis* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 376). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incalmare* 'to inoculate' or Rom **incalamāre*); JOKL *LKUBA* 269 (to *akull* and Slav **kaliti* 'to temper [iron]'); HAARMANN 130.

ngardhuliqe f, pl. *ngardhuliqe* 'goldfinch'. Borrowed, with a secondary *n-* and an additional suffix *-iq-*, from Lat *carduēlis* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (reconstructs Rom **cardellicula*).

ngarend aor. *ngarenda* 'to run fast'. A univerbation of *nga rend* or *ngas rend* still preserved in Old Albanian (ÇABEJ *St.* I 377).

ngarkoj aor. *ngarkova* 'to load, to charge, to burden'. Borrowed from Rom **incaricāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incaricare* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1048 (from Italian); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 130.

ngarmoj aor. *ngarmova* 'to drive away, to incite, to irritate'. A phonetic variant of *ngallmoj*. Cf. also *ngërmoj* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 12 (from Ital *angheria* 'oppression, tyranny'); KRISTOFORIDHI 261 (to *gërmoj*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 378-379 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI).

ngas aor. *ngava* 'to urge, to incite, to annoy'. From PAIb **en-gatja*, a causative related to *ngaj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 221 (to *qas*); PEDERSEN *KZ*

XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav **nukati* 'to urge, to say *nu*'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 154, 218.

ngastër f, pl. *ngastra* 'piece, part, section; block, quarter'. Another variant is *ngasër*. Derived from *ngas* (MEYER *Wb.* 221). Note a secondary cluster *-st-* < *-s-*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 377 (from NGk γάστρα 'wide part of a jar').

ngashërej aor. *ngashëreva* 'to touch, to move, to affect'. Another variant is *ngashëroj*. The Geg form is preserved in *ngashnjej* 'to incite, to rouse'. Built on the basis of Rom **incausinëre*, cf. Lat *causa* 'cause'.

ngatërroj aor. *ngatërrova* 'to entangle, to complicate'. The antonym is *shkatërroj* 'to undo, to disentangle'. Derived from *ngatërr* 'hair ribbon' < **thread*. The latter is based on *ngas*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (to *ngatërr* and *ngatërr* from Rom **inquaetërrare*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 60-61 (to *snite* and *sntri*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 377-378 (back-formation of *shkatërroj* based on *katër*).

ically identical with *ngojoj*.
c variant of *gojë*.

. Derived from *golle* on the
MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Slav
ARSt. 61 (prefix *n-* followed

to *gop* 'greedy, gluttonous'.
related to IE **gēp-/*gēbh-*
s back to **en-gāptja* (CIMO-
EJ *St.* I 379 (*ngos* borrowed

o stiffen, to become erected
Continues PALb **kār(i)da*
t', hence - 'to stiffen' and,
cf. Lith *kēras* 'root', Slav
cordāre, cf. *kordhë*); KRISTO-
now off"); FRAENKEL 241;
KI 62-65; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80,

ngërhis aor. *ngërhita* 'to snore, to snort'. Another variant is *ngërhas*. A prefixal derivative of *gërhas*.

ngërthej aor. *ngërtheva* 'to press, to encircle'. A prefixal derivative of *k(ë)thej* with an epenthetic *-r-*. Cf. *kthej*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 379 (to *gardhë*).

ngërzis aor. *ngërzit* 'to annoy'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **gërzis* borrowed from Slav **groziti* 'to threaten', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *groz'a*, SCr *groziti*.

ngij ~ ngij aor. *ngiva ~ ngina* 'to sate, to suckle'. Dialectal forms preserve *gl-* and *gj-*. From PALb **gleinja* related to Lith *gliėjù, gliėti* 'to smear', OHG *klēnan* id. and the like. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 62 (from **ni-gjno-* 'swallowed down'); FRAENKEL 157; POKORNY I 362-363; ÇABEJ

ngolem.
to grow stiff. From **ngallm* related to

nge f, pl. *nge* 'time, leisure, chance, opportunity'. Goes back to *ngae* preserved in dialects. From PALb **en-gadā* etymologically related to Slav **godъ* 'time, year' with which it shares the temporal meaning (JOKL *Studien* 62-63). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305-306 (to Lith *gaivūs* 'cheerful, merry'), Alb. *St.* III 7, 39; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 191-192; MURATI *Probleme* 92-93.

ngec aor. *ngeca* 'to get stuck, to halt, to hesitate'. A morphonological variant of *ngac*.

ngel aor. *ngela* 'to get stuck, to remain'. A morphonological variant of *ngalem*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238-239.

ngeq aor. *ngeqa* 'to become worse, to get bad'. Derived from *keq*.

ngërç m 'cramp, stiffness'. Derived from *kërç*.

ngërdhej aor. *ngërdheva* 'to mock, to sneer, to mimic'. Another variant is *ngërdhesh*. Derived from *ngrydh*.

ngolioj aor. *ngolova* 'to mention, to slander'. Derived from *ngol* 'mouth'.
ngolioj aor. *ngolova* 'to try, to taste'. Historically identical with *ngolioj*.
Derived from *golë*, a phonetically archaic

ngollar m 'sodomite; sodomite sexual act'. Derived from *ngol* 'mouth'.
basis of an intermediate verb **(n)golloj*. ◇
**gozlarъ*, to **gozъ* 'anus, bottom'); BARIĆ
by a cognate of Gk κήλη).

ngop aor. *ngopa* 'to sate, to cram'. Related to *ngol*.
The latter continues PALb **gāpā* probably
'to eat'. A parallel form *ngos* 'to sate' goes
CHOWSKI LV 194). ◇ POKORNY I 382; ÇABEJ
from NGk **ἀγχώνω* 'to choke').

ngordh aor. *ngordha* 'to die (of animals), to die (of penis)'. A synonymic form is *kordh*.
(of penis)'. A synonymic form is *kordh*.
going back to IE **kēr dhē-* 'to take a root',
finally, 'to die'. For the first component
**korenh* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Rom **in-*
FORIDHI 265 (to NGk κορδόνωμα 'to sate'),
POKORNY I 572-573; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 191-192;
VII 184.

ngratě adj. 'wretched, miserable, unhappy'. Borrowed from Lat *ingrātus* id. (MEYER Wb. 306). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; HAARMANN 131.

ngre aor. *ngrita*, *ngreja* ~ *ngrĕjta* 'to lift, to raise'. A parallel form is *ngreh* ~ *ngref* reflecting an inchoative in **-sk-*. Continues PALb **en-grada* and **en-gradska* related to Lat *gradior* 'to step, to walk', Goth acc. *grid* 'step', OIr *in-grenn-* 'to pursue', Slav **grĕdŏ*, **grĕsti* 'to walk'. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ἐγείρω 'to rouse, to stir up'); MEYER Wb. 306 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), Alb. St. III 8, 71; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 545; JOKL *Sprache* IX 128; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93; WALDE-HOFMANN I 615-616; FEIST *Goth.* 222; POKORNY I 456-457; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 76; TRUBACEV *ĖSSJa* VII 123-124; DEMIRAJ AE 296-297 (to Lat *crĕscō* 'to grow').

ngrij ~ **ngriĵ** aor. *ngriua* ~ *ngrina* 'to freeze'. From PALb **en-kreinja*, a denominative verb related to Lith *krenà* 'film, thin skin (on milk)', Latv *kriena* id. For the semantics cf. another Baltic cognate - Lith *krygà* 'floating pieces of ice'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 306-307 (to Gk κρύος 'frost'); JOKL *Studien* 63-64 (to Slav **člrvstvъ* 'hard, dry'); SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 245 (to Frioul *criure* 'cold'); FRAENKEL 297; POKORNY I 618; ĆABEJ St. VII 243.

ngroh ~ **ngrof** aor. *ngroha* ~ *ngrofa* 'to warm'. From PALb **en-grāja* etymologically identical with Slav **grĕjŏ*, **grĕti* id. (MEYER Wb. 307, Alb. St. III 8, 71; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46), continuing IE **g^hher-* 'to burn'. ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 321, 324-325, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows MEYER); VASMER I 456 (*ngroh* from **en-grĕsko*); POKORNY I 493-495; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 48; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 77; ĆABEJ St. VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *kārštas* 'warm'); HULD 98 (on *sk-* formations in Albanian), KZ CVII 169; DEMIRAJ AE 298.

ngrydh ~ **ngridh** aor. *ngrydha* ~ *ngridha* 'to work up, to foment, to ferment', refl. 'to be in heat (of horses)'. From PALb **en-krūda* etymologically related to Lith *grūžiu*, *grūsti* 'to stamp, to punch', Latv *grūst* id. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Slav **sŕditi sę* 'to get angry'); FRAENKEL 173-174; POKORNY I 460-462; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684 (to Skt *gr̥dhyati* 'to wish').

ngrys aor. *ngrysa* 'to darken'. Goes back to PALb **en-krūtja* further

connected with Slav **kryti* 'to cover', Lith *kráuju, kráuti* 'to pile'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 64 (to Lat *creper* 'dusky, dark'); BARIĆ *Glasnik SND* II 167-170 (to Gk γνόφος 'darkness, gloom'); FRAENKEL 291; POKORNY I 616-617; ÇABEJ *St.* I 379-380 (to IE **kers-* 'black'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 71-72.

nguc aor. *nguca* 'to rouse, to incite'. A phonetic variant of *ngus*.

ngujoj aor. *ngujova* 'to enclose, to lock up'. A prefixal derivative of *kunjoj*. ◇ WEIGAND 62 (denominative based on *kunj* 'peg, wedge'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 380 (follows WEIGAND).

ngul aor. *ngula* 'to thrust in, to stick in'. From PALb **en-kula*, a zero grade etymologically related to Lith *kùlti* 'to thresh', Latv *kùlt* 'to strike' and further connected with IE **kel(ə)-* 'to strike' (MEYER *Wb.* 307, *Alb. St.* III 4). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MANN *Language* XVII 14; FRAENKEL 211; POKORNY I 545-546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

ngulmoj aor. *ngulmova* 'to insist'. Derived from *ngulmē* 'insistence', a deverbative of *ngul*.

nguq aor. *nguqa* 'to redden'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (MANN *HAED* 322).

nguroj aor. *ngurova* 'to growl, to howl'. Based on an unattested noun **gur* etymologically related to Skt *gavate* 'to sound', Gk γόος 'lamentation', Latv *gaura* 'chatter', Lith *gáuti* 'to howl' and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 307 (onomatopoeia comparable with Germ *gurren* 'to coo' and similar); FRAENKEL 141-142; MAYRHOFER I 445; FRISK I 317-318; POKORNY I 403.

nguroj aor. *ngurova* 'to harden, to petrify'. Derived from *gur*. Another form based on *gur* is *ngurr* 'to stiffen'.

ngurroj aor. *ngurrova* 'to hesitate, to falter, to stop'. From late Lat *incurrere* 'to commit (a fault)', see WEIGAND *BA* I 259. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 380-381 (to *gur* and *nguroj*).

ngus aor. *nguta* 'to urge, to force'. From PALb **en-kutja* related to Lith

káuti 'to strike', Slav **kovati* 'to forge', Lat *cūdō* 'to strike', OHG *houwan* id. ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46-47; BÜGA II 153; FRAENKEL 232; WALDE-HOFMANN I 300-301; POKORNY I 535; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ngush aor. *ngusha* 'to annoy, to irritate'. Continues PALb **en-kuša* related to Lith *kūšti* 'to move', Latv *kustināt* 'to move, to touch'. ◇ FRAENKEL 321-322.

ngush aor. *ngusha* 'to embrace, to neck'. Derived from *gush*.

ngushtë adj. 'narrow'. Borrowed from Lat *angustus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 61; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 307). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMAN 111; HULD 98.

ngushulloj aor. *ngushullova* 'to comfort, to give consolation'. Another variant is *ngushëlloj* ~ *ngushëllonj*. Based on an unattested **kushulloj* borrowed from Lat *consōlāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 307) ◇ HAARMAN 119.

ngjalë f, pl. *ngjala* 'eel'. A back-formation of **ngjelë* understood as an umlauticized plural. The latter is borrowed from Lat *anguilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 308). ◇ CAMARDA I 36 (to Gk *ἄλς* id.); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 283; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* I 381-382 (from Illyr **engella* related to Lat *anguilla*).

ngjat adv. 'near'. Derived from *gjatë*, cf. Ital *lungo* 'along, beside', Fr *le long de* 'along' and similar coinages (ÇABEJ *St.* I 382-383). ◇ CAMARDA I 323 (to *ngas*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (to *qas*); WEIGAND *BA* I 254 (to *ngjis*).

ngjelmët adj. 'salty, briny'. Another variant is *ngjelbët* < *ngjelmët*. The source of this word is PALb **en-salma* related to IE **sal-* 'salt': Gk *ἅλς*, Lat *sāl*, OIr *salann*, Arm *ał* and the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 64-65, *LKUBA* 231; AÇAREAN *HAB* I 114-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; FRISK I 78-79; VENDRYES [S] 17-18; WALDE-HOFMANN II 465-466; POKORNY I 878-879; OREL *IF* XCIII 106 (reconstructs PALb **en-salima*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 298-299.

ngjesh aor. *ngjesha* 'to gird'. From PALb **en-jāuša* etymologically connected with Av *yāghayēiti* id., Gk ζώννυμι id., Lith *jūosti* id., Slav **jasati* 'to tear clothes' < *'to tear into bands', **po-jasъ* 'belt' (MEYER Wb. 308, Alb. St. III 39, 61). The development of PALb **-s-* to *-sh* is explained by the "ruki" rule rather than by derivation of *-sh-* from **-sj-*. ◇ MEYER Gr. Gr. 105; LA PIANA *Studi* I 92; PISANI *Saggi* 102, REIE IV 10; POKORNY I 513; FRAENKEL 198; VASMER III 351; FRISK I 617-618; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; BARBER *JIES* III/4 294-320; ÇABEJ St. VII 219; HULD 99, KZ CVII 169; ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 129; OREL FLH VIII/1-2 38, IF XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ AE 299-300.

ngjesh aor. *ngjesha* 'to knead'. Derived from *gjesh*.

ngjëroj aor. *ngjërova* 'to try, to sample, to taste'. The corresponding Geg form is *gjinonj*. Borrowed from Lat *jējūnāre* 'to fast', with the further semantic development from 'not eat' to 'taste only'. The meaning 'to fast' is preserved by Geg *ngjinoj*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 308 (to *gjër*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ngjëroj aor. *ngjërova* 'to encircle; to jump over, to wade through'. Another variant is *gjerroj*. Derived from *gjer*. A relatively rare case of a verb based on a preposition/adverb.

ngjir m, pl. *ngjire* 'whirlpool'. Another form is *ngjirr*. Derived from *gjerë*. ◇ SCHMIDT KZ L 241-242 (to Skt *sirā* 'stream').

ngjirem refl. 'to get hoarse'. The same verb is attested without prefix as *qirem* 'to get hoarse', cf. also *shqirem* id. An onomatopoeia (HERMANN KZ XLI 47). ◇ MEYER Wb. 308 (to Gk κέρχνος 'hoarseness' or E *hoarse*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 329 (to Gk κέρχμος); ÇABEJ St. I 383 (to *shqerr*); DEMIRAJ AE 300-301.

ngjis aor. *ngjita* 'to stick to'. Continues PALb **en-gleitja* related to Lith *gliejū*, *gliėti* 'to smear', *glītūs* 'sticky', Gk γλοιός 'sticky stuff' and similar (MEYER Wb. 309). ◇ CAMARDA I 135 (to Gk ἔγκειμαι 'to press upon'); BARIĆ ARSt 62-63 (to Skt *sājati*); FRAENKEL 157; FRISK I 312-313; POKORNY I 363; ÇABEJ St. VII 219, 243.

ngjizem refl. 'to clot, to curdle'. Derived from *gjizë*.

ngjok aor. *ngjoka* 'to knock'. Derived from *qok* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 383). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 192 (derived from *klokë* 'hooked stuff' of Romance origin).

ngjyej aor. *ngjyeva* 'to dip, to plunge, to dye, to color'. Borrowed from Lat *unguere* 'to smear, to anoint' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 308). ◇ CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk χέω 'to pour'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225; HAARMANN 156.

ninë f 'cradle'. Borrowed from Rom **ninna* id.: Ital *ninna* 'lullaby', Sard *ninna* 'cradle' and similar (MEYER *Wb.* 309). The lack of rhotacism may be explained by a specific development of the geminate. Derived from *ninë* is *ninullë* 'lullaby'.

nip m, pl. *nipa, nipër* 'nephew, grandson'. Borrowed from Lat *nepōs* 'grandson' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 310). A rare case of a Latin loanword based not on the oblique stem *nepōtem* but on the restructured nom. sg. **nepos*. The vocalism of *nip* may reflect a relatively late borrowing from Dalm Lat *nepo* < Lat *nepōs*. ◇ CAMARDA I 200 (treats *nip* and Lat *nepōs* as cognates); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 99 (from IE **nepōt-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 92; BARTOLI *Dalm* II 414; JOKL *LKUBA* 15-28; SKOK *AarbSt.* I 221 (from Dalmatian Romance); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207 (agrees with PEDERSEN), *Stratificazione* 118-119; HULD 99 (follows PEDERSEN); LANDI *Lat.* 51, 143-145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; BEEKES *CIEL* 139 (same as PEDERSEN); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 226; DEMIRAJ *AE* 301-302.

nis aor. *nisa* 'to start, to begin, to prepare for journey'. Continues PAIb **neitša* going back to IE **neikʷō* and related to Lith *su-nikti* 'to set upon, to attack', Slav **niknōti* 'to rise, to grow'. If this comparison is accepted, the dubious Greek parallel in νῆκος 'quarrel, struggle' should be dropped. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 310 (from Gk ἐκίνησα 'to set off, to start out' - not without doubt); LAMBERTZ - PEKMEZI *Lesebuch* 107 (follow MEYER); BARIĆARSt 63 (to Gk ἐνεγκεῖν); FRAENKEL 503; FRISK II 297; VASMER III 74-75; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

nočkë f, pl. *nočka* 'knuckle, joint'. There exists a close form *noçë* id. Unclear.

nofkë f, pl. *nofka* 'nickname'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic

**novъka* 'new (name)', cf. SCr *Novka*, a feminine proper name.

nofull f, pl. *nofulla* 'jaw, jawbone, cheekbone'. Back-formation based on the borrowing of Lat *in offulae*, cf. *offula* 'small piece, little bit' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 383-384), with a semantic evolution opposite to that of *bukĕ*, cf. Ital dial. *gnoffele* 'jaw' of the same origin. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 310-311 (compares *nofull* with Ital *ganascia* 'jaw, jowl'; similarity with *offula* is accidental); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 150-151 (compound of *no-* related to Lat *gena* 'face, cheek' and of *-full* compared with Slav **čel'ustъ* 'jaw'); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 114 (to Skt *snāpayati* 'to make wash'); TAGLI-
AVINI *Stratificazione* 93-94.

nokĕr adj. 'small, tiny'. Derivative of **nokĕ* borrowed from Lat *innocuus* 'harmless, innocent'. ◇ CAMARDA I 137 (to Gk μικρός id.); MEYER *Wb.* 311 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

noshtĕr f, pl. *noshtra* 'sprout, young plant, sapling'. Borrowed from Rom **nōvaster* > Ital dial. *novastro* id. (JOKL *IF XXXVI* 98-100, *LKUBA* 212-213). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 31; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 129, 136.

notoj aor. *notova* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Rom **notāre* replacing classical Lat *natāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43-44; MEYER *Wb.* 311). ◇ MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (from IE **snē-* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; HAARMANN 138.

nozikĕ f 'knife worn at the belt'. An early loanword from Slav **nožikъ* unattested in South Slavic, a diminutive of **nožъ* 'knife' (MEYER *Wb.* 311). Note a peculiar substitution of Slav *-ž-. ◇ SVANE 85.

nu adv. 'when'. Continues PALb **nu* etymologically identical with IE **nu* 'now': Skt *nú*, Gk *vŭv*, Goth *nu*, OHG *nā* and the like. ◇ FRISK II 325; KLUGE 515-516; FEIST *Goth.* 380; MAYRHOFER II 175; POKORNY I 770.

nuhar m, pl. *nuharĕ* 'lair of young deer'. Derivative of *nuhas*, cf. also its derivative *nuhuris* 'to track (of hounds)'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 311 (*nuhuris* from Slav **n'uxati* 'to smell').

nuhas aor. *nuhata* 'to smell, to sniff'. Another variant is *njuhas*. Bor-

rowed from Slav **n'uxati* id., otherwise unattested in South Slavic

simulation of sonorants, from Lat *reiterāre* 'to repeat'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 386 (onomatopoeia).

Nj

njegull f 'fog, mist'. A dialectal phonetic variant of *mjegull* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (from Lat *nebula* 'fog'); JOKL *Studien* 57.

njuh ~ **njef** aor. *njeha* ~ *njefa* 'to count, to consider'. From PALb **nemska* further connected with IE **nem-* 'to divide, to take, to arrange, to count', cf. Gk νέμω 'to divide', Goth *niman* 'to take', Lat *numerus* 'member, element, number' and *nummus* 'coin, money' (OREL *IF* XLIII 113-114). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 314 (identifies *njuh* with *njuh* which is not very plausible semantically); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 81; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; WALDE-HOFMANN II 186-187; FRISK I 302-304; POKORNY I 763-764.

njeri m, pl. *njerëz* 'man, person, human being'. A more archaic form of sg. *njer* is preserved in Geg dialects. Goes back to PALb **nera* further connected with Skt *nār-* 'man', Gk ἀνὴρ id., Arm *ayr* id. (BOPP 461-462; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 186; MEYER *Wb.* 313, *Alb. St.* III 66, 71). Note a rare plural in *-ëz* < **-adja* (JOKL *LKUBA* 89). ◇ PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 242; JOKL *Studien* 102; AČAREAN *HAB* I 173-174; FRISK I 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208-209; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; PORZIG *Gliederung* 155; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER II 148-149; POKORNY I 765; HULD 100-101; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 304-305.

njerkë f, pl. *njerka* 'stepmother'. Borrowed from Lat *noverca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 313). The masculine form *njerk* is built on the basis of *njerkë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

njethet refl. 'to fertilize, to be fertile, to grow, to bud'. From **ngjethet*, derivative of *gjethe*.

një ~ **nji** num. 'one'. From PALb **ainja*, a derivative of IE **oi-no-* id.: Lat *ūnus*, Goth *ains*, OPrus *ains* and the like (CAMARDA I 169). ◇ MEYER

Wb. 313-314 (prefers an erroneous comparison with Skt *anyā* 'other', Gk *ἐνίοι* 'some'), *Alb. St.* III 66; BARIĆ *ARSt* 64-65 (from **n-sem-*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 113 (follows MEYER and connects *një* with Messap *ennan*); TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 296-297; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 209 (agrees with MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 24; WALDE-HOFMANN II 821-823; POKORNY I 286; HULD 101 (without any serious reason, postulates a back-formation from fem. **smjeH*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39; HAMP *Numerals* 903-904; CLACKSON *LR* 175.

njicë f, pl. *njica* 'big fishing net'. From **ngjicë*, derived from *ngjis* in view of the expression (*peshku*) *ngjis* '(the fish) sticks to the net' = 'gets into the net' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386-387).

njilë f, pl. *njila* 'tench'. A dialectal form of *ngjalë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 387).

njoh ~ njof aor. *njoha ~ njofa, njova* 'to know'. From PALb **gnāska* related to IE **gēnə-* ~ **gñō-* id., cf. particularly, Gk *γυνώσκω*, Epidaur *γνώσκω*, Lat *(g)nōscō* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 47; MEYER *Wb.* 314, *Alb. St.* III 17, 66). The vocalism of present was changed under the influence of aor. *njova* which is identical with OE *cnáwan* id. < **gñē-ū-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 82-83). ◇ ASCOLI *KZ* XVII 351; BARIĆ *ARSt* 65-66; FRISK I 308-309; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 339 (reconstructs **gñē-sk-*), *Kelt. Gr.* II 547; LINDEMAN *IF* LXXI 283 (to ON *kná, knégum* < Gmc **knē-jan*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 54; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 209; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; WALDE-HOFMANN II 176-177; POKORNY I 376-378; ANTTILA *Schw.* 71; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; HULD 101-102 (clumsy reconstruction of a causative **gñōH-ēskoH*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 130; OREL *IF* XCIII 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 305-306 (similar vocalism in Hitt *ganēš-* 'to know').

njollë f, pl. *njolla* 'spot, mark, stain'. Dialects preserve a more archaic form *ngjollë*. From PALb **en-sālā* related to ON *splr* 'dirty', OIr *sal* 'dirt' (JOKL *Studien* 65-66). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 47 (to *njoh*); VENDRYES [S] 16; POKORNY I 879; ÇABEJ *St.* I 387 (to *ngjyeyj*).

njomë ~ ngjomë, nglomë adj. 'wet'. The verb *njom* 'to make wet' is derived from the adjective. Based on PALb **glāima* related to OE *clám* 'clay', Lith *gléimės* 'slime' and other continuants of IE **glēi-* (JOKL *Studien* 66). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 315 (borrowed from Lat *unguō* 'to spread, to smear'); POKORNY I 364; ÇABEJ *St.* I 387-388 (verbal adjective of

ngijej); DEMIRAJ *AE* 306-307 (to Goth *hnasqus* 'soft, fine' or to OHG *naz* 'wet').

O

oborr m, pl. *oborre* 'yard, court'. Borrowed from Slav **obvorъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *obor*, SCr *obor* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 314). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150-151; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 58.

ofiq m, pl. *ofiqe* 'service, function'. Borrowed from Lat *officium* id.

ofsh m 'glow, heat'. Variant of *afshë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 3 (to *afë* 'breath').

ofshë f, pl. *ofsha* 'curse'. Derived from *ofsh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 220.

ograjë f, pl. *ograja* 'pasture'. Borrowed from Slav **ogordja* 'fencing', cf. SCr *ograda*. As to Alb *-j-*, it may either reflect an early South Slavic **-dj-* or, rather, go back to **-gj-* < SCr *-dj-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 315 (to SCr *ograda* 'fence, yard'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306 (from Chakavian *ograja*); ; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159; RUSAKOV *LIs* 1982 195; SVANE 58.

okër f 'kind of grain, Einkorn'. Borrowed from Gk ὄχρος 'birds' pease, Lathyrus Ochrus' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 389) or, rather, from substantivized ὀχρός 'pale-yellow'. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk ὀκίμων).

okitë f 'frost or snow (on tree branches)'. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)kytъ* id., cf. SCr *okit* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 14).

okoll adv. 'around'. Borrowed from Slav **okolъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *okol*, SCr *oko*, *okolo* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 315). ◇ BERNEKER I 548; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197, 303; ÇABEJ *St.* I 389 (local borrowing from Serbo-Croatian); SVANE 271.

opingë f, pl. *opinga* 'sandal'. Other variants are *opangë*, *opengë*. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)pyntъkъ* 'sandal, shoe', cf. SCr *opanak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 315). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-*

lenie 175-176; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; FLORESCU *REF* IX/6 594 (on the Dacian origin of this type of sandals); SVANE 100.

orendi pl. 'equipment, utensils'. An early borrowing from Slav **orqđlje* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 389). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 316 (from Ital *arredo* 'fittings, furnishings'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 192; SVANE 65.

orok m 'time, term, limit, appointment'. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)rokъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *obrok*, SCr *obrok*. Note that *oroqe* 'wish' is a singularized plural of *orok*. ◇ SVANE 176.

orrl m 'eagle, buzzard'. Borrowed from Slav **orьlъ* id., cf. Bulg *orel*, SCr *orao* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 316). ◇ SVANE 148.

osh adv. 'trailing, along the ground'. A fossilized form of a rare *osh* 'harrow'. Thus, the original meaning of the adverb was 'trailing as a harrow'.

oshtë f, pl. *oshta* 'pole, drawbar'. Borrowed from Slav **ojište* id.: Bulg *oište*, SCr *ojište* (MEYER *Wb.* 316). ◇ SVANE 29.

otavë f 'second crop of hay'. Borrowed from Slav **otava* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *otava*, SCr *otava* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◇ SVANE 41.

P

pa prep. 'without', conj. 'before, then', particle 'let' (in imperative). From PALb **apa* reflecting IE **apo*: Skt *ápa* 'away, off', Gk *ἀπό* 'from', Goth *af* 'from' and, in particular, Lith *pa-* (prefix), Slav **po* 'on, along' (BOPP 500; CAMARDA I 320; MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* III 30). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 107-108 (*pa* 'before' < **parj* related to *prej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; FEIST *Goth.* 3; POKORNY I 53-55; MAYRHOFER I 37; FRAENKEL 519-520; VASMER III 292-293; ÇABEJ *St.* II 5 (against JOKL), apud DEMIRAJ (to Osc *perum* 'without'); HULD 156; OREL *SBJa Lek-sikol.* 151-152; DEMIRAJ *AE* 307-308 (to Goth *fawai* 'few, little').

padis aor. *padita* 'to accuse'. Borrowed, with a semantic change, from

Slav **padati* 'to fall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pada*, SCr *padati* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 317). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 294; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 303 (from Slav **pōditi*); SVANE 238.

pagëzøj aor. *pagëzova* 'to baptise'. A parallel form is *pakëzøj*. Borrowed from Lat *baptizāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* IV 25). The unusual development of **hapt-* > **pagt-* is a combination of a dissimilation and shift of voicedness. ◇ CAMARDA I 139 (to Gk βαπτίζω id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Italian); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 538; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 5-6.

pah m 'scab, dust'. From PALb **pauja* connected with IE **peu-* 'to blow up' and, in particular, with Arm *hogi* 'breath' < IE **pouio-* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 304 (to Gk πάχυν 'frost'); AČAREAN *HAB* III 107-108; POKORNY I 847; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80.

pajë f 'side, party, dowry'. Also attested as *palë*. Historically identical with *palë* 'pair'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 318 (in the meaning 'dowry', borrowed from Lat *pallium* 'cover, coverlet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212 (*pajë* 'dowry' from Ital *palio* 'prize, reward'); HAARMANN 140.

pajt prep. 'thanks to'. Borrowed from Lat abl. *pactō*, cf. *hoc pactō* 'this way', *aliō pactō* 'otherwise' and the like. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 6 (from **për anë të* 'from the side of').

pajtoj aor. *pajtova* 'to appease, to reconcile, to hire, to engage'. Other variants are *paqoj*, *paqtoj*. Borrowed from Rom **pāctāre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 319) in which derivatives of Lat *pāx* 'peace' and *pāciscor* 'to make a bargain' have converged (CAMARDA I 105). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 324 (on *-jt-* < Lat *-ct-*), *RIEB* II 64 (Albanian derivative in *-toj* of *paq*); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 56-60; ÇABEJ *St.* II 6-7 (follows JOKL *RIEB*); HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

pak adv. 'a little, few'. Borrowed from Lat *paucus* 'few, little' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 318). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HULD 102; HAARMANN 59, 141; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

pakĕ f, pl. *pakĕ* 'side of ham, buttock'. Borrowed from West Gmc **bakkon* 'ham, flitch' (Frankish *bako*, OHG *bahho*), derivative of Gmc **bakan* 'back' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 7).

palavi f, pl. *palavi* 'obscenity; pus'. Two historically unrelated homonyms of which one *palavi* 'pus' is a compound of *pa-* 'not' and *lav-* 'wash', cf. *palarĕ* 'unwashed' (MEYER *Wb.* 237) and another *palavi* 'obscenity' continues NGk *παλάβρα* 'talking big', of Romance origin. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 8 (treats both words as one compound *pa-lav-* 'dirty, unwashed').

palcĕ f 'marrow, pith'. Note that the same word appears as *palsĕ* and *palĕz* (JOKL *LKUBA* 115, 284). Derived from *palĕ* 'pair; fold'. Semantically, an important *tertium comparationis* is found in Slavic parallels of *palĕ* - **polĕ* 'half' and **polĕ* 'hollow', since *palcĕ* designates a substance with which hollow spaces in a bone or a plant are filled (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430-431). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 47-48; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 213.

pale part. 'even so, anyway' (in request or indirect speech). A sequence of two particles, *pa* and *le* (KRISTOFORIDHI 299). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 319 (to Slav **le*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 8 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

palĕ f, pl. *palĕ* 'pair; fold; group, class, party'. Goes back to PALb **palā* further related to Slav **polĕ* 'half; hollow', Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly', Hitt *palḫi-* 'wide' (JOKL *Studien* 66-67, 83; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (to Gk *πέλωμαι* 'to turn' but the Greek word belongs to IE **k^uel-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; JOKL *Studien* 83 (compares with *shpall* 'to declare' but this verb is a phonetic variant of *shpërrall*, derived from *përrallĕ* < Lat *parabola*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Gk *δι-πλόος*); POKORNY I 803-805, 985-986; WALDE-HOFMANN II 237; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24 (from Lat *pāla*); HULD 143, 147 (from **polteH*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 308-309 (to ON *fel* 'fold').

palnjĕ f, pl. *palnja* 'maple'. Other variants are *panjĕ*, *pĕnjĕ*. Borrowed from Rom **plātania* derived from Lat *platanus* 'plane-tree', with a metathesis in the first syllable. As shown by an Albanian loanword in Rum *paltin* 'maple' < **paltĕn*, the form *platanus* was also borrowed.

◊ MEYER Wb. 332 (from SCr *panj* 'stump'); PUȘCARIU EWR 109; JOKL LKUBA 188-190 (to Lat *palpāre* 'to stroke, to pat'); ÇABEJ St. II 9 (cognate of Gk *πλάτανος*, Lat *platanus*); DEMIRAJ AE 309-310.

pall aor. *palla* 'to bray, to bellow'. A variant of *përrall* 'to jest, to trifle' with compensatory long [a:] reflecting the fall of an intervocalic consonant. For the phonetic development cf. *shpall*. ◊ CAMARDA I 240 (to Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly'); JOKL Studien 83-84 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); ÇABEJ St. II 9-10 (adds non-existent Tokh *pal-* 'to celebrate').

pallë f, pl. *palla* 'pole, club, washing-stick, sword, mallet'. Borrowed from Lat *pāla* 'spade, shovel' (MEYER Wb. 319-320). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1042; LANDI Lat. 28, 111.

pallë f 'rest, quiet'. In a phrase *běj pallë* 'to rest, to be quiet'. Borrowed from Gk *παῦλα* 'rest, pause'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 320 (from NGk *παῦλα*).

pam particle. A synonym of *pa*, it is a compound of *pa* and *më* (ÇABEJ St. II 10).

pamëta adv. 'again'. A parallel form is *pameta*. A compound of *pa* and *meta* 'again', from NGk *μετά* 'afterwards' (CAMARDA I 310; MEYER Wb. 270). ◊ LAMBERTZ KZ LIII 295; ÇABEJ St. II 10.

panderë f 'apron, embroidered sash'. Borrowed from Rom **panticarium* based on Lat *pantex* 'paunch', cf. a semantically different but formally close Rum *pîntecaraie* 'diarrhea' (MEYER Wb. 320). ◊ ÇABEJ St. II 10-11 (borrowed from Ital dial. *bandiera* ~ *bandera* 'flag').

paq m 'peace'. Borrowed from Lat *pacem* id. (CAMARDA I 305; MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 48; MEYER Wb. 318-319). ◊ MEYER Alb. St. IV 47, V 97; MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1041, 1048, 1051; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ St. II 11; HAARMANN 139.

paqyll adj. 'dull, limited, stupid'. Derived from *pak*. ◊ ÇABEJ St. II 11 (a prefixal derivative in *pa-* < **po-* of *qull*, *qullët*).

par m, pl. *par* 'pair'. Borrowed from Lat *parem* id. (MEYER Wb. 321).

◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

para adv., prep. 'before'. A parallel form is *parē*. From PALb **para* related to IE **per-* 'before, forward': OHG *furi*, Lat *prae* and the like (CAMARDA I 303; MEYER *Wb.* 321-322). This word appears as a first element in such compounds as *paravesh* 'slap in the face' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 12), *pardje* 'the day before yesterday' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214) and the like. ◊ BOPP 503 (to *parē*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* 213; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; WALDE-HOFMANN II 351; POKORNY I 812; WATKINS *IER* 49-50; ÇABEJ *St.* III 193; HAMP *Numerals* 904-905 (reconstructs IE **prH-uo-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 310.

pare f, pl. *pare* 'fish scale'. A singularized plural of **par* continuing PALb **para*, a deverbative related to Lith *periù*, *peŕti* 'to strike', Slav **рърѣ*, **perti* 'to press'. ◊ FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 818-819.

parē adj. 'first'. From PALb **para* etymologically identical with and derived from the adverb *para* (CAMARDA I 303). The adjective *parmē* 'front' is derived from *parē*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 321-322 (connection with *para* and Indo-European words for 'first': Lith *pirmas* and the like), *Alb. St.* III 30, 71; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 108 (to Skt *pūrva-* id.), *Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; PORZIG *Gliederung* 186; MANN *Language* XVII 18; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *BSL* LXVI 223, *LB* XXIV/3 48; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 133; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; HULD 68; DEMIRAJ *AE* 311.

parmëndë ~ parmendë f, pl. *parmënda ~ parmenda* 'plow'. Borrowed from Rom **perarământum*, cf. Lat *perarāre* 'to plow through, to scratch' (MEYER *Wb.* 322). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155, *LKUBA* 136 (agrees with MEYER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 12 (from Rom **parământum* or Lat *apparământum* 'preparation').

parzēm f, pl. *parzma* 'breast'. A parallel form, *parmëz*, reflects the original structure of the word, a derivative in *-ëz* of *parmē*, cf. *parē* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 12-13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322 (to Slav **pŕrsi* 'breast'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 48 (from Lat *parma* 'kind of shield'); SKOK *RIEB* I 298

(against MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 215-216 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 94; ĆABEJ *St.* VII 187, 204.

parriz m 'paradise'. Borrowed from Lat *paradīsus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Lat. Elemente* 593). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 322 (from Ital *paradiso* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214-215 (follows MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ĆABEJ *St.* II 13-14 (loss of the intervocalic -d- as characteristic of Latin loanwords); HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 109.

pas adv., prep. 'after, behind'. A parallel form is *mbas*. Goes back to PAIb *(en) *apa tšī* continuing IE *(en) *apo k'id*. For the etymology of components see *pa* and *čĕ*. ◇ BOPP 500 (to Skt *paścā-* 'back, posterior'); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (same as BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 322-323 (same as BOPP), *Alb. St.* III 13, 30; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 250, KZ XXXVI 311 (to *pa* and -s as in *mos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; LA PIANA *Studi* I 33; ERNOUT-MEILLET 527; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (to Gk *πoтi* 'against, towards'), XXVIII 32; HAMP KZ LXXV 23 (to Lith *pāskui* 'behind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 311-312.

pash m, pl. *pash* 'fathom, pace, outstretched arms'. Borrowed from Lat *passus* 'step, pace' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 323). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

pashkĕ f, pl. *pashkĕ* 'Easter'. Borrowed from Lat *Pasqua* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 324). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 120, 147.

pashnik m, pl. *pashnikĕ* 'cloth, cover, towel'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **pašъnikъ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 323 (from Turk *başlık* 'hood'); ĆABEJ *St.* II 14 (derived from *parcĕ* segmented from *pĕrparcĕ*).

pashtrak m 'pasture rent, pasturage money'. Borrowed from Rom **pastūrācus* based on Lat *pastūra* 'pasture'. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ĆABEJ *St.* II 14-15 (from Rom **pastūrāticus*); HAARMANN 140.

patĕ f, pl. *pata* 'goose'. A cultural *Wanderwort* attested in Slavic as well as in Romance, cf. Spanish *pata* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 324). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *pata-ga-* 'bird'); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28

(from Slavic); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216 (from Slavic); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244 (from SCr *patok*).

patkua ~ patkue m, pl. *patkonj* 'horseshoe'. Borrowed from Slav **rodъkovъ* id., a morphological variant of the more widespread **rodъkova* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 349-350 (from Slav **rodъkova*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 306, 326; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 641 (from Slav **rodъkova*); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 85.

pe ~ pê m, pl. *penj, penjë, pêjna* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat *pānus* 'thread wound upon the bobbin' (MEYER *Wb.* 331). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL *Zb. Belič* 44; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE **petino-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

pec adj. 'shortsighted, blind'. Continues PALb **paitsa* (with the preserved affricate as in some other cases) related to ON *feigr* 'close to death', Lith *paĩkas* 'stupid' from IE **peik̑-*. ◇ POKORNY I 794.

pecë f, pl. *peca* 'cloth, rag, napkin'. From PALb **paitsa* related to Gk ποικίλος 'multicolored', OHG *fēh* id., Slav **рьstrъ* id. For the semantic development cf. Slav **gun'a* 'cloth' borrowed from Iran **gaunya-* 'multicolored'. ◇ POKORNY I 795; VASMER III 251.

(G) **pêjnë** f 'fringe'. Singularized plural of *pe* (MANN *HAED* 358). ◇ CANDREA-DENSUȘIANU 1378 (borrowed from Rom **pedinus* > Rum *piedin* 'fringe' > Alb *pedim* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 16 (repeats MANN's etymology).

pejzë f, pl. *pejza* 'muscle, sinew, string'. Derivative of *pe*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

pek m, pl. *peqe* 'worry, concern'. Based on Slav **pekti se* 'to worry, to care' (MEYER *Wb.* 324).

pelenë f, pl. *pelena* 'diaper'. Borrowed from Slav **pelena* 'cover, napkin', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pelena*, SCr *pelena* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◇ SVANE 96.

pelĚ f, pl. *pela* 'mare'. From PALb **pōulā* related to Gk πῶλος 'foal', Goth *fula* id. (XYLANDER 279; CAMARDA I 172; MEYER Wb. 326). ◇ STIER KZ XI 147; MEYER Alb. St. III 88; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 83 (reconstructs **pōlnā* with *-ln- > -l-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 139; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; BARIĆ *Hymje* 22; FRISK II 634; CHANTRAINE 961; POKORNY I 843; FEIST *Goth.* 170-171; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; SCHMIDT *Sybaris* 134; ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 153, St. II 16; HULD 102 (beware of the inaccurately summarized literature!); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ AE 314.

pelin m 'wormwood'. Borrowed from Slav **pelynъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pelin*, SCr *pelin* (MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 326). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 163; SVANE 109.

pelq aor. *pelqa* 'to stir up (water)'. Goes back to PALb **pelkja* related to Lith *pelkėti* 'to become marshy', *pėlkė* 'marsh, swamp', Latv *pelce* 'muddle', *pelcēt* 'to urinate' ◇ FRAENKEL 567; POKORNY I 805.

MEYER Wb. 332). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. RESEE IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 143.

in (used as ornament)'. Borrowed from South Slavic as Bulg *penez*, SCr *penez* (MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 327). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 176, 182; SVANE 90.

pawn'. Borrowed from Lat *pignus* id. (MEYER Wb. 327). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 68 341-344; MEYER-LÜBKE *AarbSt* III 205-206 (suffix -g); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 24; MANN 142; LANDI Lat. 125, 130, 147;

orse'). Borrowed from Lat *pedica* 'shackle', but nasal (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 48; ÇABEJ St. VII 254; HAARMANN 141.

set (of the sun)'. A difficult word from Lat. Borrowed from Lat *pēctus* 'to pull, to pluck', Lat *pecten* 'comb'. ◇ FRISK II 492-493; FRAENKEL 580-581; WALDE-HOFMANN II 269-270; POKORNY I 797.

pellĚ f, pl. *pella* 'comb'. From PALb **petslā*, a derivative in *-l- related to Gk πέκω 'to comb', Lith *pėšti* 'to pull, to pluck', Lat *pecten* 'comb'. ◇ FRISK II 492-493; FRAENKEL 580-581; WALDE-HOFMANN II 269-270; POKORNY I 797.

pellg m, pl. *pellgie* 'pond, pool, depth'. In Old Albanian the word is preserved as *pellġg* (BUZUKU, BUDI). Borrowed from Gk πέλαγος 'high sea' (ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 43). ◇ CAMARDA I 40 (unspecified connection with Gk πέλαγος); LOEWENTHAL WuS X 176 (related to Gk πέλαγος); MEYER Alb. *Studien* I 24 (related to Lith *pėlkė* 'marsh, swamp'), Wb. 326 (borrowed from NGk πέλαγος); BARIĆ *AarbStar* I 151-152 (from **pō-leugā* compared with *lēgatġ* and Slav **luža*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 151; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 337; ROSETTI *ILR* 273 (related to Rum *bîlc* 'marsh'); GINDIN *Form. SN* 60; ÇABEJ St. II 16-17; OREL RRL XXX/2 105-106 (agrees with LOEWENTHAL).

pemĚ f, pl. *pemġ* 'fruit-tree, fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *pōmum* 'fruit', *pōmus* 'fruit-tree' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 51; MEYER Wb. 326). ◇ CAMARDA II 190 (to Gk πέπτω 'to ripen'); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* 2 I 1039; MANN *Language* XXVI 387;

MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI Lat. 64.

pendar m, pl. *pendarġ* 'watchman'. An early borrowing from Slav **pōdarъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pъdar*, SCr *pudar* (MEYER Wb. 332). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 181, 291; SVANE 197.

pendġ f, pl. *pendġ* 'feather; pair (of oxen)'. Borrowed from Lat *pinna*, *penna* 'feather' (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 48; MEYER Wb. 326). The second meaning 'pair of oxen' seems to be a metaphoric derivative of Lat *penna* 'plumage' or the like. Note *pendull* id. and *penġll* derived from *pendġ* (ÇABEJ St. II 17). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1050; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 178 (to Lith *spándau* 'to stretch'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; CANDREA-DENSU-SIANU 199 (*pendull* from Lat *pinnula* 'little plume'); JOKL LKUBA 302 n. 1 (*penġll* borrowed from Lat *pinnula*); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21, XXVI 386; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 65; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 142; LANDI Lat. 58, 135; DEMIRAJ AE 314-315.

KLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 51; *Grundriß* 2 I 1048; MIHĂESCU

penez m, pl. *peneza* 'silver coin'. Borrowed from Slav **penġdzь* 'coin', prese *penez* (MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 327). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 176, 182; SVANE 90.

peng m, pl. *pengġe* 'pledge, promise'. Borrowed from Lat *pignus* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 48; MEYER Wb. 327). ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 254; HAARMANN 141; DEMIRAJ AE 314.

pengġ f, pl. *penga* 'fettters (for horse)'. Borrowed from Lat *pedica* 'shackle', but nasal (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 48; ÇABEJ St. VII 254; HAARMANN 141.

set (of the sun)'. A difficult word from Lat. Borrowed from Lat *pēctus* 'to pull, to pluck', Lat *pecten* 'comb'. ◇ FRISK II 492-493; FRAENKEL 580-581; WALDE-HOFMANN II 269-270; POKORNY I 797.

a sacrifice (to the dead), to satisfy' or, rather, from its passive correlate *parentārī*. ◇ BOPP 341(*perëndi* < Lat *imperantem*, phonetically difficult, cf. *mbret*); CAMARDA I 341-342 (unsuccessful attempt of segmenting the word as *per-ëndi*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32 (agrees with BOPP); JOKL *LKUBA* 13 (derives *perëndoj* from *anë*); MEYER *Wb.* 328 (parallelism between *dielli perëndon* and NGk ὁ ἥλιος βασιλεύει leading to the derivation of *perëndi* from Lat *imperantem*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 229 (to Slav **perunъ*); LOEWENTHAL *ANF* XXIX 99 (same as PEDERSEN); HASDEU *EMR* II 495; HESSELING *Neophilologus* V 165-169 (*dielli perëndon* as a calque from Greek); PISANI *IF* LXXIX 152-153, *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 54; FRAENKEL 635; GINDIN *Onom.* 87; ÇABEJ *St.* II 17-20; NEROZNAK *BF* 84-87; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* VIII/1-2 148-160 (same as HESSELING); HAARMANN 130; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 151-152 (derived from *rëndë* ~ *randë*).

pesë ~ **pêšë** num. 'five'. From PALb **pentše* going back to IE **penk'e* 'five': Skt *pāñca*, Gk πέντε, Lat *quinque* and the like (BOPP 512; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 169 without explanation of -së; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 307-309). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 47-48, *Wb.* 329 (from **penk'ijā*), *Alb. St.* III 5, 25, 30; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 37; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *Mélanges Pedersen* 157-158, *Sprache* IX 123; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218-219 (follows PEDERSEN); LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 506-507; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; MAYRHOFFER II 187; WALDE-HOFMANN II 407-408; POKORNY I 808; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109-110; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79, *Numerals* 910-911; HULD 102-103 (admits the conflation of **penk'e* and **pnk'ti*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 126, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 315-316.

peshë f, pl. *peshā* 'weight; stone, boulder'. Borrowed from Lat *pensum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 336). ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 47 (*peshë* 'stone' - to Skt *pāñśú-* 'crumbling soil' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 20-21; HAARMANN 141.

peshk m, pl. *peshq, pishq* 'fish'. Borrowed from Lat *piscem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 125, *Wb.* 329). In singular, -k- (instead of -q-) may result from the restructuring of the Albanian paradigm or from a morphological change in Romance. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043 (from Italian); TAGLI-

AVINI *Dalmazia* 219; HAARMANN 46; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 256-257 (*peshk* as an indigenous form!), *JIES* I 512; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 21-22 (the morphological development and the original paradigm of *peshk*); HULD 103; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 120, 144.

peshkop m, pl. *peshkopë* 'bishop of the Orthodox church'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* 'bishop'.

petë f, pl. *petë, peta* 'layer (of a flaky pâté); metal plate; flat stone'. From PALb **pati-* 'flat object' to be compared with IE **pet-* ~ **petā-* 'to stretch': Gk πετώννυμι id., Lat *pateō* 'to stretch, to be spread' and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431-432). One of the derivatives of *petë* is *petull* 'small flat stone' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 153). Note also *patë* 'plectrum' < PALb **patā*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 330; POKORNY I 824-825; FRISK II 520; WALDE-HOFMANN II 262.

petk m, pl. *petka* 'clothes, garment'. A parallel form is *petkë*. From PALb **patika*, derivative of *petë* (CAMARDA 180; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431-432). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 330 (related to Goth *paida* χιτών, Gk βάρη 'peasant leather clothes'); JOKL *LKUBA* 215-216, *RIEB* II 73-75 (derived from *pjetë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 88-89; XHUVANI *BShkSh* VI/2 32; POKORNY I 92-93; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-kë*); OREL *Balkanica* 114 (with unvoicing from **baitā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

pezëm m 'inflammation, irritation, sorrow, anger'. Derived from an unattested **pezë* (cf. *buzëm* from *buzë*), itself a form in *-zë* related to *pjek*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 336 (reconstructs **për-zëm-* to be compared with Slav **сѣ-мѣтѣ* 'to sweep away'); KRISTOFORIDHI 305 (from Gk πείσμα 'persuasion, confidence'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 22 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

pëgëj ~ pugâj aor. *pëgëva ~ pugana* 'to make dirty, to soil'. An early borrowing from Slav **poganiti* id. The adjective *pëgërë ~ pëgan* 'filthy' goes back to Slav **poganъ* 'pagan, unclean, filthy' while the Geg form *pëgam* 'soiled' is a regular participle of *pëganj* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *pāgānus* 'pagan'); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; THUMB *IF* XXVI 55-57; JOKL *LKUBA* 132 (from

Balkan Romance); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 213; HAARMANN 139, 210; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 80.

pēlcas aor. *plasa*, *pēlcita* 'to burst, to explode'. Derived from *plas*. Preserves an archaic *-c-* < **-tj-*. ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 337 (to Germ *platzen*); DEMIRAJ AE 324 (from **plasas*).

pēlhurē f, pl. *pēlhura* 'cloth, stuff'. Other variants are *plēhurē*, *plihurē*, *pluhurē*. Derivative of *plah*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 343 (to *plaf*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (follows MEYER and links *plaf* and *pēlhurē* to Lat *plectō* 'to plait'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 215, 230; DEMIRAJ AE 316.

pēlqeĵ aor. *pēlqeva* 'to please'. Borrowed from Lat *placēre* id. (CAMARDA I 55; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER Wb. 331-332); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142.

pēlqyer m, pl. *pēlqerē* 'thumb'. A phonetic variant of *pulqyer*.

pēllas aor. *palla*, *pēllita* 'to bray'. A morphological variant of *pall*.

pēllas m 'palace'. Borrowed from Lat *palātium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46). ◇ MEYER Wb. 319 (from Ital *palazzo*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1041 (follows MIKLOSICH); CANDREA-DENSUSIANU 1330 (same as MIKLOSICH); JOKL LKUBA 93-94 (follows CANDREA-DENSUSIANU); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 22-23; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 111, 125.

pēlle f, pl. *pēlla* 'milch cow, ewe or goat'. A suffixal derivative of *pjell* (JOKL LKUBA 225). Another derivative is *plle* ~ *pllē* 'fertile domestic animal'.

pēllēmbē ~ **pēllambē** f, pl. *pēllēmbē* ~ *pēllambē* 'palm (of the hand)'. Borrowed from Gk *παλάμη* 'hand, palm' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 23). The cluster *-mb-* < **-m-* is a secondary feature. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *palma*); MEYER Wb. 331 (borrowing from NGk *παλάμη* id.), *Alb. St.* IV 93; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 248 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from IE **płmā*); HULD 103 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

pēllumb m, pl. *pēllumba* 'pigeon, dove'. Borrowed from Lat *palumbes*,

palumbus 'wood-pigeon' (CAMARDA II 160; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 331). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 93, 115.

pēqi ~ **pēqī** m, pl. *pēqinj* 'seam, hem'. A parallel form *spēlqi* may reflect an earlier **pēlqi* borrowed from Rom **plicīnus* 'fold', cf. Lat *plicō* 'to fold' (MEYER *Wb.* 331).

pēr prep. 'for'. The reflexes of PAIb **peri* and **pra* related to Skt *pári* 'round, about', Gk *πέρι* 'around' and Gk *πρό* 'before, forward', Lat *prō* id. correspondingly (BOPP 503-504; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 320-321; MEYER *BB* VIII 189, *Alb. St.* III 30) were contaminated with PAIb **per* borrowed from Lat *per* 'for' (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1057 (from Latin); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *IF* XXXVII 106; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 213-214; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; FRISK II 512-513, 596-597; CHANTRAINE 886; MANN *Language* XVII 22; MAYRHOFER II 216-217; WALDE-HOFMANN II 364-365; POKORNY I 811-816; ÇABEJ *St.* II 23-25 (of Indo-European origin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316-317.

pērbalcē f 'contest, tournament'. A suffixal derivative of *pērball* 'to face, to defy' similar to *pērballje* 'contest'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (to Ital *balzare*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (to *pērbalt* 'to bespatter with mud').

pērcēlloj aor. *pērcēllova* 'to roast'. A prfixal drivative from *sjell* with a secondary *c*- < *s*- (CAMARDA I 88). The original meaning must have been 'to roast by rotating on a spit'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 334 (from Slav **pъrskati* 'to sprinkle'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (follows CAMARDA).

pērc m, pl. *pērc̣a* 'uncastrated he-goat'. Borrowed from South Slav **pъrčъ*, cf. Bulg *pъrč*, SCr *prč* (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◇ KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 43-44; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

pērc̣lam m 'ivy'. Other variants are *pērc̣llan* and *berçlen*. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *brъsl'an*, SCr *bṛsljan* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 25).

pērdēlej aor. *pērdēleva* 'to pity'. Another form is *pērdēllej*. Borrowed from Rom **per-indulgēre*, cf. *ndēlej* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ◇ LA PIANA *Vocale* 23 (from Lat *perdolēre* 'to grieve greatly'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15 (follows LA PIANA); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25-26 (Albanian forma-

tion based on Lat *dolēre* 'to grieve, to deplore'); HAARMANN 141.

përgjëroj aor. *përgjërova* 'to swear'. A prefixal formation based on **gjëroj* borrowed from Lat *jūrāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

përgjoj aor. *përgjova* 'to pry, to peep, to spy'. A prefixal derivative of *gjuaj* (CAMARDA I 113; WEIGAND 68). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from Lat *pervigilāre* 'to remain awake, to watch all night'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (based on an erroneous segmentation of *ndëgjoj* in which *ndë-* is treated as a prefix); HAARMANN 141.

përkas aor. *preka*, *përkita* 'to touch'. Derivative of *prek*.

përkorë ~ përkuer adj. 'temperate, moderate (in food)'. Derived from *kuaj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from **përkoj*, borrowed from Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HAARMANN 140.

përkul aor. *përkula* 'to bend'. From PAIb **per-kula*, a prefixal derivative of IE **k^hel-* 'to turn' in zero grade, cf. *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 229). ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 14; POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30, 81; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317.

përkund aor. *përkunda* 'to swing, to sway, to rock (a cradle)'. Another

formation based on the adverb whose first part is identical with *përmbi*. As a whole, *përmbys* goes back to PAIb **per-ambi-uptja*, the third component **upija* 'under, lower' connected with Skt *ūpa* 'toward, near to', Gk ὑπό 'under', Goth *uf* 'under' and the like. ◇ MEYER Wb. 268 (identical with *përmbys* 'to flood', cf. *mbys*); JOKL *Studien* 56 (follows MEYER); MAYRHOFER I 105; FRISK II 971-972; FEIST *Goth.* 509; POKORNY I 1106-1107; ÇABEJ *St.* II 28 (to *mys*).

përmend aor. *përmenda* 'to mention, to recall, to nominate'. Derivative of *mend* (WEIGAND BA I 260). ◇ MEYER Wb. 94; ÇABEJ *St.* II 28 (follows WEIGAND).

përmëles aor. *përmëleta* 'to break a fast, to season with butter'. Other variants are *përmbles*, *përbules*, *burbules*. A denominative based on **përmbletë*, the latter unattested form must have been borrowed from Rom **praeambulātus* 'premature', to Lat *praeambulāre* 'to walk before'. ◇ CAMARDA I 339 (to Gk παρα-μελέω 'to disregard, to neglect'); MEYER Wb. 333 (from SCr *izmeljati* 'to besmear'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 28-29 (considers *burbules* to be the original form).

përmjerr aor. *përmorra* 'to urinate'. Goes back to PAIb **per-medzra* related to IE **meiǵh-* id.: Skt *méhati*, Gk ομείχω, Lat *meiō*, ON *míga* (CAMARDA I 70). Note the irregularities in the development of the root vowel and the consonantal cluster. ◇ MEYER Wb. 335 (to Skt *mála-* 'dirt', *mānati* 'to urinate').

përposht aor. *përposhta* 'to trample, to tread'. A prefixal form is *përposht*. A prefixal derivative of *poshtë* (MEYER Wb. 349). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 290 (-*posh* from loc. sg. **pēd-su* 'at the foot'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50; ÇABEJ St. VII 243.

përpush aor. *përpusha* 'to poke, to stir up'. From **për-prush*, cf. *prush* (ÇABEJ St. II 30).

përqell aor. *përqella* 'to deride, to mock'. Derived from *qell* (ÇABEJ St. II 30-31). ◇ MEYER Wb. 225 (from Lat *percellere* 'to beat down'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538-539 (against MEYER as Lat -*ll-* cannot yield Alb -*ll-*); ÇABEJ St. VII 188, 258.

përqi f, pl. *përqi* 'dowry'. Borrowed from MGk προικίον id. (ÇABEJ St. II 31). ◇ MEYER Wb. 333 (from SCr *prǫija* id.); JOKL LKUBA 78 (follows MEYER).

përskas aor. *përskita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav **prъskati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prъskam*, SCr *prskati* (MEYER Wb. 334).

përshesh aor. *përshesha* 'to crumble, to break up, to raze to the ground'. A prefixal denominative of *shesh*. From the verb, the noun *përshesh* 'sop of bread, milk and butter' has been derived. ◇ MEYER Wb. 329 (noun *përshesh* - from Turkish *parça* 'piece' and *aş* 'soup'), 355 (noun *pshesh* < **mshesh*, from Slav **měšati* 'to mix'); ÇABEJ St. II 31- 32 (deverbative of *shij*).

përshpjetem refl. 'to arrive unexpectedly'. An active form *përspjes* (with dialectal -s-) means 'to train, to drill, to rear'. Corrupt forms of **përshpejt* based on *shpejt*. ◇ JOKL apud ÇABEJ St. II 31 (from SCr *prispjeti* 'to be on time').

përshtat aor. *përshtata* 'to fit, to adapt'. A denominative prefixal verb based on *shtat*. ◇ JOKL LKUBA 250 (to IE **sthā-* 'to stand'); ÇABEJ St. II 32 (univerbation of *për shtat* 'for stature').

përtoj aor. *përtova* 'to be lazy'. Borrowed from Lat *pigrītārī* 'to be slow, to be sluggish' (MEYER Wb. 334). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 142.

nērtvo aor. *nērtvna* 'to chew'. Derived from **tyn* see *tynth* ⚡. *Alb. St.* III 59 (to Lat *stīpō* 'to squeeze tightly'); *JOKL Studien* 85-86 (to Gk *τραπέω* 'to press (grapes)'); *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 263; *MANN Language XXVI* 387; *CAMAJ Alb. Worth.* 11; *DEMIRAJ AE* 317-318.

pērvēloj aor. *pērvēlova* 'to boil down, to boil, to ignite, to kindle'. A phonetic variant of *pravulloj*.

pērvjel aor. *pērvola* 'to fling out, to let fly, to turn over, to roll up, to cut fleece on sheep's belly'. A prefixal derivative of *vjel* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 32), probably, influenced by a partial synonym *pērvesh* 'to roll up (sleeves)'.

pērzhis aor. *pērzhita* 'to scorch, to roast, to bake'. Borrowed from Slav **pržiti* 'to roast', cf. in South Slavic; Bulg *pržža*, SCr *pržiti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ⚡ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155; *SVANE* 238.

pērrallë f. pl. *pērralla* 'tale, story'. Borrowed from Lat *parabola* 'proverb, speech' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 350). ⚡ CAMARDA II 72 (to Gk *παραβολή* 'proverb, parable'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1055; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 536; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 33; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 80, 130.

pērrua ~ pērrue m, pl. *pērrenj, pērronj* 'brook; river-bed'. Early borrowing from Slav **porovъ* ~ **parovъ*, cf. Pol *parów* 'ravine', name of a source in Greece Πορόβος (of Slavic origin), see OREL *LB XXIX/4* 70-71. Alb *pērrua* was borrowed to Rum *părău*. ⚡ CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 335 (reconstructs **per-rēn-* connected with **rē(i)-* 'to flow'); *JOKL Studien* 282-284, *LKUBA* 277 (explains **per-rēn-* as a formation etymologically close to OHG *rinnan* 'to flow', Slav **roniti* 'to drop'), *IF XXXVII* 90-91, *ZONF X* 189-190, *Sprache IX* 130; SPITZER *MRIW* I 296; BARIĆ *AArbSt I/1-2* 152-153 (from IE **per-srouno-*), *Hymje* 70; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 51 (from Bulg *poroj*); *MANN Language XXVI* 383 (from IE **per-ejo-* 'passage'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; *POGHIRC Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR I* 280; *CAMAJ Alb. Worth.* 52; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *περάω* 'to penetrate, to pierce'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318.

pēsōj aor. *pēsova* 'to suffer, to endure'. Borrowed from Rom **patiāre*,

cf. Lat *patior* id. (MEYER Wb. 335). ◇ CAMARDA I 62 (to Lat *patior*); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß ² I 1050 (from Lat *patior*); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ St. VII 227; HAARMANN 140.

pëshkøj aor. *pëshkova* 'to wash up, to rinse'. Borrowed from Rom **persiccāre* 'to dry up', cf. Lat *persiccātus* 'quite dry'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 336 (from **shkëpoj* borrowed from Ital *scopare* 'to sweep out'); ÇABEJ St. II 33-34 (from **përshkøj*, derivative of *shkøj*, 'to go again' > 'to rinse').

pështjell aor. *pështolla* 'to wrap up'. From **për-shtjell*, based on *shtjell* (MEYER Wb. 416).

pështjerë adv. 'down, low'. An obsolete Old Albanian form representing a deverbative **për shtjerë* based on *shtie*. ◇ JOKL Studien 59-60 (from **pëd-s-t-ero-* related to *përposh*); ÇABEJ St. VII 201.

pëshpëris aor. *pëshpërira* 'to whisper, to sigh'. An onomatopoeia connected with the adverb *pësh pësh* 'in whispers'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 220.

pështyj aor. *pështyta*, *pështyva* 'to spit'. A denominative descriptive stem continuing Palb **pistūnja* and similar to those of Lat *spuō* id. and Gk πτύω id. ◇ MEYER Wb. 336 (from Rom **spūtīre* 'to spit'); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß ² I 1055 (from Lat *sputāre*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231-232 (questions MEYER's solution in view of the metathesis in Rum *stupi* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk πτύω); FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; ÇABEJ St. VII 258.

pështym aor. *pështyma* 'to dry wood, to smoke out'. A denominative verb based on the participle of *pështyj* describing the process of wood-drying as 'spitting out' water.

pi aor. *piva* 'to drink, to suck'. From Palb **pīja* with the regular loss of **-j-* (OREL FLH VIII 41-42). Related to IE **pō(i)-* ~ **pī-* 'to drink': Skt *pāti* 'to drink', Gk πίνω, Lat *bibō* (BOPP 483; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 17). Note a structural similarity between **pija* and Slav **pijō*. Aor. *piva* displays Palb **-w-* reminiscent of Skt 1 sg. perf. *papáu* (OREL ZfBalk XXII 82-83). ◇ MEYER Wb. 336, Alb. St. III 30, Gr. Gr. 105; TOMASCHEK *Thr.* II 18 (participle *pirē* ~ *pinē* < **pīno-*

compared with Thr [?] πῖνov 'beer'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219-222; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; KRAUSE *Corolla linguistica* 137-144; POKORNY I 839-840; MAYRHOFFER II 252; FRISK II 540-542; CHANTRAINE 905; WALDE-HOFMANN I 103-104; HULD 103; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs PALb **pīnō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318-319 (from a reduplication **pipH-* > PALb **pib-*).

picas aor. *picata* 'to catch mice'. Derived from the stem *pic-*, cf. *picërr*.

picërr adj. 'tiny, small'. Together with *picë* 'little girl', *picël* 'needle-point' and *picak* 'naked', this word is derived from *pic* 'tip, end, top' borrowed from Ital *pizzo* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 34-35). ◇ MEYER *Wh.* 341 (to Ital *picciolo* 'little', *piccino* id.).

pidh m, pl. *pidhëra* ~ *pidhna*, *pidhe* 'female pudenda'. From PALb **p(e)izda* directly related to Slav **pizda* id. and OPrus *peisda* 'bottom' (MEYER *Wh.* 336-337, *Alb. St.* III 16, 30). ◇ WIEDEMANN *BB* XXX 207-209 (reconstructs **peighdh-*); JOKL *IF* XXX 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 94; PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 831; HAMP *IJSLP* XI 25-26, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 43; HULD 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 319-320.

pihatem refl. 'to be tired, to be exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav **pyxati* (*se*) 'to be short of breath', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pxam*, Slovene *pihati* (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ SVANE 257.

pik m 'spotted woodpecker'. Derived from *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce'.

pik aor. *pika* 'to fill holes, to pierce'. A descriptive stem similar to that of Ital *piccare* 'to prick'. ◇ MEYER *Wh.* 337 (from Romance).

pik aor. *pika* 'to make bitter'. A metaphorical usage of *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce' (MEYER *Wh.* 337).

pikë f, pl. *pika*, *pikë* 'drop'. A descriptive stem similar to Rum *pic* id. The verb *pikoj* 'to sprinkle' is derived from *pikë*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Lat *picca*); MEYER *Wh.* 337 (related to *pik* 'to make bitter'); PUȘCARIU *EW* 114; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044 (from Rom **pica*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; ÇABEJ *St.* II 35-36 (derived from *pjek* 'to meet').

pilas pl. 'eyebrows'. Based on sg. **pil* borrowed from Lat *pilleus* 'felt cap, *protective hair' (ÇABEJ St. II 35).

pilē f, pl. *pila* 'heap, pile, pebble, group of stones used in a game'. Borrowed from Ital *pila* 'pile' (ÇABEJ St. II 36-37). ◇ HAARMANN 142 (from Lat *pila* id.).

pilikuri adv. 'bare, naked'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *korē*. A fossilized noun *pilikor* 'unconsciousness' is a folk etymology derivative of *pilikuri*. ◇ PEDERSEN Alb. Texte 177 (from *pēr* and *lakur*); ÇABEJ St. II 37 (from *pēr* and *lëkur*).

pilipizgë f, pl. *pilipizga* 'kind of pipe'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *pizgë*.

pilivesë f, pl. *pilivesa* 'dragonfly'. Another variant is *pilivoesë*. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *ve*, *voe* (ÇABEJ St. II 37).

pillë f, pl. *pilla* 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Lat *pila* 'mortar', in Romance - 'trough', cf. Ital *pila* (MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ St. II 37-38). ◇ DEMIRAJ AE 320-321.

pillë f, pl. *pilla* 'flax comb'. Borrowed from an unattested derivative of Lat *pīlō* 'to comb' (DEMIRAJ AE 320-321). ◇ JOKL Studien 68-69 (from IE **pek̑l-lā* related to Lat *pectō* 'to comb' and the like); OREL ZfBalk XXIII 145.

pillë f, pl. *pilla* 'small stone (for play)'. Borrowed from Lat *pila* 'ball, playing-ball' (MEYER Wb. 337). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538 (against MEYER as **pellë* is expected); VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. I 51 (from an Italian dialect); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 221; ÇABEJ St. II 38 (agrees with MEYER).

pingë f, pl. *pinga* 'top'. Goes back to Palb **pinkā* related to Lith *pinklas* 'wicker-work', Latv *pinka* 'tuft', *pinkât* 'to tousle'. From *pingë*, *pingul* 'downwards, vertically' and *pingël* 'tip, top, point' are derived. ◇ FRAENKEL 594; ÇABEJ St. II 39 (*pingul* from a compound of *pēr* and *ngul*).

pingroj aor. *pingrova* 'to twitter, to chirp'. Borrowed from Rom **pin-nigerāre* 'to behave as a bird, to bear feathers', cf. Lat *pinniger* 'feather-bearing'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 39 (onomatopoeia).

pip m, pl. *pipa* 'sprout, shoot, pipe, tube'. Borrowed from Rom **pīpa* 'tube, pipe', cf. OFr *pipe*, Spanish *pipa* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 338). ◇ HAARMANN 142.

pip aor. *pipa* 'to peep, to chirp'. A descriptive stem similar to Germ *piepen* id., Lat *pipire* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 39-40). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 338 (borrowed from *pipire*); HAARMANN 142.

pir m 'habit, sprite'. A metaphoric usage of *pirē* 'prick, thorn', see *pirrē*.

pirem refl. 'to bend, to bow'. A dialectal form of *prierem*, see *prier* (MANN *HAED* 387).

pirē f, pl. *pira* 'pore'. Goes back to PALb **pirā*, a zero grade form related to Gk *πέπω* 'to bore', Slav **perjǫ* id. and the like. Note a derivative *piri* 'funnel'. ◇ FRISK II 491-492; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 816-817; ÇABEJ *St.* II 40 (*piri* borrowed from Venetian *peiria* or its Greek source).

pirrē f, pl. *pirra* 'couch-grass, rye-grass; hedge'. Another variant is *pirē* 'prick, thorn'. Borrowed from Slav **pyrь* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: SCr *pir* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 222). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 216-217 (*pirrē* 'hedge' related to Gk *πέπω* 'to pierce' and its cognates); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321.

pisē f 'cat, tabby-cat'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Rum *pisă* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 339-340).

piskas aor. *piskata* 'to shout, to cry'. Borrowed from Slav **piskati* 'to peep', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *piskati* (MEYER *Wb.* 339). ◇ SVANE 261.

pispillohem refl. 'to dress up, to smarten oneself'. An expressive reduplication of *pillohem* id., a reflexive form of *pilloj* 'to hackle (flax)', cf. *pillē*.

pisputh m 'swine, bastard'. A compound of *pis* 'dirty, filthy' (derived from a Modern Greek loanword *pisë* 'hell') and *puth*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 40 (to *purth* and *spurdhis*).

pishë f, pl. *pisha* 'pine'. Continues PALb **pī-s-a*, with **-s-* > *-sh-* according to the "ruki" rule, related to other Indo-European names of pine with different suffixes: Gk πίνυς, Lat *pīnus* (from **pitsnos* or **pisnos*). ◇ MEYER Wb. 340 (related to Lat *pīnus*), Alb. St. III 30, 61 (to Gk πεύκη id.); JOKL LKUBA 32 (reconstructs **pīt-s-ja*); BARIĆ ARSt I 95 (to Lat *picea* id.), Hymje 50; FRISK II 545-546; CHANTRAINE 908; WALDE-HOFMANN II 308; POKORNY I 794; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 34; ÇABEJ St. VII 212; HAMP IF LXVI 51; HULD 142, KZ XCV 303 (from **pīt-so-* related to Lat *pīnus*); DEMIRAJ AE 321-322 (old collective in **-s(i)o-*).

pishkulloj aor. *pishkullova* 'to whisper'. A parallel form is *pishtëlloj*. Borrowed from Rom **fistulăre* 'to sound like a pipe', cf. Lat *fistula* 'pipe'. Note the irregular substitution of Lat *f-* > Alb *p-*.

pitas ~ pîtas adv. 'numb, numbly (of cold)'. Derived from *pij* 'to benumb', cf. *mpij*.

pite f, pl. *pite* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed, with phonetic irregularities, from Lat *pecten* 'comb'. The immediate source must have been Rom **pectum* > **pejtë*.

pitë f, pl. *pite* 'gruel'. A singularized plural of **pitë* continuing PALb **pītu-* further related to Lith *piētus* 'noon meal, lunch', Skt *pītú-* 'feeding', OIr *ith* 'grain, corn' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 587-588; MAYRHOFER II 278; POKORNY I 794.

pitë f, pl. *pita* 'kind of bread, cake'. A Mediterranean cultural *Wanderwort* present in South Slavic (Bulg *pita*, SCr *pita*), Turk *pita*, Hbr *pîṭā* and NGk πήττα, πίττα as well as in Romance where it seems to continue Rom **picta* (MEYER Wb. 340).

pitër adj. 'frequent'. Based on PALb **pim(i)ta* related to OIr *éim* 'quick, fast', ON *fimr* id. ◇ POKORNY I 795.

pizgë f, pl. *pizga* 'kind of wind instrument'. Borrowed from Slav **piska*, cf. in South Slavic: SCr *piska* id. (MEYER Wb. 339). Note the unusual

substitution of Slav *-sk- > -zg-, probably, reflecting an early date of borrowing when there were no unvoiced sibilant in the Albanian consonantal system. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193; SVANE 218, 261.

pizgull f, pl. *pizgulla* 'piece, splinter'. Derived from *pizgë* 'chip, splinter, loop', a phonetic variant of *pisk*.

pjalm m 'dust, thin dust, fine flour'. From PAIb **pelma* related to Gk *πάλη* 'fine flour', Skt *palala-* 'ground sesamum', Lith *pelenai* 'ashes', Latv *pelni* id., Slav **polmę* 'flame', Lat *pollen* 'dust, fine flour' (SCHMIDT KZ L 243, 248). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Osset *fælm* 'fog' < **pelmn*); VASMER III 273; FRAENKEL 566-567; WALDE-HOFMANN II 331-332; MAYRHOFER II 232; FRISK II 467; POKORNY I 802; ÇABEJ *St.* II 40-41.

pjavicë f, pl. *pjavica* 'leech'. Borrowed from Slav **pijavica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *pijavica*, SCr *pijavica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). A parallel form *piskavicë* results from an influence of *piskoj* 'to pinch' (MEYER *Wb.* 339). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 324; JOKL *Studien* 113; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 99; SVANE 157.

pjek aor. *poqa* 'to bake, to cook'. Goes back to PAIb **peka* etymologically continuing IE **pek-* id.: Skt *pācati*, Gk *πέσσω*, Lat *coquō*, Slav **pekŏ*, **pekti* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 341). ◇ MEYER *IF* V 181 (on the *ē*-grade in aorist), *Alb. St.* III 3-4, 30; JOKL *Studien* 11; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 129; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; ERNOUT-MEILLET 141; LA PIANA *Studi* I 45; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; BARIÇ *Hymje* 20; FRISK II 519-520; CHANTRAINE 890; MAYRHOFER II 185-186; WALDE-HOFMANN I 270-272; POKORNY I 798; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 239; HULD 103-104; DEMIRAJ *AE* 322.

pjek aor. *poqa* 'to touch, to meet'. From PAIb **peka*, related, with an irregular development of IE **-k-*, to Gk *πέκω* 'to comb', Lith *pešū*, *pėšti* 'to pull, to pluck' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 113 (to Gk *πήγνυμι* 'to stick, to fix in'); MEYER *Wb.* 341 (to Gk *πλέκω* 'to plait'), *Alb. St.* III 4, 32; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 580-581; FRISK II 492-493; POKORNY I 797.

pjekë f, pl. *pjekë* 'eyelash'. From PALb **pekā* related to *pjek* 'to touch, to meet' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 41-42) < **to comb*, cf. for the semantic development Skt *pākṣma-* 'eyelash' derived of the same root (JOKL *Studien* 69). ◇ MAYRHOFER II 184.

pjell aor. *polla* 'to beget, to produce, to bear'. From PALb **pelna* connected with Lat *pellō* 'to drive, to push' (OREL *Alb.* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323), Gk *πάλλω* 'to poise, to swell, to swing'. Note important derivatives **en-pelna* > *mbiell* 'to sow' and **pelā* > *pjellë* 'child'. For the semantic development of this root in Albanian cf. Germ *werfen* 'to bear (of animals)' and Slav **kotiti* 'to roll; to bear (of animals)'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 342 (to Goth *fula* 'foal' and - at the same time - to IE **pelā-* 'to fill'), *Alb. St.* III 30; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; FRISK II 469; WALDE-HOFMANN II 276-277; POKORNY I 801; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 39, 99; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; HULD 104 (follows MEYER and reconstructs **pelō*).

pjepër ~ pjepën m, pl. *pjepra ~ pjepna* 'sweet melon'. Borrowed from Rom **pepinem* id., cf. Lat *pepōnem* 'kind of large melon, pumpkin' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; THUMB *IF* XXVI 44 (from Greek); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 43.

pjerdh aor. *pordha* 'to fart'. From PALb **perda* etymologically identical with Skt *párdate*, Gk *πέρδομαι* id., OHG *ferzan* id., Lith *pérdžiu*, *pérsti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* III 28, 30, 72). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 230-231 (zero grade), *Sprache* IX 130; ERNOUT-MEILLET 493; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26 (medial form); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 246; FRAENKEL 577; FRISK II 511-512; MAYRHOFER II 225; POKORNY I 819; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323.

pjergull f, pl. *pjergulla* 'vine-arbor, pergola'. Borrowed from Lat *pergula* 'shed, booth, vine-arbor' (MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48 (from Ital *pergola*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 135, 137.

pjerk adj. 'hanging (down)'. A derivative in *-k* from *pjerr*.

pjerr aor. *pora*, *porra* 'to bend, to incline'. Continues PALb **pera* related

to Lith *periù*, *perti* 'to strike', Slav **pъrǫ*, **perti* 'to press'. ◇ FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 819; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 243.

pjesë f, pl. *pjesë* 'part'. Borrowed from Rom **petia* id. (Ital *pezza*, Fr *pièce*), see MEYER *Wb.* 342. ◇ CAMARDA I 112 (comparison with Fr *pièce*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Ital *pezza*, *pezzo*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53.

pjeshkë f, pl. *pjeshkë*, *pjeshka* 'peach'. Borrowed from Rom **pesca* < Lat *persica* id., cf. Ital *pesca* and the like (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* IV 102). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 114.

pjetem refl. 'to be ruptured, to have hernia'. Based on PALb **peta* 'to be ruptured' < *'to widen', related to Gk *πετάννυμι* 'to widen', Lat *pateō* 'to be open' and the like. This word may be the first element of *pjetëposhtë* 'downwards' (for the second element see *poshtë*). ◇ FRISK II 520-521; WALDE-HOFMANN I 262; POKORNY I 824-825.

plaf m, pl. *plafë*, *plëfënj* 'wool blanket, rug'. A deverbative based on *plah* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 324) and, apparently, of Geg origin. There existed also an older form *plah*. From the Proto-Albanian plural form **plaskai tai* > **plaxai tai* the Balkan and Carpathian Slavic **plaxъta* 'sack, underskirt' was borrowed. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *pëlhurë*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (to Lat *plectō* 'to plait' and its cognates); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 51-52 (to MHG *vlies* 'fleece'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11 (from Slav **plaxъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

plagë f, pl. *plagë* 'wound'. Borrowed from Lat *plāga* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (from early Ital **plaga* > *piaga*); ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041 (from Italian), 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 113, 134.

plah ~ plaf aor. *plaha ~ plafa* 'to cover'. Goes back to PALb **p(e)laska*, inchoative formation related to Gk *-πέλας* 'skin', Lith *palà* 'linen kerchief', *plenë* 'thin skin, membrane', ON *fjall* 'skin' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 615; FRISK II 499-500; POKORNY I 803; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323-324 (from IE **p[ʰ]H-sko/e-*).

plak m, pl. *pleq* 'old man'. From PAIb **p(e)laka* < **pelakos* etymologically close to Lith *pilkas* 'grey' < **plakos* (SOLTA *Sprache* II 122-124). Further parallels may be grouped under IE **pelə-*, cf. Gk πολίός 'grey, grizzled' and the like (BOPP 491; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224). ◇ CAMARDA I 46 (compares *plak* with Gk παλαιός 'old, ancient' but the latter has π- < **kʷ-*); MEYER *Wb.* 344 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328; PORZIG *Gliederung* 204; FRAENKEL 591; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 115 (suffix -*k*); HAMP *Language* XXXIII 530-531 (interprets -*k*- as a continuant of **H*); SOLTA *Sprache* II/1 122-126; FRISK II 575-576; POKORNY I 804-805; HULD 104-105; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324.

plang m 'board, plank'. Borrowed from Lat *planca* 'board, slab'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 344 (from early Ital **planca* > Piem *pianca* 'plank').

plang m, pl. *plangje* 'property, building site, house, farm'. Borrowed from Rom **planticus* derived from Lat *plantō* 'to set, to plant'. ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114.

plas aor. *plasa* 'to burst, to split'. From PAIb **platja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *pṛthū-* 'broad, wide', Gk πλατύς id., Lith *platus* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 344 (to Lith *plėšti* 'to tear', Slav **pleskati* 'to splash'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 32; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 82 (to *plis*); FRAENKEL 606-607; FRISK II 553-554; MAYRHOFER II 333; POKORNY I 833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324-325.

pleh ~ **plêh** m, pl. *plehra* ~ *plêhna* 'sweepings, dung, rubbish'. Derivative of *plah*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from Slav **pelva* 'membrane, skin'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 129, *IF* XLIX 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223.

pleme f, pl. *pleme* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Bulg *plemna* id. < Slav **pelvьna* (MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER).

pleng m 'bandage'. Borrowed from Slav **pel(e)nъka* id., diminutive of **pelena* 'cover'. ◇ VASMER III 228-229.

pleng m 'baseness, disgraceful act'. Metaphorically used *pleng* 'heavy object'.

pleng m, pl. *plengje* 'heavy object'. A related form is *plengë* 'catapult'. Borrowed from Lat *phalanga*, *palanga* 'roller or pole for moving heavy objects'.

plep m, pl. *plepa* 'poplar'. Borrowed from Rom **plōpus*, metathesis of Lat *pōpulus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 522; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

pleq m 'council, congress'. Singularized plural of *plak* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 42-43). ◇ WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (from Rom **placium*, cf. Lat *placitum* 'order, opinion').

plesht m, pl. *pleshta* 'flea'. From PALb **pleusta*, a taboo transformation of IE **bhhusā*, cf. Lith *blusà*, Slav **blъxa*, Gk ψύλλα, Arm *lu* < **plus-* (MEYER *Wb.* 345, Alb. *St.* III 32, 62). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 244; BUGGE *Beiträge* 11; PEDERSEN *IF* V 33, *KZ* XXXIX 347; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223, *Stratificazione* 139; AČAREAN *HAB* II 299-300; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 121; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 129-131; FRISK II 1140-1141; FRAENKEL 51-52; POKORNY I 102; DEMIRAJ *AE* 325 (reconstructs **-ou-* in the root).

plevas aor. *plevata* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Slav **plyvati* id., cf. Bulg *plivam*, SCr *plivati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ SVANE 258.

plevicë f, pl. *plevica* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Slav **pelvynica* id.: Bulg *plevnica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151, 160; SVANE 60.

plěndēs ~ plandēs m, pl. *plěnděsa ~ planděsa* 'paunch, stomach (particularly, of a ruminant animal)'. Other variants are *blěndēs ~ blandēs*, *blěnx ~ blanx*, *plěnc ~ planc*. Of those, the latter is more archaic as it reflects Venet *panza* 'paunch' influenced by old Venet **splenza* 'spleen' (HELBIG *JbIRS* X 83). Other forms reflect a secondary interpretation of *plěnc ~ planc* as a deverbative in *-ēs*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 39 (from Lat *panticem* 'paunch, bowels' and its Romance reflexes); JOKL *LKUBA* 291 (follows HELBIG); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 83.

plim ~ **plym** m 'mass, crowd', adv. 'in heaps, in piles'. A deverbative in *-(i)m* based on an unattested verb **plyej* continuing PALb **plānja* 'to fill'. The latter is related to IE **plē-* 'full, to fill', cf. *plotē*.

pliq m, pl. *pliqe* 'twisted woollen cord'. Borrowed from Lat *plecta* 'border of interwoven lines in relief, *plait'. Note the development of *-ct-* > **-jt-* > *-q-*.

plis m, pl. *plisa* 'clod of earth, sod, piece of turf'. Continues PALb **plitja*, a zero grade derivative in **-to-* related to Skt *phālati* 'to burst, to split', Lat *spolium* 'stripped skin or hide, spoil' and other reflexes of IE **(s)pel-* (JOKL *Studien* 70-71, *LKUBA* 215). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from NGk πλίνθος 'brick'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 43 (follows MEYER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 577-578; MAYRHOFER II 393; POKORNY I 985-987; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 82 (to *plasi*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 82 (same as ÇABEJ);

DEMIRAJ AE 322; POKORNY I 799; KLINGENSCHMITT *Alb. Wortforsch.* 145; HULD 105; DEMIRAJ AE 327-328 (related to *plasi*).

pl. *plorē* 'plowshare; prow'. Borrowed from NGk πλώρη *St.* II 43-44). ◇ MAKUŠEV *Varš. Univ. Izv.* 1871 122 (*ugarb*); MEYER *Wb.* 346 (adduces MLat *plovum* 'plow' Germanic but prefers MAKUŠEV's explanation); OŠTIR (to OHG *pflug* id.); MERINGER *IF* XVII 113 (borrowed from *pflua* 'plow' < *Pflug* id.); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (r); JOKL *LKUBA* 130-141 (suggests a segmentation **pē-* TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 229 (against JOKL); DEMIRAJ

e 'plow'. Borrowed from Slav **plugъ* id., cf. in South *ug*, SCr *plug* (MEYER *Wb.* 346). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-* SVANE 28.

a m 'dust, powder'. A phonetic development of **plēhur* derived from *pleh*. ◇ CAMARDA I 70 (related to Lat *pulvis*); MEYER *Wb.* 346 (from Rom **pluverem* < Lat *pul-* MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1053 (same as MEYER); *Z* XX 251; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 239, 366; ÇABEJ *St.* VII IN 144.

developping from 'leaning, lying without moving'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 71 (from **pē-log-*, a prefixal form related to Lat *neglegō* 'to slight, to neglect' - but *-ē-* of the first syllable left no traces), *LKUBA* 155; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114, 122; SEILER *KZ* CVI 2 (to Gk ἀλέγω 'to take account of'); SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 144-160; BEEKES *Laryngeals* 26; DEMIRAJ AE 327.

plaje f, pl. *plaje* 'slaughter, carnage'. From **ploe* < PALb **plāga* related to Gk πλῆγή 'blow', Lat *plāga* 'blow, slaughter'. ◇ WALDE-HOFMANN II 315; FRISK II 561-562; POKORNY I 832.

plotē adj. 'full'. From PALb **plāta* identical with IE **plēto-* 'full' derived from **pelā-* 'to fill': Skt *prātā-*, Lat *com-plētus* (CAMARDA I 59, 138; MEYER *Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 23, 32). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 71, *Sprache* IX 117; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; BÉKÉSI *Socii* 90; MANN *Language* XVII

DEMIRAJ AE 323-320.

plis m, pl. *plisa* 'felt'. From PALb **p(i)litja* related to OHG *filz* id., Lat *pellis* id., Gk πῖλος id., Slav **pъlstъ* id. ◇ FRISK II 536; VASMER III 318; WALDE-HOFMANN II 275-276; POKORNY I 830.

plish m, pl. *plisha* 'kind of reed, Phragmites communis'. Continues PALb **plūši-* connected with Lith *pl(i)ūšis* 'reed' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 43). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 32-33, 215-216 (to *plis*), *Slavia* XIII 309 (from **(s)phel-* 'to split'; reconstructs **pl̥sjo-* > *plish*); FRAENKEL 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114; JANSON *Unt.* 183; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 285, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (*-sh-* < **-s-* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ AE 326.

plitē f, pl. *plita* 'sun-dried brick'. Borrowed from Slav **plita* 'plate, slab', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plita*, SCr *plita* (SVANE 63).

plog m, pl. *plogje* 'granary, barn, heap'. From PALb **plāga* related to Gk πλάγτος 'placed sideways, sloping, leaning', Lat *plaga* 'quarter, region' (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantic development, cf. Slav **klētъ* 'barn' < IE **klei-* 'to lean, to be inclined'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 71-72 (from IE **plē-g-*, to **plē-* 'full'); FRISK II 547; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (related to *plotē*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 314; POKORNY I 832-833; DEMIRAJ AE 326 (borrowed from Bulg *blog*).

plogē adj. 'lazy'. Historically identical with *plog*, the meaning 'lazy'

22; WALDE-HOFMANN II 315; ANTONI *Verbum* 68; ANTONI to MLat *plovum*

pluar ~ **pluer** m, 'prow' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 43-44). Borrowed from Slav **pluar* (from Slav **pluar* borrowed from *AArbSt.* II 377 from Germ dia *pluar* (follows MEYER *Wb.* 346) *luar* 'divider') AE 327-328.

plug m, pl. *plug*, Slav: Bulg *plug* *lenie* 15, 156; ;

pluhur ~ **pluhun** m, ~ **plēhun* derived 'dust, powder' (MEYER *Wb.* 346) *verem* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1053; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; HAARMAN

plumb m, pl. *plumba* 'lead'. Borrowed from Lat *plumbum* id. (CAMARDA I 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 346). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 115, 141.

plusk m 'blizzard; fine flour; dust'. Other variants are *pluskë*, *pluskë*, *plyskë*. Borrowed from Slav **pl'uska* 'bubble, hull, husk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pl'uska*, SCr *pljuska* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). ◇ SVANE 174.

pllajë f, pl. *pllaja* 'upland, gentle slope'. Borrowed from Rom **plagius* id. (Rum *plai*, Ital *piaggia* and the like), cf. JOKL *LKUBA* 174-175.

pllange f, pl. *pllanga* 'supporting beam, support, lever; spot, mark'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *pëllangë* which is a dialectal form of *pëllëmbë* ~ *pëllambë*.

pllashicë f, pl. *pllashica* 'whitefish'. Borrowed from Slav **plašica* 'kind of fish', cf. Bulg *plašica*. ◇ SVANE 152.

pllaz m 'sole of plow'. Borrowed from Slav **polzъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plaz*, SCr *plaz* (SVANE 28).

pllenoj aor. *pllenova* 'to make pregnant (of animals)'. A recent derivative of *plle* ~ *pllê* (see *pëlle*).

plloçë f, pl. *plloça* 'flat stone, slab'. Borrowed from Slav **ploča* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ploča* id., SCr *ploča* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 343).

plloskë f, pl. *plloska* 'flat wooden bottle, wooden vessel'. Other variants are *pllockë* and *plloçkë*. Borrowed from Slav **ploska* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *ploska*, SCr *ploska* (MEYER *Wb.* 343). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SVANE 69; MURATI *Probleme* 132.

pllymëz f, pl. *pllymëza* 'kind of fishing net'. From **për-lym-ëz*, see *lym*.

po ~ por adv. 'yes; so, well', conj. 'but'. Borrowed from Lat *porro* 'then, moreover; but' (MEYER *Wb.* 346). The loss of the final -r seems to be explained by the permanent unstressed position of the conjunction.

The same adverb is used as a particle of progressive forms. ◇ CAMARDA I 314 (comparison with Skt *ápāra-* 'posterior, later' or with Lat *porrō* 'further'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 225.

pobratim m 'friend, adopted brother'. Other variants are *probatim*, *probotim*, *probatin*. Borrowed from Slav **pobratimъ* 'adopted brother', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pobratim*, SCr *pobratim* (MEYER Wb. 354). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 307; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 187.

poç m, pl. *poçe*, *poça* 'pot, vase, vessel'. A cultural term derived from *pot*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 350 (to Fr *pot*, Spanish *pote* 'pot').

pod m, pl. 'story, floor, cellar'. Borrowed from Slav **podъ* 'bottom, ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pod*, SCr *pod* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; SVANE 55.

pohoj aor. *pohova* 'to admit'. A derivative of *po*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

pojak m, pl. *pojake* 'field guard'. Another variant is *polak*. Borrowed from Slav **pol'akъ* 'man related to the field', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *poljak* 'field guard' (MEYER Wb. 347). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 302; SVANE 197.

pojatë f, pl. *pojata* 'cabin, shack, cattle-pen, porch'. Borrowed at an early stage from Slav **polata* 'palace, building, tent', cf. OCS *polata*. From Albanian, this word - as a shepherding term - was passed to Rum *poiată* and other Carpathian and Balkan languages. ◇ OKDA *Voprosnik* 38; SVANE 63.

pokrovë f, pl. *pokrova* 'cloth, sheet'. Borrowed from Slav **pokrovъ* 'cover', cf. Bulg *pokrov*, SCr *pokrov* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER Wb. 347). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174, 325.

pol m, pl. *pola* 'fold; door-hinge'. Another variant is *polë*. Borrowed from Slav **pola* 'fold', cf. Bulg *pola*, SCr *pola* (MEYER Wb. 347). ◇ SVANE 49.

policë f, pl. *polica* 'shelf, ledge'. Borrowed from Slav **polica* id., cf.

South Slavic continuants: Bulg *polica*, SCr *polica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149; SVANE 66.

pollë f, pl. *polla* 'apron'. Historically identical with *pol*.

ponicë f, pl. *ponica* 'flower pot; oven, stove'. Borrowed from Slav **podьnica* 'pot, oven', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *podnica*, *ponica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 347-348). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149, 153-155; SVANE 72.

ponis aor. *ponita* 'to honor, to respect'. Borrowed from Slav **помънити* 'to remember', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pomn'a*, SCr *pomniti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 347 (from SCr *poniziti se* 'to let oneself down').

pop m, pl. *popa* 'Orthodox priest'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *pop* id., SCr *pop* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30).

popël f, pl. *popla* 'boulder, pebble'. A descriptive stem similar to that of OE *popel* 'pebble' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk πομφόλυξ 'water bubble'); JOKL *Studien* 72, LKUBA 215 (to IE *(s)phel- 'to split'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 222-223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329.

popull m, pl. *popuj* 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *populus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◇ LANDI *Lat.* 107, 130, 145.

pordhë f, pl. *pordhë* 'fart'. Continues PALb **pārdā* related to *pjerdh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 218.

porend m, pl. *porenda* 'thorn hedge'. Borrowed from Slav **porędzъ* 'order, row' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◇ SVANE 59.

porez m, pl. *poreza* 'tax'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *por'az*, *porez*, SCr *porez* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348).

porosit aor. *porosita* 'to order, to demand'. An early loanword from Slav **poręčiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348) with Slav *-č- > PALb *-tš- > -s-. ◇ JOKL LKUBA 93; SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-*

lenie 181, 293; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68; SVANE 239.

portë f, pl. *porta* 'door'. Borrowed from Lat *porta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 114.

porriq m 'leek'. Borrowed from Rom **porricium* derived from *porrum* id. Another derivative Rom **porrinum* is the source of *porri* ~ *porrî* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◇ HAARMANN 143.

porrc m 'honeycomb stomach, reticulum'. Derive from *porr* 'stove, oven' continuing PALb **pārā* related to Gk fut. *πρήσω* 'to burn, to set on fire', Slav **parъ* 'vapor, steam'. ◇ POKORNY I 809; FRISK II 538-539; VASMER III 203.

porris aor. *porrita* 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCr *pobrisati* 'to blur, to efface' (MEYER *Wb.* 349). Note the development of the cluster *-br-* > *-rr-*.

porropi f 'devastation, ruin, misadventure'. Other variants are *poropi*, *perupi*. The word is identical with *përrëpi* 'precipice, drop', *përrëpirë* ~ *përrëpinë* id., deverbatives based on an unattested prefixal **për-rjep*, cf. *rjep*. ◇ XHUVANI apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk ἀπρέπεια 'inconvenience'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk ῥοπῆ 'inclination, decline').

posaçe adv. 'especially, separately'. A compound of *posa* ~ *porsa* 'just, hardly, scarcely' (from *po* and *sa*) and *çe*. Its synonym *pos* is an allegro form of *posa*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (*pos* from SCr **po se*, cf. *na po se* 'separate, singular'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (agrees with MEYER).

postaf m 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Slav **postavъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *postav*, and in a different meaning SCr *postav* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SVANE 67.

postafat adv. 'on purpose, deliberately'. Based on **postavě* borrowed from Slav **postava* 'something set'.

postahe f, pl. *postahe* 'blanket, quilt used for sitting'. Borrowed from Slav **postaja* 'bed cover', cf SCr *postaje*. The meaning of the word may have been influenced by a Turkism *postiqe* id. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from SCr *postav* 'cloth, kerchief'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; JOKL *IF XLIX* 288 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St. II* 45 (on *postiqe*); SVANE 48.

postas aor. *postata* 'to weaken, to exhaust'. Borrowed from Slav **postati*, cf. Bulg *postan* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16; reconstructs **po-ustati*). ◇ SVANE 263.

postat m, pl. *postate* 'garden plot, bed'. Borrowed from Slav **postatъ* id., cf. SCr *postat* (MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◇ SVANE 59.

postre ~ postrê f, pl. *postre ~ postrê* 'shelter, porch'. Another variant is *postrehë*. Borrowed from Slav **postrëxa*, a prefixal derivative of **strëxa* 'roof' reflected in Albanian as *strehë* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148). Cf. SCr *postrešiti* 'to thatch'. ◇ SVANE 54.

posullë f 'bill, slip, note, letter'. Other variants are *pusullë*, *pusollë*, *pustull*. An early borrowing from Slav **posyla*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Slav **posъль* 'messenger').

poshtë adv. 'down, below', prep. 'under'. Borrowed from Lat *post*, *poste* 'behind, back' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 349) with a radical change of meaning corresponding to other similar shifts in the Albanian system of prepositions and adverbs. The adjective *poshtë* 'mean; lower' is derived from *poshtë*. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paścá-* 'back, posterior'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 290 (to *përposh* and, further, to loc. pl. **pëd-su* 'down, at the feet'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50, 181; JOKL *Studien* 59-60, *LKUBA* 32-33, *Festschr. Kretschmer LXXXVIII*; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; ÇABEJ *St. II* 45-46 (follows PEDERSEN), III 114; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 142; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *ZfceltPh XXXIV* 20-22; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329-330.

pot m, pl. *pota* 'mill-hopper, flour-bin; little boy'. Borrowed from Rom **pottus* 'pot' > Fr *pot*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Turk *pota* id. of Romance origin).

Slavic **poter'a* id., cf. Bulg *potera*, SCr *potera* (MEYER Wb. 349).

potkë f, pl. *potka* 'scarecrow, boundary mark, landmark'. Borrowed from Slav **potъka* 'landmark', cf. SCr *potka* 'kind of boundary mark' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182). ◇ SVANE 206.

pothuj ~ **pothue** adv. 'nearly, almost'. A univerbation of 2 sg. *po thuj* 'you say' (MANN *HAED* 397). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (repeats MANN's explanation).

pra adv. 'so, therefore'. Results of an erroneous segmentation or of the allegro reduction of Old Albanian *prashtu* id., *prato* id. (BUZUKU) continuing **për ashtu*, **për ato*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 80 (to OCS *proče* 'therefore').

praf m 'dust, powder'. Borrowed from Slav **porъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prax*, SCr *prah* (SVANE 164, 239).

prafullimë f, pl. *prafullima* 'spark (thrown out of an engine)'. Deverbative of *prafulloj* 'to toast, to singe' derived from *praf*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

prag m, pl. *pragje* 'threshold'. A parallel form is *prak*. Borrowed from Slav **porgъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prag*, SCr *prag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER Wb. 350). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 53.

pranë adv. 'alongside, beside, nearby', prep. 'near, by'. Goes back to *për anë*.

prandaj conj. 'therefore, thus'. Goes back to **për andaj* (CAMARDA I 306; MEYER Wb. 11). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46-47.

prangë f, pl. *pranga* 'fetter, chain, handcuff'. Borrowed from Gmc **pranga* 'constriction, cramping', cf. Germ *Pranger* 'pillory' (MEYER Wb. 350-351). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *spranga* 'bolt'); KLUGE 562-563.

potere f 'hook, rim, crash, pursuit of robbers'. Borrowed from Sgail

prapa adv 'back, backwards, beyond' 'behind'. Another form

of the same word explained by accentual modifications in Proto-Albanian is *prapë* 'back, again, the other way round'. Continues **për apa* ~ **për apë*, the second component being historically identical with *pa* (BOPP 502; CAMARDA I 306; MEYER Wb. 351). The Proto-Albanian form must have been **per apa* or **pra apa*. ◇ JOKL *MRIW* I 302, *IF XXXVII* 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187-188; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 111; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125 (to *hap*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 330-332.

praqe pl. tantum 'stirrups'. Semantically modified plural of *prak*, variant of *prag*.

praroj aor. *prarova* 'to gild'. From **për-aroj*, denominative of *ar* (MEYER Wb. 14).

prashis aor. *prashita* 'to hoe over, to rake over, to cultivate'. Borrowed from Slavic **poršiti* 'to turn into dust, to cover with dust, to hoe', cf. *Bulg praša*, *SCr prašiti* (MEYER Wb. 351). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nasele-nie* 158; SVANE 77, 239.

pravulloj aor. *pravullova* 'to boil down, to boil, to wash in hot water'. Continues **për-avulloj*, a denominative based on *avull*.

pre f, pl. *preja* 'prey, booty, plunder'. Borrowed from Lat *praeda* id. (MEYER Wb. 351). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 71.

pregjim m 'party on the occasion of child-birth; visit paid to mourners after a death'. Other variants are *përgim*, *përgjim*. A regular deverbative of *përgjoj*. ◇ ENDZELIN *KZ XLV* 230 (to Lith *gimti* 'to give birth', Latv *dzimt* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 47-48 (from MGk *πρωτογέννημα* 'first birth'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 332 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

preh ~ pref aor. *preha ~ prefa* 'to sharpen'. Continues **për-eh*, a prefixal derivative of *eh* (MEYER Wb. 352). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

prehaluq adj. 'emaciated'. A suffixal derivative of *preh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 48 (contamination of *preh* and *halë*).

prehër ~ prehën m 'bosom, lap; apron'. From PALb **prōjēna* *'front',

the locative Gk *πρωί* 'early, in the morning' = OHG *f* from IE **prō* 'forward, in front of, before' (OREL *FL* ◇ MEYER Wb. 353 (to Slav **prego* 'to tighten'), Alb. ÇABEJ *St.* II 48 (compares with Lith *sprīngti* 'to choose', connected with Slav **prego*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazioni* II 607-608; POKORNY I 814.

prej prep. 'to, towards; from, out of'. In fact, from disyllabic *prej* identical with the locative Gk *πρωί* 'early, in the morning', cf. *fruo* id. derived from IE **prō* 'forward, in front of, before'.

prek aor. *preka* 'to touch'. From PALb **praka*, a derivative of **pra-k-* related to Gk *πρόκα* 'forthwith, straightaway', **prokz* 'remainder, remaining' and similar forms. ◇ CAMARDA I 242 (analyzes *prek* as **pre-k-*); FRISK II 599; VANDERVAART 352 (to Gk *πράσσω* 'to do, to work'); FRISK II 599; VANDERVAART 352.

prell m 'sunny side'. Borrowed from Gk *παρήλιος* 'sunny'.

prente ~ prënte f 'Friday'. Other variants are (T) *premtë*. Deverbative based on *premtoj* in its unattested meaning 'to prepare in advance' and representing a translation of 'getting ready, preparing; Friday'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227.

premtoj aor. *premtova* 'to promise'. Borrowed from Lat *promittere* 'to promise'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10 (to *promittere* 'to promise'); MEYER Wb. 352 (same as M).

pres aor. *preva* 'to cut'. From PALb **p(e)retja* related to Goth *frapjan* 'to beat, to thump', Gk *πρίω* 'to saw' (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER Wb. 353, Alb. *St.* III 31, 72). ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ L* 243-244; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227; FRAENKEL 578; FRISK II 596; POKORNY I 819; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125; HULD 105; DEMIRAJ *AE* 332-333 (to *prōjēna*).

pres aor. *prita* 'to wait, to expect'. Continues PALb **pratja* related to Goth *frapjan* 'to think, to understand', Lith *prisi* 'to get used, to understand'. ◇ CAMARDA I 143 (a prefixal derivative of *es-* 'to be'); BUGGE *BB XVIII* 169 (a prefixal derivative of *es-* 'to be').

to Lat *emō* 'to buy, to purchase'; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 90 (to OIr 3 sg. *frith* 'is found'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; FRAENKEL 646-647; FEIST *Goth.* 165-166; POKORNY I 845; HAMP *KZ LXXVI* 135 (from IE **pr̥kto-*, to **prek̑-* 'to ask').

presh m, pl. *presh* 'leek'. Borrowed from Gk πράσον id. (THUMB *IF XXVI* 19). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 278, 281.

prevë f, pl. *preva* 'open way, track, ford'. Borrowed from Lat *prīvum* (*iter*) 'private (road, passage)'. ◇ CAMARDA I 27 (identical with *trevë*); MEYER *Wh.* 353 (repeats CAMARDA's identification); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52-54; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 233.

prěj ~ **prâj** aor. *prějta* ~ *prâjta* 'to incline, to cling to, to lean; to infect'. The semantic development 'to cling' > 'to infect' is quite frequent, cf. E *to stick*. The original meaning of PALb **per(i)-anja* appears to be 'to incline, to bend to the side'. It is derived from *anë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (separates *prěj* 'to infect' and connects it with *ěj*).

prěj ~ **prâj** aor. *prějta* ~ *prâjta* 'to comfort, to soothe'. Goes back to PALb **prainja* related to Skt *prīṇāti* 'to please', Goth *frijon* 'to love', Slav **prijeti* id. and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wh.* 5 (to *ěj*); FEIST *Goth.* 168; MAYRHOFER II 380; VASMER III 369; POKORNY I 844.

prëndverë ~ **prandverë** f 'spring'. Borrowed from Rom **prīma vēra* (> Ital *primavera*, Rum *primăvară*), cf. MEYER *Wh.* 466. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *primavera*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 108.

prënjکہ f, pl. *prënjka* 'freckle, sunspot'. A derivative in *-کہ* of PALb **priknjā* related to Skt *pīṣṇi-* 'spotted, speckled', Gk περκνός 'dark, spotted', W *erch* 'spotted' and the like. ◇ MAYRHOFER II 336; FRISK II 515-516; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 43; POKORNY I 820-821; ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (derived from *prěj* ~ *prâj*).

prier aor. *prora* 'to incline, to lean, to turn aside'. Goes back to PALb **per(i)-era*, a prefixal verb etymologically related to Hitt *arnumi* 'to move, to shift', Skt *ṛṇōti* 'to arise, to move', Gk ὀρνυμι 'to stir up', Lat *orior* 'to rise'. ◇ CAMARDA I 56-57 (a prefixal verb to be com-

pared with Gk ἀείρω 'to raise'); MEYER Wb. 354 (a prefixal verb related to Gk ἐλάω 'to drive, to set in motion'); FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; WALDE-HOFMANN II 222-223; POKORNY I 326-328.

prift m, pl. *priftër, priftërinj ~ priftna, priftinj* 'priest'. Borrowed from Lat *presbyter* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER Wb. 353). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 287 (on the Dalmatian Latin source); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; ERNOUT-MEILLET 534; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *SCL* XXXII/4 425-428; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121, 130.

prij ~ **prīj** aor. *prina, priva* 'to lead'. Borrowed from Lat *praeire* 'to lead, to precede' (MEYER Wb. 353). ◇ HAARMANN 143.

prije f, pl. *prije* 'drainage ditch'. A derivative of *prij*, probably representing a calque of South Slavic **vada* 'irrigation ditch' (Bulg *vada*, SCr *vada*) related to **vedo*, **vesti* 'to lead'. ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 345 (from **për-ijë*); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 85.

prijë f, pl. *prija* 'onion-bed'. Usually, in a phrase *prijë qepësh* id. Borrowed from Lat *porrīna* id.

prik m 'slope'. Goes back to **prier-k*, a derivative of *prier*.

prikë f, pl. *prika* 'dowry'. Derived with the suffix *-kë* from *prij*. ◇ SKOK ŽA II 103-110 (from Gk *προίξ* 'gift, present').

prill m 'April'. Borrowed from Lat *aprilis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER Wb. 353). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 118, 177.

prime pl. 'folk remedies'. Deverbative of *proj* 'to guard, to defend' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 48).

prind m, pl. *prindë, prindër ~ prindën* 'father, parent'. Borrowed from Lat *parentem* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER Wb. 353). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1047, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 116, 143-145.

pringj m 'chief, prince'. Borrowed from **prince(s)* < Lat *prīnceps* 'chief' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; HAARMANN 144.

priqe pl. 'arthritis'. Another variant is *prîç* ~ *prîç*. A suffixal derivative of *prij*.

prisko aor. *priskova* 'to besprinkle'. A relatively recent denominative formation based on **prisk(ě)*. The latter was borrowed from Slav **pryskъ* 'sprinkling' otherwise unattested in South Slavic where its variant **prъskъ*, **prъskati* is attested.

prish aor. *prisha* 'to destroy, to spoil, to waste'. From PAIb **prīša* related to Gk πρίω 'to saw' (MEYER *Wb.* 353, *Alb. St.* III 31, 61, 72). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 72-73 (adds Germanic parallels: OHG *freisa* 'danger, destruction' and the like), LKUBA 24; PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 49-50; FRISK II 596 (doubts the validity of the Greek - Albanian comparison); POKORNY I 846; ÇABEJ *St.* II 49, VII 206, 228; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-*sh-* < *-*s-* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 333-334 (to IE **per-* 'to strike').

privoj aor. *privova* 'to rob'. Borrowed from Lat *prīvare* id.

prizë f, pl. *priza* 'gutter'. Derived from *prije*.

probateshë f, pl. *probatesha* 'adopted sister'. An innovative feminine in -*eshë* based on the recomposition of *probatin*, see *pobratim*.

prodhøj aor. *prodhova* 'to produce'. Borrowed from Lat *prōdāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (to *mbrodh*).

profkë f, pl. *profka* 'splitting fruit; water spray; twaddle, bluff'. Another variant is *pročkë* 'blunder, slip of the tongue'. From Bulg *pročka* 'wicket-gate' in various metaphoric meanings. ◇ JOKL LKUBA 9 (to *prěj*), *Slavia* XIII 289.

prog m, pl. *progje* 'nail'. A secondary fonetic variant of *prokë*.

proj aor. *prova* 'to guard, to defend; to precede, to anticipate, to take precaution'. Borrowed from Lat *parāre* 'to make ready; to defend',

the meaning 'to defend' being typical of Romance languages (Ital *parare*, Fr *parer*), cf. ÇABEJ *St.* II 48. A noun *projë* meaning at the same time 'defense' and 'booty' is a deverbative. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (to *ruaj* or from Lat *prohibere* 'to hold back, to prevent').

prokë f, pl. *proka* 'nail, fork'. Borrowed, with an unusual unvoicing of the anlaut, from Rom **brocca*, **broccia* 'fork, roasting-spit', cf. Ital dial. *brocca*, Fr *broche* < fem. **brocca* 'projecting (of teeth)' (MEYER *Wb.* 354).

prosek m, pl. *prosiqe* 'hut for cattle to be rounded up'. Together with *proseqe* 'chips, chippings (from pruned tree)' is a Slavic loanword from **prosěkъ* 'kind of axe; opening, cutting (in a forest)', cf. Bulg *prosek*, SCr *prosiyek* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 50). The meaning represented in Albanian is not attested in South Slavic. It has obviously developed from 'section, something cut out'. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151 (from Bulg *prosek* 'section in a barn').

prozhëm m, pl. 'small wood, community forest'. Another, and more phonetically archaic, variant is *proshëm*. This word for the **'nearest forest' > 'community forest'* is borrowed from Lat *proximus* 'nearest'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from South Slav **šuma* 'forest'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 75 (from **kseumā* related to Slav **šuma*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 50-51 (borrowed from Slav **brъstъ* 'brushwood').

prozhmoj aor. *prozhmova* 'to slander, to libel'. As in *prozhëm*, a more conservative variant is *proshmoj*. It is borrowed from Lat *proximāre* 'to come near, to approach' with a complicated semantic development, presumably: 'to get close' > 'to know intimately' > 'to slander'. ◇ CAMARDA I 322 (to Gk **προ-σιμώω*, cf. *σιμώω* 'to turn up the nose, to sneer at' - but Greek loanwords are not adapted as verbs in *-oj*); MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from Slav **šumъ* 'noise'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 51 (identical with *përçmoj* 'to despise' derived from *çmoj*).

prridh aor. *prridha* 'to suffocate'. Continues a prefixal verb **për-ridh* with a root unattested in an unbound form and continuing PALb **reida* related to Gk *ἐρείδω* 'to prop, to push'. ◇ FRISK I 551; POKORNY I 860.

prroskë f, pl. *prroska* 'brook, mountain stream'. Derivative in *-skë* of *përrua* (JOKL LKUBA 220, 327).

prush m 'ember, glowing coal'. From PALb **pruša* etymologically related to Lat *prūna* id. < **prusnā*, Skt *ploṣati* 'to burn' (MEYER Wb. 355, Alb. St. III 31, 61). ⚡ CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk πῦρ 'fire'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 479; POKORNY I 846; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Latv *pīrksts* 'hot ash'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 334-335.

psherëtij aor. *psherëtiva* 'to sigh, to moan'. Other variants are *pshe-rëtoj* and *psherëtis*. Borrowed, with a metathesis in the phonetically complicated anlaut, from Rom **suspīritāre*, cf. Lat *suspīrāre* 'to sigh' (MEYER Wb. 356). ⚡ ÇABEJ St. VII 221.

pshikëlloj aor. *pshikëllova* 'to beat with a cane'. Another variant is *fshikul-loj*. Derived from *fshikull* 'whip' borrowed from Rom **fisticula*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'reed, cane'.

pshoj aor. *pshova* 'to sigh, to moan'. A back formation of **pshirë* < Lat *suspīrium* 'sigh', cf. *psherëtij*.

pshurr aor. *pshurra* 'to urinate'. From **për-shurr*, a prefixal derivative of *shurrë*.

puçërr f, pl. *puçrra* 'blister, pimple'. Together with *puç* 'hair parting' and *puçis* 'to contort (face)', goes back to SCr *pučiti* 'to split'.

pufkë f, pl. *pufka* 'bubble, blister'. A derivative of **pufë* ~ *puhë* borrowed from SCr *puha* id. The latter is connected with SCr *puhati* 'to blow (up)' which, in its turn, has been borrowed to Albanian as *puhas* id. Finally, *puhi* 'light breeze' also belongs here (MEYER Wb. 356).

pufte adj. 'empty, hollow'. Appears only in a context *arrë pufte* 'empty nut'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *puncta* 'punctured, having a hole'.

puk adj. 'foolish'. Borrowed from Lat *pūbicus* 'public; common, ordinary, bad'.

puke f 'promenade, public way'. Borrowed from Lat *pūblica* (*via*) 'public

way' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; HAARMANN 144.

pulegër f, pl. *pulegra* 'dwarf bustard'. Based on **pulegë* borrowed from one of Italian or Dalmatian continuations of Rom **pullicus*, cf. *pullus* 'young fowl, chick'.

pulendër ~ pulandër f, pl. *pulendra ~ pulandra* 'maize porridge'. Another variant is *pullëndër ~ pullandër*. Based on **pullënd* borrowed from Lat *polenta* 'peeled barley, pearl-barley'.

pulë f, pl. *pula* 'hen'. Borrowed from Rom **pulla* 'hen' (cf. Fr *poule*), see CAMARDA I 172; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356-357. As to *pulkë* 'turkey; pullet', it is borrowed from Bulg *pulka* 'pullet'. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1050, 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 219; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 232; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

pulisht m, pl. *pulishta* 'donkey's colt'. Another variant is *polisht*. Derived from **pul* borrowed from Lat *pullus* 'foal' (MEYER *Wb.* 357).

pulpë f, pl. *pulpa* 'calf (of leg)'. Borrowed from Lat *pulpa* 'flesh' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

pulqyer m, pl. *pulqerë* 'thumb; dwarf'. Another variant is *pulqer*. Borrowed from Lat *pollicāris* 'belonging to a thumb' (MEYER *Wb.* 357). ◇ CAMARDA I 345 (reconstructs Rom **pollicer*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 83.

pullëndër ~ pullandër f 'washing water, lye'. A singularized plural of **pulland* borrowed from Lat *perlavantem* 'washing thoroughly'.

pullaz m, pl. *pullaze* 'roof'. A secondary variant of *pëllas* 'palace' (ÇABEJ II 51-52), with the hypercorrect voicing of the auslaut. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (variant of *lëpozë* 'roof, roof-timbers', cf. *lëpizë*); JOKL *LKUBA* 86-88 (follows MEYER).

punë f, pl. *punë* 'work, thing'. A participle in *-në* of an unattested verb

**puaj* continuing PAIb **pānja*. The latter is related to Gk πένομαι 'to strain, to work on' and its deverbative πόνοϝ 'work, labor' (HAHN I 251, II 28) with uncertain further links. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 188-189 (borrowed from Gk πόνοϝ); MEYER *Wb.* 357, *Alb. St.* III 29, 58 (to Gk σπουδή 'haste, speed'), IV 45 (against BUGGE); JOKL *Studien* 3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 200 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23; THUMB *IF* XXVI 81-82 (criticizes BUGGE); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6 (to Slav **pōditi* 'to push, to press'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 86 (from **oposnā*, to Lat *opus* 'work'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 225 (disputes BARIĆ's view); LA PIANA *Studi* I 73; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 94 (to Lat *pugnō* 'to fight'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 46; FRISK II 504-506; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 65 (to **spend-* 'to pull'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 102; ÇABEJ II 52-53 (two possibilities are suggested: HAHN's etymology or comparison with Lat *pondus* 'weight'), IV 58; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 212; HULD 156, 165; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 335-336.

punjashe f. pl. *punjashe* 'purse'. Deminutive of **punjē* borrowed from East Germanic, cf. Goth *puggs* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357).

pupë f. pl. *pupa* 'breast, teat; tassel, bud'. Borrowed from Rom **puppa* 'teat' (cf. OFr *poupe*, Ital *poppa*), see MEYER *Wb.* 358. Derived from *pupë* is *pupërr* 'boil, furuncle' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). ◇ DURIDANOV *Trakite* 80 (to Thr **pupa*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 336.

pupë f. pl. *pupa* 'hoopoe'. Borrowed from Lat *upupa* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357-358). From its derivative *pupëzë* id. Rum *pupăză* was borrowed. ◇ HAARMANN 156.

pupë f. pl. *pupa* 'stern'. Borrowed from Lat *puppis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 357). ◇ HAARMANN 144.

puprroj aor. *puprova* 'to hoe over'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Lat *preparāre* 'to prepare', in this case - 'to prepare the field (for sowing)'.

pupurriqem refl. 'to tremble'. An emphatic formation built on the basis of *puprroj*.

puq aor. *puqa* 'to fit together'. From PAIb **pukja*, a denominative related

to Gk *πύκκα* adv. 'thickly, strongly', *πυκνός* 'thick, strong'. ◇ FRISK II 622-623; POKORNY I 849.

puroj aor. *purova* 'to calm, to pacify, to defend'. Borrowed from Rom **parāre* 'to defend' (JOKL *Studien* 112). ◇ MEYER Wb. 267 (from Rom **barrāre* 'to bar').

purtekĕ f, pl. *purteka* 'rod, stick'. Borrowed, with a metathesis of *-ru-* > *-ur-*, from one of the South-East continuants of Slav **prǫtĕkъ* 'rod, bush', cf. Bulg *prǫtak*, SCr *prutak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER Wb. 358-359). ◇ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 244 (from Lat *pertica*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

purth m 'diarrhea'. Derivative in *-th* of PALb **purwa* related to Lith *purvas* 'filth, dirt', Latv *pūrvs* 'swamp, marsh'. ◇ FRAENKEL 675.

purřĕ f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Slav **pyr'ъ* id. (Czech *pýř*, Pol *perz*). An early loanword with Slav **-y-* rendered as Alb *-u-* (JOKL *AarbSt* I/1-2 45-46). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 298; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 291; KRISTOFORIDHI 286 (from NGk *πυρός*); SVANE 57; OREL *ZfSlaw* XXX/6 913, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362.

pus m, pl. *puse, pusa* 'well, fountain'. Borrowed from Lat *puteus* 'well' (MEYER Wb. 359). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31 (from Slavic), Rom. *Elemente* 51 (from Ital *pozzo* id.); ; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; SVANE 144; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 139.

push m 'fluff, down, nap, pile'. Continues PALb **puša* < **puksja* etymologically connected with Skt *púccha-* 'tail' < **puksko-*, Slav **puхъ* 'down' < **poukso-* (ÇABEJ II 53, IV 219) going back to IE **puk-* ~ **peuk-* 'covered with hair, bushy'. ◇ CAMARDA I 345; MEYER Wb. 359 (borrowing from Turk *puş* 'to cover; cover'); POKORNY I 849; MAYRHOFER II 298-299; VASMER III 414; ADAMS *JIES* XVI/1-2 71-72; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (on the "ruki" rule in *push*).

pushkĕ f, pl. *pushkĕ* 'rifle, gun'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. Bulg *puška*, SCr *puška* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER Wb. 359). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 204.

pushoj aor. *pushova* 'to have a rest'. Borrowed from Lat *pausāre* 'to halt, to rest (in the grave)' (PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 660) developing the meaning of 'resting' in Romance, cf. Ital *posare*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51 (from Ital *posare*); MEYER *Wb.* 359 (from Latin or from Ital *posare*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; HELBIG *JbIRS* X 127 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143.

pushtet m, pl. *pushtete* 'power'. Borrowed from Lat *potestātem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 359, *Alb. St.* IV 10). The verb *pushtoj* continues Rom **potestāre*. The dialectal form of the verb *poshtroj* ~ *pēshtroj* results from an erroneous etymological link with *shtroj*. ◇ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk *σπρῶννυμι* 'to spread'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (*pushtoj* < **pushtet-oj*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 124 (*pushtoj* < Rom **expeditāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 53-55 (repeats the essence of CAMARDA's etymology: *pushtoj* < **pēr-shtroj*, to *shtroj*); HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 44.

putë f, pl. *puta* 'sole'. From PALb **puktā* related to Gk *πύκα* adv. 'thickly, strongly', *πυκνός* 'thick, strong', cf. *puq*.

putërë ~ putanë f 'whore'. Borrowed from Rom **puttana* id., cf. Ital *puttana*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Ital *puttana*); MEYER *Wb.* 359 (follows MIKLOSICH).

puth aor. *putha* 'to kiss'. From PALb **putsa*, an onomatopoeia similar to many other words for 'kiss' reflecting *bu-* ~ *pu-* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (to Gk *πυκάζω* 'to cover closely, to protect' so that *puth* 'to kiss' < 'to embrace' similar to Fr *embracer*), *Alb. St.* III 13,31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 55 (follows TAGLIAVINI); HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 336-337.

pyes aor. *pyeta* 'to ask'. From the umlauticized PALb **pūta* related to Lat *putō* 'to reckon, to ponder', Slav **pytati* 'to ask' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 217). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *prach-* 'to ask'); CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk *πυνθάνομαι* 'to learn'); MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom **petiō* based on Lat *petō* 'to demand, to seek'), *Alb. St.* IV 50; DIEFENBACH I 43 (to Lat *poscō* 'to ask, to beg'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I

1044; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX I 211 (from **për-ves*, related to Skt *pravedayati*); WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (follows MEYER); XHUVANI *KLetr* II 14 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VASMER III 421; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256; ÇABEJ *St.* II 55-57 (from **për-v-es* related to Gk αἰτέω 'to ask, to demand').

pylkě f, pl. *pylka* 'wedge; end of the axe-handle'. Another, more frequent, variant is *pykě*. Borrowed from Lat *pavīcula* 'hammer'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom **pīlicum*, cf. Lat *pīlum* 'pestle').

pyll m, pl. *pyje* 'forest'. Borrowed from Balk Rom **padūlem* (cf. Rum *pādure* id.) < Lat *palūdem* 'swamp' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk ὕλη 'forest'?); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 108; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1046, 1052; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 92; BARIÇ *Hymje* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251; HULD 105; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 144-146.

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qafě f, pl. *qafa* 'neck'. Borrowed from Turk *kafa* 'occiput, head' (HULD 106). The substitution Alb *q-* < Turk *k-* is possible (BORETZKY *Türk. Einfluß* I 77). Rum *ceafă* 'neck, occiput' is an Albanian loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 219). ◇ CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk αὐχὴν id.); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (comparison with Lat *collum* 'neck' and the like); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330 (against MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31 (to OHG *warb* 'turn, rotation'), *AArbSt* I 146 (from **ko-osk^u(h)u-*, cf. Gk ὀσφύς 'hip'); JOKL *LKUBA* 328 (against BARIĆ *ARSt.*); TREIMER *AArbSt* I 32 (borrowed from Lat *capsa* 'box, chest'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 92, *Stratificazione* 95; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; HAMP *Festschr. Schmidt* 39 (from **kepHā*, to Lat *caput* 'head').

qaj ~ qanj aor. *qava* 'to cry, to weep'. Tosk and Greco-Albanian forms preserve the initial *kl-*. Goes back to PALb **klaunja* cognate with Gk κλαῖω < *κλάϝω id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* III 4). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; FRISK I 865; CHANTRAINE 538; POKORNY I 599; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 47; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 110, *Verbum* 104; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ

St. VII 193; HULD 106; JANSON *Unt.* 178; DEMIRAJ *AE* 337-388 (to dial. *klith* 'to cry').

qapë f, pl. *qapa* 'hobble'. From PAIb **klapā*, a nominal derivative of *qep* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432).

qark m, pl. *qarqe* 'circle'. Despite an irregular treatment of the vowel, this is a loanword from Lat *circus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* II 26-27). A synonym of *qark* - *qarkull* continues Latin diminutive *circulus*. ◇ CAMARDA I 38 (related to Gk κίρκος 'circle, ring'); JOKL *Studien* 42 (supports MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 57 (agrees with CAMARDA); LANDI *Lat.* 85, 98, 139.

qartë adj. 'clear'. Borrowed from Lat *clārus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◇ CAMARDA I 56; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1040 (from Ital *chiaro* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93 (from Italian).

qartoj aor. *qartova* 'to quarrel'. From Lat *certāre* 'to compete' (MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116.

qarr m, pl. *qarra* 'Turkey oak, bitter oak'. Borrowed from Lat *cerrus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 138-140.

qas aor. *qasa* 'to approach'. From PAIb **ketja* etymologically connected with the isolated Lith *kečiū*, *kėsti* 'to stretch'. ◇ CAMARDA I 70; MEYER *Wb.* 220-221 (to Slav **kasati se* 'to touch'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 13; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 246 (contamination of **ked-* and **plet-* in Lithuanian); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 231.

qazhnë f, pl. *qazhna* 'rough white woolen cloth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **tęžьna*, fem. 'heavy'.

qeft m, pl. *qefte* 'drinking glass'. Borrowed from Lat *captus* *'container', participle of *capiō* 'to contain, to hold'. ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 187 (from Gk κεῦθος 'hiding place'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 58-59 (to *sqep*).

qefull m, pl. *qefuj* 'mullet'. From MGk κέφαλος id. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

qejzë f, pl. *qejza* 'cuticle'. Another variant is Geg *qenëz*. Based on PAIb **kenja* 'new skin' < 'new' etymologically related to Skt *kanfna* 'young', Gk καίνος 'new' and the like. ◇ FRISK I 754; POKORNY I 563-564.

qek aor. *qeka* 'to mention, to quote'. Continues PAIb **kaka* or **keka* related to Lith *kankū*, *kàkti* 'to seize, to reach', Latv *kacēt* 'to grasp', Slav **čekati* 'to expect, to wait'. ◇ FRAENKEL 206; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IV 36.

qel m, pl. *qela* 'scab'. Borrowed from Lat *callum* 'corn, hard skin'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

qelb m, pl. *qelbra* ~ *qelbna* 'pus'. From PAIb **kalba* related to *kalb* (MEYER *Wb.* 221-222). Note a denominative verb *qelb* 'to fill with stench, to make rot'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 53 (from IE **gʷol-bh-* related to Arm *keł* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Gk κέλεφος); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224-225.

qelë f, pl. *qela* 'priest's house'. Borrowed from Lat *cella* 'room' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13) ◇ HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 158.

qelq m, pl. *qelqe* 'glass'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem* 'bowl, cup' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 221). ◇ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk κάλυξ 'seed-vessel, shell, pod'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 111-112.

qell aor. *qella* 'to halt, to hold up, to carry'. From PAIb **kela* etymologically connected with Skt *kaláyati* 'to impel', Gk κέλωμαι 'to drive on' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 168). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329-330; JOKL *IF* XXX 198, *LKUBA* 266 n. 1 (connects *qell* with *sjell* despite the phonetically impossible *q-* < **kʷ-* before a palatal); FRISK I 817-818; MAYRHOFER I 179; POKORNY I 549; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *kélti* 'to raise'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 81; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 126 (follows JOKL), *St.* VII 230; HULD 106-107 (recon-

limit'. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* II 60 (related to Gk τέρμα and Lat *termen* 'boundary'); HAARMANN 153 (from Latin).

qeroj aor. *qerova* 'to ask, to demand'. Other variants are *qëroj* and *qiroj*. Borrowed from Lat *quaerere* id. (HAARMANN 144).

qerpë f 'tuft of hair'. Another variant is *çerpë*. A metathesis of *perçe*, the latter being of Turkish origin (ÇABEJ *St.* II 60).

qersë f, pl. 'fallow land'. From PALb **kertja* related to Slav **кѣръ* 'stubbed plot', Latv *kūrkt* 'to become empty (of a turnip)', OPrus *Curche* 'the last sheaf in which a deity hides'. ◇ VASMER II 340; MÜHLENBACH-ENDZELIN II 322-323; POKORNY I 568.

qershi f, pl. *qershi* 'cherry'. Based on **qersh* borrowed from Gk κέρασος id. (CAMARDA I 56; THUMB *IF* XXVI 29). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13 (from Lat *cerasus*); MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Rom **cerasium*, cf. *cerasus* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; JOKL *LKUBA* 208 (agrees with THUMB); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31, IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

qerthull m, pl. *qerthuj* 'winch, windlass, circle'. From PALb **kerts-ula* continuing IE **ker-k-* and related to Gk κίρκος 'ring' and Lat *circus* 'circle', *circulus* (MANN *Language* XXVI 385). ◇ CAMARDA I 162 (to *qark*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 42 (from IE **kert-* 'to turn, to bind'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 42; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 118 (suffix *-ull*); FRISK II 19-20; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; WALDE-HOFMANN I 220-221; POKORNY I 935; DEMIRAJ *AE* 339-340 (borrowed from Lat *circellus* 'little ring').

qerr m, pl. *qerre* 'wagon, cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrus* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94-95; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 251.

gesas aor. *gesata* 'to cut (branches)'. Borrowed from Slav **tesati* 'to cut, to hew', with *q-* rendering prepalatal Slavic *t-*, cf. South Slavic

continuants: Bulg *tesam*, SCr *tesati*. Derived from *qesas* is *qeser* 'kind of broad axe'.

qesh aor. *qesha* 'to laugh'. From PAIb **kaksja* related to similar onomatopoeic verbs in Skt *kákhati* id., Gk *καχάζω* id. and the like (BARIĆ ARSt. I 42-reconstructs **kakhjō*). ∅ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk *χάσκω*, *χαίνω* 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER Wb. 224 (to Goth *hlahjan* 'to laugh'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95 (questions BARIĆ's etymology); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POKORNY I 634; FRISK I 804; MAYRHOFFER I 136; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 221.

(T) **qeshër** f, pl. *qeshra* 'roof plank'. Borrowed from Rom **casina* derived from Lat *casa* 'house, hut'.

qetë f, pl. *qeta* '(jagged) rock'. From PAIb **klaitā* directly connected with W *clud* 'heap' and Lith *šlaitas* 'slope'. Cf. also, with a different vocalism, Gk *κλειτός* 'slope', OHG *hlita* id. and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433). ∅ FRAENKEL 997; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 79-80, *St.* II 61 (singularized plural of *qye*); POKORNY I 601-602; FRISK I 873-875.

qetë adj. 'quiet'. Borrowed from Lat *quiētus* id. (MEYER Wb. 224). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 145.

qeth aor. *qetha* 'to cut (hair)'. Goes back to PAIb **kaitsa* related to Skt *kéśa-* 'hair (of the head)', Lith *káisti* 'to scrape, to shave'. ∅ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk *κείρω* 'to cut'); MEYER Wb. 221 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 6, 24; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330; JOKL *LKUBA* 13, 228 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *Saggi* 102; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 45; FRAENKEL 204-205; MAYRHOFFER I 267; POKORNY I 520; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 144-145, *St.* VII 229; HULD 147; KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 340-341 (to *qij*).

qezë f, pl. *qezë* 'breadboard, baking plate'. Derived from *që*.

që ~ qê m 'round kneading board'. Borrowed from Gk *κάββα* 'wicker-work, basket'. ∅ MEYER Wb. 224-225 (from **klen-*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 34-35 (from Rom **clāvanus* derived from Lat *clāva* 'stick, staff' - but Cham *që* excludes the possibility of the initial **kl-*!); ÇABEJ

St. II 58 (to Bret *kant* 'circle' and its Celtic cognates).

qĖ ~ qi pron. 'which, that', conj. 'that'. Borrowed from Lat *quī* 'which' and *quia* 'because, that', *quod* 'that' (MEYER Wb. 217-218). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1051; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht XIX* I 206-208 (from IE **k^uid*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19 (from Lat *quod*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 61-62 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

qĕlloj aor. *qĕllova* 'to beat, to hit; to gain, to obtain'. Restored from **pĕr-qĕlloj* borrowed from Lat *percellāre* 'to beat'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 225 (from Rom **cellāre*); LAMBERTZ *KZ LII* 66 (to *qell*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 62-63 (follows LAMBERTZ).

qĕmtoj aor. *qĕmtova* 'to gather'. Borrowed from Rom **coĕmptāre*, cf. Lat *coĕmere* 'to buy up'.

qĕndroj aor. *qĕndrova* 'to stop, to halt'. Borrowed from Rom **centrāre*, derivative of Lat *centrum* (MEYER Wb. 225) used to denote an immobile object, in particular, the immobile leg of a compass. ◇ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk *κέντρον* 'goad, point').

qĕroj aor. *qĕrova* 'to clean, to sort out'. Borrowed from Lat *carāre* 'to card (linen)'. Hence, 'to sort out'. ◇ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk *κοπέω* 'to sweep, to clean'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15 (from Lat *curāre*).

qĕrttoj aor. *qĕrtova* 'to blame, to reproach'. Another variant is *qortoij*. See *qarttoj*.

qiell m/n, pl. *qiej* 'sky, heaven'. Borrowed from Lat *caelum* id. (RASK apud HULD 107; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER Wb. 225-226). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 13; HAARMANN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 71-72, 137.

qift m, pl. *qiftĕ* 'kite, kind of vulture'. Borrowed from Lat *accipiter* 'vulture' (MEYER Wb. 226). For the loss of the last syllable cf. *mbret* (JOKL *LKUBA* 306). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1044, 1055; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 31; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 184; HAARMAN 110.

qij aor. *qiva* 'to copulate, to have sexual intercourse'. Borrowed from

Lat *coīre* id. through the intermediate stage **kēinj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 226 (from Lat *inclīnāre* 'to cause to lean'), Alb. *St.* V 90 (to Lat *scindō* 'to cut, to tear'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054 (same as MEYER); JOKL *Zb. Belic* 49; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *AAL* VIII 345 (to IE **ken-* 'to rub').

qikēl f. pl. *qikla* 'point, spike, peak'. Singularized plural of **qekēl*. From PALb **kekulā* related to Lith *kēkulas* 'lump, cluster', Latv *čēkuls* 'forelock, cluster'. ◇ FRAENKEL 234-235; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

qime f. pl. *qime* 'hair'. Another form is *qym*. Borrowed from Lat *cyma* 'young shoots (of cabbage)' (MEYER *Wb.* 226-227). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16 (from Lat *coma*); CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk κῶμα 'wave, billow'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205; HAARMANN 122; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 100.

qind num. 'hundred'. Borrowed from Lat *centum* id. (CAMARDA I 37; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13; MEYER *Wb.* 227). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (related to Skt *śatā-* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 98; HAMP *Numerals* 919.

qingēl f. pl. *qingla* 'girth, belly-band (of pack animals)'. Another variant is *qengēl*. Borrowed from Lat *cingula* id. (CAMARDA I 165; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 227) ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 111, 117.

qipēr f 'copper, bronze'. Borrowed from Lat (*aes*) *cyprium* 'copper' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◇ CAMARDA I 52 (to Lat *cuprum* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 121.

qipi f. pl. *qipi* 'stack'. Secondary derivative of PALb **kūpa* related to OPers *kaufa-* 'mountain', OHG *hufo* 'heap', OE *héap* id. and also *houf* id., Lith *káupas* id., Slav **kupa* id. (JOKL *Studien* 43). ◇ FRAENKEL 231; ONIONS 432; VASMER II 418-419; POKORNY I 591-592; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341 (collective of *kup* id.).

qiqēr f. pl. *qiqra* 'chick-pea'. Borrowed from Lat *cicerem* id. (CAMARDA

I 68; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 226). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 98, 112.

qiqiriq m, pl. *qiqiriq* 'ground-nut'. Derived from *qiqër*.

qiri m, pl. *qirinj* 'candle'. Borrowed from MGk κηρί id. (MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◇ CAMARDA I 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96.

qis aor. *qita* 'to pull out'. From PALb **kitja* derived from an adjective in **-to-*, **kita*, and further related to Gk κίω 'to go, to move', Lat *ciēō* trans. 'to move' and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 228 (from Lat *excitāre* 'to call out, to bring out'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 668 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96-97; POKORNY I 538-539; FRISK I 862-863; WALDE-HOFMANN I 213-214.

qitër f, pl. *qitra* 'citron'. Borrowed from Lat *citrum*, *citrus* 'citrus (tree)'. *

qoj aor. *qova* 'to wake up'. Borrowed from Lat *ciēre* 'to move, to agitate'. ◇ CAMARDA I 66 (to *gjumë*); BARIĆ *ARS* I 120 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 147-150 (to Lat *ciēre*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (related to Lat *ciēō*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-129; JANSON *Unt.* 125-126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341.

qok m, pl. *qokë* 'kind of owl'. Another variant is *qukë*. An onomatopoeia.

qok aor. *qoka* 'to seize, to touch, to peck'. Another variant is *quk*. An expressive verb. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 229 (from Slav **kl'ukati* 'to peck').

qokë f, pl. *qoka* 'broody hen'. Derived from *qok* 'to seize'.

(to Gk κόσμος 'order'); FRISK I 867-868; FRAENKEL 274; WALDE-HOFMANN I 229-231; POKORNY I 604-605; ÇABEJ *St.* II 63-64 ("expressive shortening" of *qullos*).

quaj ~ **quej** aor. *quajta* ~ *quejta* 'to call, to give a name'. From PAIb **klāusnja*, a denominative based on IE **kleuos* 'glory, word': Skt *śrávas-*, Gk κλέος, Slav **slovo* (CAMARDA I 52). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (to *gjuhě*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 291, *Studien* 60; BARIĆ *ARSt* 71 (to *gjuhě*); PEDERSEN *IF* V 36; PISANI *REIE* IV 7; MANN *Language* XVII 16, XXVI 383, XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 75; FRISK I 869-870; VASMER III 673; MAYRHOFER III 389-390; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 231; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342.

quar ~ **quer** m, pl. *qore* 'prison, cellar, shelter'. Goes back to PAIb **klā(u)ra* further related to *qos*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 95-97 (to Slav **klětb* 'barn' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *St.* II 64 (to OIr *claidim* 'to empty', Gk κλαδάρος 'fragile').

qudohem refl. 'to persist, to be obstinate'. Borrowed from Ital *chiudere* 'to shut' (MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 64 (to *çudis*).

qull m 'porridge'. The original meaning seems to be 'liquid food' as indicated by the denominative *qull* 'to make wet'. From PAIb **klu-sla* related to Gk κλύζω 'to rinse', Lat *cluō* 'to clean' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 228, *Alb. St.* III 4 with the reconstruction **kludlo-*). ◇ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk χυλός 'juice'); FRISK I 876-877; WALDE-HOFMANN I 239-240; POKORNY I 607; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk χυλός); ÇABEJ *St.* II 65 (follows MIHĂESCU).

qumēsht m 'milk, whey'. In dialects (e.g. in Cham), the initial *kl-* is preserved. Borrowed from Latin. Continues Rom **clomostrum* < Lat *colostrum* 'colostrum, beestings' (MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA*

273-276 (to Gk κλύζω 'to pour, to wash, to milk').

water-pour in the mountains. Singularized plural of
St. II 63).

AVINI *Stratija*
SCelt XIV/X

qurra pl. 'snot, snivel'. Another variant is *qyrra*. From PALb **klura* etymologically identical with Lith *šliūrti* 'to become dirty' and going back to an Indo-European localism **k̑leu-r-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Turk *kir* 'dirt, filth'), Alb. *St.* IV 87, V 91; FRAENKEL 1007; ÇABEJ *St.* II 65 (to Lith *krèkti* 'to coagulate, to clot').

qye m, pl. *qej* 'summit, peak'. From PALb **klaina* continuing IE **k̑loino-* 'slanting, skew' > Goth gen. pl. *hlaine* 'hill' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 61). ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 260-261; POKORNY I 600-602; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433.

qyl m 'slime, mud'. From PALb **kūla* identical with Lith *kūla* 'out-growth', Slav **kyla* id. ◇ FRAENKEL 306; POKORNY I 536-537; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 262-263.

qyr aor. *qyra* 'to look'. Another variant is *këqyr* with a prefix *kë-*. Continues PALb **kewira* related to Gk *κοέω* 'to note', Lat *caveō* 'to be aware', Goth *hausjan* 'to hear'. ◇ FRISK I 890-891; WALDE-HOFMANN I 186-187; POKORNY I 587.

qyrë f, pl. *qyra* 'rear side (of a knife)'. Together with *qytë* 'blunt side (of an axe)' this form represents a derivative of an unattested verb **qyej* 'to blunt' < PALb **kēnja*, further connected with IE **ken-* 'to scratch, to cut'. For the semantic development cf. Lat *obtusus* 'blunt' ~ *obtundere* 'to beat'. ◇ POKORNY I 559-553; BUCK 1070-1071.

qysh adv. 'how'. Locative of *që*.

qytet m, pl. *qytete* 'city'. Borrowed from Lat *civitate(m)* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* II 65-66 (on the umlaut in the suffix *-et*); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438 (on the evolution of PALb **-īwi-* and Lat *-īvi-*); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 85, 146.

R

rabeckë f, pl. *rabecka* 'sparrow'. Based on **rabec* borrowed from Slav **vorbьсь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vrabec*, SCr *vrabac* (DESNIC-KAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◇ SVANE 145.

rabush m 'hard outer scale of onion'. Another variant is *rapush* 'onion-top, flower of onion'. Borrowed from Bulg *rabuš* 'tally, tag'. ◇ MANN *HAED* 421 (to *lēpush*).

radis aor. *radita* 'to prepare, to make ready (of food)'. Borrowed from Slav **raditi* 'to settle, to arrange, to make ready', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rad'a*, SCr *raditi* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ SVANE 223, 240.

radhë f, pl. *radhë* 'row'. From dialectal NGk *ῥάδα* id., cf. NGk *ῥράδα* (MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ CAMARDA II 334; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

ragal m 'kennel'. A Tosk hapax registered by JOKL in a phrase *ragāl'a e šenit* 'dog's kennel'. Early borrowing from Slav **rogalb* 'corner', cf. SCr *ragalj* (GINDIN - KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Ètnokul't.* 30-32); note Alb *-a* < Slav **-o-*. Semantically, cf. Slav **kŕtja* 'house, hut' derived from **kŕtb* 'corner' (TRUBAČEV *ZfPhon.* XXXIV 477). ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15 (connects *ragal* with Rum *argea* 'shed' and ancient Maced *ἄργελλα* 'Macedonian baths'); PISANI *REIE* IV 17 (fantastic comparison with Lat *nebula*); HASDEU *EMR* II 309 -310 (Rum *argea* < ancient Balk **argellā*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 149; CIORANESCU I 36 (Rum *argea* < Turk Chag *arğa* 'box'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* 271-272; ÇABEJ *St.* II 94; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342-343.

rangë f 'home work'. From PALb **wrankā* with an original meaning * 'gathering', etymologically identical with Lith *rankā* 'hand', *parankā* 'gathering', *renkū*, *riñkti* 'to gather', Slav **rŕka* 'hand'. ◇ FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515; POKORNY I 1155; ÇABEJ *St.* II 67-68 (connected with Ital *rangola* 'preoccupation' or Lat *rancor* 'rot').

rapë f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Lat *rāpa* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 232.

(G) **raqitë** f 'broom (bush)'. Borrowed from Slav **orkyta* id., cf. Bulg *rakita*, SCr *rakita* (MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; SVANE 127.

rasë f, pl. *rasë* 'case'. A phonetic variant of *rast*, a Turkish loanword, influenced by *ra*, aoristic stem of *bie* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 68).

rasë f, pl. *rasa* 'cassock'. From MGk *ράσον* id. (ÇABEJ St. II 69), probably, via Bulg *rasa*, SCr *rasa*.

rashë f 'kind of woman's shirt'. Borrowed from MLat *rāsum* 'kind of cloth' (ÇABEJ St. II 68-69).

rashqel m, pl. *rashqela* 'rake'. Another variant is *rrashqel*. Borrowed from Lat *rāstellus* 'little hoe'.

ratë adj. 'horizontal'. Derived from *rashë*, aor. of *bie*.

ravë f, pl. *rava* 'path (in mountains or snow)'. An early borrowing from Slav **rovъ* 'ditch'. ◇ BARIĆ ARSt I 78 (to Slav **noga* 'foot'); VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. 54 (etymologically related to Slav **rovъ*); ÇABEJ St. II 69-70 (metathesis of *varrë*).

ravgë f 'path (in mountains)'. An early borrowing from Slav **rovъkъ* 'ditch', cf. *ravë*. Derived from *ravgë* is *ravgoj* 'to wander, to walk to and fro' (ÇABEJ St. II 70).

re indecl. 'attention'. Used in *vë re* 'to pay attention'. Identical with *rojë* 'guard' derived from *ruaj* (ÇABEJ St. II 71-72). The verb *vërej* 'to pay attention' is a univerbation of *vë re*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 362 (to Lat *gravis* 'heavy'); WIEDEMANN BB XXVII 210 (to Lith *regëti* 'to see'); JOKL Studien 75-76, LKUBA 207 (follows WIEDEMANN and points to *ruaj* as the closest connection).

re ~ rê f, pl. *re ~ rê* 'cloud'. Singularized plural of **ri*. Goes back to Palb **rina* etymologically identical with Illyr *ρίνος· ὀχλός* (JOKL AfslPh XXXI 238, Reallex. Vorgesch. I 86). Further connections are Skt *riṇāti* 'to pour, to let flow', Gk Lesb *ῥίνω* 'to move'. ◇ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk *ἄηρ* 'air'); MEYER Wb. 362 (to Gmc **raukiz* 'smoke' > OHG *rouh*, ON *reykr* and the like), Alb.St. III 37, 90; BARIĆ ARSt I 78 (to IE **nebh-* 'cloud'); SCHMIDT KZ L 244 (to Skt *rāja-*); RIBEZZO RivAlb I 140 (to Gk *ῥεβος*); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 235 (follows MEYER); PISANI Saggi 99, 123; POKORNY I 330; CAMAJ Alb. Wortb. 52 (to *përrua*); HAMP St. Whatmough 80 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ St. II 71 (repeats JOKL's etymology but also compares *re* with *err*); HULD 107-108 (links *re* to Lat *rōs* 'dew', Lith *rasà* id.); OREL Zfbalk XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ AE 344 (agrees with RIBEZZO).

re f, pl. *reja* 'young woman, daughter-in-law, bride'. Substantivized feminine of *ri*.

red m 'row'. Borrowed from Slav **redъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *red*, SCr *red* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◇ SVANE 224, 241.

regëzinj aor. *regëziva* 'to tear (clothes)'. An Old Albanian form (BUZUKU) based on the noun *rragozinë* 'rag' (LA PIANA *Studi. Varia* 41). The latter is an early Slavic loanword continuing Slav **rogožina* 'bast mat'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 72 (metathesis of **gërzinj* derived from *gris*).

regj m, pl. *regjër* 'king'. Borrowed from Lat *rēgem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Lat *rēg(u)lus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; RESULLI *Studi albanesi* III-IV 211-213 (from Old Ital *rege* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 72 (agrees with MEYER *Gr. Gr.*); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 96, 145.

regj aor. *regja* 'to tan'. From PALb **raugja*, a denominative verb etymologically related to ON *reykr* 'smoke', OHG *rouh* id. The original meaning of the word was 'to smoke'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from SCr *redjati* 'to put in a row, to set in order'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 299 (agrees with MEYER); POKORNY I 872; MANN *Language* XXVI 382-383 (to Gk *ῥέζω*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 73-74 (from IE **ureǵ-* related to Gk *ἔργον* 'work'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 345 (to Lith *rūgti* 'to become sour').

rekë f 'brook, rivulet'. Another morphonological variant is *rëké* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Borrowed from Slav **rěka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188, 323; SVANE 172.

rekës m 'giant'. Verbal adjective based on *rrek* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 74). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Slovene *orjak* id.).

rem m 'copper'. Singularized plural of the attested form *ram* id. borrowed from Ital *rame* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 29 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234 (the same); JOKL

Arch. Rom. XXIV 35 (from Lat *aerāmen* 'bronze or copper shavings'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* II 74-75 (agrees with JOKL).

remě f, pl. *rema* 'watermill ditch'. Borrowed from NGk *ρέμα* < Gk *ῥέμα* 'ditch, rivulet' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 373). ◇ MANN *HAED* 425, 434 (identical with *rremb*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 75 (agrees with MANN).

rend m, pl. *rende* 'row'. An early loanword from Slav **rědъ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21), cf. *red*. The verb *rendis* 'to put in order' reflects Slav **rěditi* id. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182; SVANE 223, 241.

rend aor. *renda* 'to run, to hurry'. Continues PALb **renta*, a derivative of **rena* etymologically related to Goth *rinnan* 'to run', ON *rinna* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from MGk *ρένται* 'horse-race'); JOKL *LKUBA* 280-281 (derivative in **-t-* of **ren-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Skt *ramhati*); FEIST *Goth.* 398-399; POKORNY I 328 (to IE **er-* 'to rise').

rendoj aor. *rendova* 'to grate'. Secondary formation based on *rend* 'row'.

repě f 'desert'. Continues an umlauticized PALb **raupā* etymologically related to ON *rauf* 'pit', Lith *raupiù*, *raūpti* 'to hollow out' further related to IE **reup-* 'to tear, to break'. ◇ FRAENKEL 707-708; POKORNY I 870.

repě f, pl. *repa* 'turnip'. Borrowed from Slav **rěpa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *r'apa*, dial. *repa*, SCr *repa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24 (from Lat *rāpum*); SVANE 108.

repuq adj. 'torn'. A suffixal derivative of *rjep*.

resě f, pl. *resa* 'envy'. Historically identical with *resě* 'guard' derived

cal with *resě* 'guard, envy'. The reed trellis was used to protect the roof from falling. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 75-76 (borrowed from Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

resh aor. *resha* 'to fall (of snow or rain)'. Secondly restored from the aorist *rashě* of *bie* 'to fall' (JOKL *IF* XLIII 52-55). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Skt *várṣati* 'to rain' and the like), Alb. *Studien* III 86; JOKL *Studien* 73-74 (to Lith *rasà* 'dew', Slav **rosa* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 79 (to IE **sneigh-* 'snow'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 52; ÇABEJ *St.* II 76 (agrees with MEYER); HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 191-192; HULD 108; DEMIRAJ *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 72, AE 345-346.

reshis aor. *reshita* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Slav **rěšiti* 'to solve' also meaning 'to extinguish' as in SCr *rěšiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 192; SVANE 241.

reshpe f, pl. *reshpe* 'avalanche, rocky precipice'. Another variant is *reshme*. In the anlaut, *rr-* is also possible. Derived from *resh*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *raspa* 'scraper, rasp').

resht aor. *reshta* 'to keep away; to stop'. Anlaut in *rr-* is also possible. A secondary formation based on *rreshtoj* 'to arrest' borrowed from Rom **arrestāre* 'to stop, to arrest'. ◇ CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *resistō* 'to stop'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *restare* 'to stop').

rezhdě f, pl. *rezhda* 'ring at goat's throat'. Another variant is *rrezhdě*. Etymologically identical with *rezhgě*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (to *rrezhdě* ~ *rreshtě* 'bone'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 76-77 (from SCr *resa* 'ring at goat's throat', Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

rezhgě f, pl. *rezhga* 'honeycomb cell'. Borrowed from Slav **rěžьka*, unattested derivative of **rědъkъ* 'rare'.

rěfyřě f, pl. *rěfyra* 'knot, outgrowth (on a tree)'. Prefixal derivative

rēmēr ~ rēmen m, pl. *rēmēj* 'Valachian; shepherd'. Attested in Greece only. Borrowed from Lat *Romānus* 'Roman' (MEYER Wb. 365). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1049; ÇABEJ *St.* II 77 (from Arum *arumîn* 'Arumunian'); PUŞCARIU *Etudes* 60 (semantic development of *rēmēr* and *vllah*).

rěmoj aor. *rěmova* 'to dig'. Borrowed from Lat *rīmāri* 'to dig, to hoe' (MEYER Wb. 365). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1049; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 251.

rěndě ~ randě adj. 'heavy'. Continues PALb **raunta* derived from the verbal stem of aor. *rashě* < **rauša*, see *bie* 'to fall' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 71). From *rěndě* the verb *rěndo* 'to be heavy' is derived. ◇ CAMARDA I 47 (to Skt *rāmata* '(he) is quiet'); MEYER Wb. 365 (borrowing from Lat *grandis* 'large'), Alb. *St.* III 8, IV 25; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 183 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 74 (participle of a verb reflected in Lith *rīeju*, *rīeti* 'to stack, to bend'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 86-87 (to Lith *sverīu* 'to weigh' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234-235; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from **gr̥ndho-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 71 (arguments in favor of BARIĆ's etymology); HULD 108 (supports JOKL's etymology).

rěngě f, pl. *rěnga* 'chime, tinkling (of bells)'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc **xrengaz* 'ring', cf. **xrengjan* 'to ring, to tinkle': ON *hringja*, OE *hringan* and the like. ◇ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 174-175; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 132.

rěnkoj aor. *rěnkova* 'to moan, to groan'. Another variant is *rěkoj*. Tosk equivalents of *ankoj*. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *πέγκω* 'to snore').

rěnxoj aor. *rěnxova* 'to cause hernia'. Borrowed from Rom **hernizāre* based on *hernia* 'rupture, hernia'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 365 (to Ital *ernia* 'hernia'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 78 (phonetic variant of *rrězoj*).

rěpjetě adj. 'steep'. A variant of *pěrpjetě* in which *rě-* seems to represent a phonetic transformation of *pěr-* (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 95-96, LKUBA 244 n. 1). The same is true of *rěposh* = *pěrposh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

rěřě ~ raně f 'sand'. Borrowed from Lat *arēna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER Wb. 366, Alb. *St.* IV 17). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1044; JOKL LKUBA 281; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234; MANN *Language*

XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 78-79; JANSON *Unt.* 57-58; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 80, 114.

rĚshirĚ ~ rĚshinĚ f 'resin; grape juice'. Borrowed from Lat *rĕsĭna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

rĚžěgojě f 'arsenic'. Another variant is *rĚžigojě*. Results from the folk etymology (*rrĚžě* and *gojě*) of the original **ĕrsingĕ* borrowed from NGk ἄρσενικόν id. (MEYER *Wb.* 366).

ri adj. 'new, young, recent'. From PALb **rija*, a zero-grade derivative of IE **er-* ~ **or-* 'to rise, to make move', cf. ON *qrr* 'quick', OS *aru* id. of a similar origin (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-434). ◇ CAMARDA I 85 (from **neuos* 'new'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (comparison with *rris*); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 170 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt* 79 (from **neuios*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237 (rejects BUGGE's etymology); POKORNY I 326-332; HULD 108-109.

rig m, pl. *riga* 'king (in cards)'. Borrowed from MGk ῥήγας 'king'.

rigash m, pl. *rigashě* 'turkey'. Derivative of *rig*.

rigě f 'drizzle'. The verb is *rigoj* 'to drizzle'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *rigāre* 'to sprinkle, to irrigate'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55 (from Ital *riga*, *rigare* 'to make wet'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (follows MIKLOSICH).

rij ~ rĭ 'to make humid'. Continues PALb **rinja* related to Skt *riṇāti* 'to stream, to release', Slav **rinŕti* 'to flow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 74-75). Note a deverbative (G) *rĭtě* 'wet'. ◇ VASMER III 484; MAYRHOFFER III 59-60; POKORNY I 330-331; ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *reineo* 'stallion'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 79-80 (to Gk ῥαίνω 'to sprinkle', Slav **roniti* 'to drop, to pour'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346.

rikě f, pl. *rika* 'duckling, duck'. Cf. also *rikĕz* 'piglet'. Based on an onomatopoeic verb PALb **rika* denoting quacking or similar sounds and connected with Lith *rikti* 'to cry' and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 366 (*rikĕz* explained as an onomatopoeia), 369 (to SCr *rička* 'kind of duck'); FRAENKEL 717, 734; ÇABEJ *St.* II 80 (onomatopoeia).

rimtě adj. 'dark blue, blue, azure, green'. A parallel and more archaic form is *rrimtě*. Derived from *rrime*, cf. OBret *uurm* 'dark (color)', W *gwrn* 'dark blue' as color designations based on the word for 'worm' (OREL *IF* XLIII 116). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 80 (to OE *nípan* 'to become dark'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 80 (compares with *remtě* 'dark brown, bronze').

riqe f, pl. *riqe* 'brier'. Borrowed from Gk ἐρείκη id. or NGk ρείκια id. (CAMARDA II 159; MEYER *Wb.* 366). ◇ HAARMANN 123 (from Lat *erīca*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81.

ris m, pl. *risēr* ~ *risēn* 'lynx'. Borrowed from Slav **rysz* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ris*, SCr *ris*.

rishte pl. 'cartilages; kind of dry pastry'. Umlauticized form of *rreshtě*.

rizě f, pl. *riza* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav **riza* 'shirt, kerchief', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *riza*, SCr *riza* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 367). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; SVANE 49.

rjep aor. *ropa* 'to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off'. A parallel form is *rrjep*. Goes back to PAlb **repa* connected with IE **rep-*: Gk ἐρέπτομαι 'to eat', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize, to grasp', Lith *rĕpti* 'to grasp' and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 189, *Wb.* 367, *Alb. St.* III 31). ◇ CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk λέπω 'to peel'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 167; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251 (borrowed from Lat *rapiō*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 564; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 721-722; FRISK I 552-553; WALDE-HOFMANN II 417; POKORNY I 856; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19 (borrowed from Lat *rapere*); HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XXXVII 61; HULD 150; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 40, *Linguistica* XXIV 437; HAARMANN 145 (from Latin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346-347.

rob m, pl. *rob*, *robĕr* 'serf, prisoner'. Borrowed from Slav **orbъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). As far as attested South Slavic languages reflect *ra-* (Bulg *rab*, SCr *rah*), the Albanian word continues a form from an extinct dialect. ◇ SVANE 192, 241.

robtis aor. *robtisa* 'to make work hard, to enslave'. Borrowed from Slav **orbotiti* id., cf. *rob*.

rod m 'kin, family'. Borrowed from Slav **rodъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rod*, SCr *rod* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184). ◇ SVANE 186-187.

rogečë pl. 'masked participants of a carnival'. Based on an unattested singular **rogač* borrowed from Slav **rogačь* 'horned (creature)', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rogač*, SCr *rogač* (SVANE 214).

rogë f 'glade, clearing (especially, in the mountains)'. Borrowed from Slav **rogъ* 'horn', also used as a geographical term, cf. Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. ◇ JOKL *ZfOrt* X 188 (to OHG *riuti*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rruaj*).

rogoveckë f, pl. *rogoveca* 'acacia'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **rogovьčьka* 'horned (object)'.

rois aor. *roita* 'to swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Slav **rojiti* (*sg*) id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roja*, SCr *roiti se* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13; SVANE 241.

roj m, pl. *roje* 'swarm of bees'. Borrowed from Slav **rojъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roj*, SCr *roj*, cf. *rois* (SVANE 158, 241).

rojë f, pl. *rojë, roja* 'guard'. Derived from *ruaj*.

rojķë f, pl. *rojka* 'bee (in the swarm)'. Borrowed from Slav **rojьka* id., attested in South Slavic as a proper name: Bulg *Rojka*, SCr *Rojka*.

rok m 'term'. Borrowed from Slav **rokъ* 'time, term, year; fate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rok*, SCr *rok* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197.

rokëz f 'kind of children game, round dance'. Identical with *rrokëz* 'helix' derived from *rrokë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from NGk ῥόκα 'fork'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rrok*).

rokominë f 'shrunk old man'. An expressive formation in *roko-* < *rroko*, cf. *rrokë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from Ital *rocca del camino* 'flue'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derivative of *rrogomis* < *gorromis* 'to throw down').

ronitem refl. 'to fall, to crumble'. Borrowed from Slav **roniti* 'to drop, to let fall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *ron'a*, SCr *roniti* (attested in a different meaning - 'to pour'). ◇ SVANE 241.

rosë f, pl. *rosa* 'duck'. From PALb **anājā*, a cognate of Skt *ātī-* 'water bird', Gk *νῆσσα* 'duck' and other continuations of IE **(a)nətiā* (BARIĆ ARSt 80), contaminated with IE **er(ə)-* ~ **or(ə)-* 'bird'. Rum *raṭā* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◇ STIER KZ XI 148 (to Hung *ruca*, *réce* and Rum *raṭā*); MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 31 (from Slavic); CAMARDA II 167 (follows STIER); MEYER Wb. 368-369 (to *rik* 'duck' and forms adduced by STIER); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 55; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 244 (from SCr *raca* id.); POGHIRC Ist. limb. rom. II 347 (both Albanian and Rumanian words going back to a substratum reflex of IE **reudh-so-*); MANN Language XXVI 381; POKORNY I 41; FRISK II 317-318; MAYRHOFFER I 72-73; OREL RRL XXX/2 106-107 (PALb **arājā* influenced by the Indo-European word for 'duck').

rotar m 'servant'. A secondary phonetic variant of *rrogëtar*, derivative of *rrogë* (ÇABEJ St. II 82). ◇ MEYER Wb. 369 (borrowed from a South Slavic continuant of Slav **ortarь* 'plowman', SCr *ratar*); SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 178, 326 (follows MEYER); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* I 55 (the same); JOKL Slavia XIII 307-308 (agrees with MEYER).

rozë aor. *roza* 'knot (in wood)'. Borrowed from NGk *ρόζος* id. (MEYER Wb. 369). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to *rrënjë*).

rozgë f, pl. *rozga* 'kind of thistle'. Another variant is *rrozgë*. Borrowed from Slav **rozga* 'twig, branch', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rozga*, SCr *rozga* (JOKL LKUBA 220-221). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 189; ÇABEJ St. II 101-102; SVANE 124.

ruaj ~ ruej aor. *ruajta ~ rova* 'to guard, to keep, to observe'. From PALb **rāgnja* etymologically connected with ON *rōkja* 'to take care of', Gk *ῥῥῖγω* 'to assist, to defend'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 369 (borrowed from Slav **xorniti* 'to keep'); WIEDEMANN BB XXVII 210 (to *vě re* 'to make clear'); JOKL Studien 75-76 (to Gk *ὁράω* 'to see', OHG *wara* 'attention' and the like); BARIĆ ARSt I 88 (follows JOKL); FRISK I 137; POKORNY I 855; ÇABEJ St. II 82-83 (follows JOKL and BARIĆ); DEMIRAJ AE 347 (follows WIEDEMANN).

ruazě ~ ruezě f, pl. *ruaza ~ ruezā* 'glass bead; glass ball (used as an amulet)'. There are also variants in *rr-*. Deverbative of *ruaj ~ ruej* (CAMARDA II 167; JOKL *StFil* I/3 9-11). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 370 (from **prllazě*, to Ital *perla* 'pearl'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 225.

rubě f, pl. *ruba* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav **rqbъ* 'seam, border', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *ръб*, SCr *rub* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 371). Semantically closer is Slovene *rob* 'cloth, shirt'.

rudě adj. 'short and soft (of wool)'. Borrowed from Slav **ruda* 'thick wool', cf. South Slavic: Bulg *ruda*, SCr *ruda* (MEYER *Wb.* 370).

rudině f, pl. *rudina* 'alpine pasture'. Borrowed from South Slavic **rudina* id., cf. Bulg *rudina*, SCr *rudina*.

rufkě adj. 'soft-boiled (of egg)'. Another form is *rufě*. Derived from *rufis* 'to sip', a Modern Greek loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 370).

rugjě adj. 'closely cropped'. Singularized form of the original **rugě*. Another variant, with the unvoiced anlaut, is *rukě* 'without shell (of nuts), waste, devastated'. From PALb **ruga* connected with Lith *rūgti* 'to become sour' < IE **reu-g-* 'to tear, to pull'; the latter is derived from **reu-*. ◇ FRAENKEL 746; POKORNY I 868-869; JĚGERS KZ LXXX 141-142; ÇABEJ *St.* II 83 (from *rruaj*).

runě f 'air-hole of a chimney'. Analogical transformation of *nděr uně* 'between bricks' > *ndě runě* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 84).

rungajě f, pl. *rungaja* 'avalanche; river-bed'. Other variants are *rrungajě*, *rrunga* and *runga*. Continues PALb **wrunga* connected with Lith *runguoti* 'to wind, to bend', a secondary ablaut formation based on *zeŋgtis* 'to be bent' < IE **yreg-*. ◇ FRAENKEL 719, 749; POKORNY I 1154.

rungoj aor. *rungova* 'to weed'. Borrowed from Lat *runcāre* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 371 (from Ital *roncare* id.).

rure f 'agonizing doubts'. Derived from *ruaj*.

rus adj. 'red-haired, blond'. Borrowed from Slav **rustъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rus*, SCr *rus* (MEYER *Wb.* 371). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 196 (follows MEYER); CAPIDAN *Dacoromania* IV 850 (from Arum *arus*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (from NGk ῥούσος 'red-haired').

ryej aor. *reva* 'to suffer'. There are also dialectal forms in *rr-*. From the contracted PALb **raudinja* related to Skt *róḍiti* 'to weep, to roar', Lat *rūdō* 'to shout, to cry', Lith *raudà* 'weeping', Slav **rydati* 'to weep'. ◇ FRAENKEL 704; MAYRHOFER III 77; VASMER III 526-527; POKORNY I 867; ÇABEJ *St.* II 79 (reconstructs **uren-*).

ryj aor. *ryjta* 'to enter'. A prefixal form continuing **rě-hyj*, cf. *hyj* (BARIĆ *ARSt* I 17). ◇ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk ἐρευνᾶω 'to seek, to explore'); MANN *HAED* 431; ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (to Lat *ruō* 'to rush' and the like).

rys aor. *ryta* 'to practice, to exercise'. Continues PALb **rūtja* related to Lat *ruō* 'to rush down, to fall down', Slav **ryti* 'to dig', Lith *ráuti* 'to tear, to pull' and the like. ◇ XHUVANI *KLeTr* I/6 11 (to *rusem*); VASMER III 531; FRAENKEL 708-709; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; POKORNY I 868; ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (to *ryej* ~ *riej*).

ryzē f, pl. *ryza* 'rue'. Derivative in *-zē* of an unattested **rytē* borrowed from Lat *rūta* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 84-85).

Rr

rra f, pl. *rra* 'belly-worm'. From PALb **wragā* related to OIr *frige* 'vermin, flesh-worm' < **urg-* (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 372 (from Lat *crīnālis* 'related to hair'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); WEIGAND *BA* III 217 (from Lat *rēnēs* 'kidneys'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (to Lat *vergō* 'to bend, to turn'); POKORNY I 1152; ÇABEJ *St.* II 89-90 (to Lat *corrigia* 'shoe-lace' and its cognates).

rrabe f, pl. *rrabe* 'rocky desert (with bushes)'. From PALb **rauba* related to Goth *raupjan* 'to rip'. ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 395; POKORNY I 869.

rrafēs m, pl. *rrafēs* 'churn-staff'. Deverbative of *rrah* ~ *rraf*.

rrafsh m, pl. *rrafshe* 'plane, flat surface'. Analogically restored from

rrafshoj 'to flatten', a verb in *-ëshoj* based on a borrowing from Slav **orvъnъ* 'even', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *raven*, SCr *ravan* (MEYER Wb. 360). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 175-177 (from Slav **orves-*, an *s*-stem of the same root); SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 187; ÇABEJ *St.* II 85; SVANE 167.

rrag m 'apron'. Continues PALb **srauga* related to the isolated Lith *srúoga* 'skein, hank; tuft, hairlock', *srauga* id. ◇ FRAENKEL 890.

rragatem refl. 'to quarrel'. Borrowed from Slav **rōgati se* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rъgaja*, SCr *rugati se*. ◇ SVANE 258.

rrah m, pl. *rrahe* 'grubbed out land'. Deverbative of *rrah* 'to beat' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 86). ◇ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk *πάχης* 'lower part of the back'); MEYER Wb. 360 (*rah* 'hill' from NGk *πάχης* 'mountain ridge'); BARIĆ ARSt 88 (from **uroiġ-*, as in Arm *ergicanem* 'to tear').

rrah aor. *rraha* 'to beat, to strike'. From PALb **wragska* etymologically connected with Gk *πάσσω* id. reflecting IE **urāgh-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 86). ◇ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk *ρήγνυμι* 'to tear up'); MEYER Wb. 371-372 (comparison with Slav **raziti* 'to strike' which may be true if Slav **r-* goes back to IE **ur-*; then, **raziti* is close to Gk *πάσσω*), Alb. *St.* III 73; JOKL *LKUBA* 49 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ ARSt. I 88; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 161; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK II 643-644; CHANTRAINE 829; POKORNY I 1181-1182; HULD 150; KÖDDERTZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; DEMIRAJ AE 348.

rrajë f, pl. *rraja* 'path tread in the snow'. Derived from *rrah*.

rrallë adj. 'scanty, scarce, rare'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sonorants, from Lat *rārus* 'rare' or directly from its variant *rāllus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk *ράδιος* 'easy, ready'); MEYER Wb. 372 (from Lat *rāllus* 'clean cut'), Alb. *St.* III 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 539; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 87; HAARMANN 145.

rrangulla pl. 'rubbish, lumber'. A suffixal derivative of PALb **ranka* 'gathering(s)' etymologically connected with Lith *rankà* 'hand', Latv *rūoka* id., Slav **rōka* id. - all of them deverbatives based on the verb

'to gather' reflected in Lith *renkù, riñkti*. ◇ FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515.

rranicě f, pl. *rranica* 'big piece of bread'. Derived from *rraně* 'grain, bread'. The latter is borrowed from Slav **xorna* 'food, grain', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *xrana, xranica* SCr *hrana* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240-241).

rrap m, pl. *rrapa, rrepe* 'platan'. From PALb **rapa*, a denominative derived from *rjep*, probably as a calque of Gk *πλάτανος* id. ◇ TOMASCHEK ZÖG XXIV 529 (to OCS *rěpina* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 372 (follows TOMASCHEK), *Alb. St.* III 73; WEIGAND 74 (borrowed from Slavic); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164 (borrowed from Slav **grabъ* 'hornbeam'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 309-310 (etymologically connected with Slav **repъjъ* 'burdock', ON *ráfr* 'roof on rafters' < IE **rēp-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 87 (follows JOKL).

rrapamě f, pl. *rrapama* 'crash, din'. Another variant is *rropamě*. Derived from Slav **xrapъ* 'noise, wheeze', cf. *rrapatem*.

rrapashyt adj. 'thick set, stumpy'. An expressive derivative of *shyt*.

rrapatem refl. 'to strain oneself, to get tired'. Borrowed from Slav **xrapati* 'to bite, to tear, to wheeze', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *xrapam*, dial. *rapam*, SCr *hrapati*, dial. *rapati*.

rrapělloj aor. *rrapěllova* 'to make noise'. A parallel form is *rraptoj* id. Related to *rrapamě*.

rraqe pl. 'rubbish, lumber; house objects'. From PALb **raka* connected with Lith *ràkti* 'to hollow out, to pick', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 361 (from Bulg *rakla* 'box, chest'), 372 (from NGk *ράκιον*); FRAENKEL 694; POKORNY I 335.

rras aor. *rrasa* 'to squeeze, to press together'. From PALb **wragtja* related to *rrah* (MEYER *Wb.* 372, with a different etymology of *rrah*). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 76; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

rrasě f, pl. *rrasa* 'stone plate'. Derived from *rras* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP*

III 158-161). ◇ MEYER Wb. 66 (to *dërrasë*): MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; ÇABEJ *St.* II 87-88.

rraskë f, pl. *rraska* 'rennet'. Derived from Geg *rrâ* id., cf. *rrënd*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200.

rrasoll m, pl. *rrasoj* 'pickles'. Another variant is *rasoj*, a singularized plural form. Borrowed from Slav **orzsolъ* 'pickles; brine', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *razsol*, SCr *raso* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER Wb. 361). ◇ SVANE 107.

rrasht m, pl. *rreshtna* 'bone, skull, skeleton, shell'. A parallel form is *rreshhtë* representing a singularized plural (ÇABEJ *LP* VII 184). From PALb **wragšta*, derivative in *-šta* from the verbal stem preserved in *rrah* 'to beat, to strike' (OREL *IF* XCIII 115). For the semantic motivation in this case cf. Gmc **bainan* 'bone' ~ IE **bhei-* 'to beat, to strike', Lith *kaúlas* 'bone' ~ *kaúti* 'to beat'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 372-373 (from Lat *arista* 'awn, beard, wheat-ear, fishbone'; derives *rrasht* 'shell' separately as a continuation of Lat *rastus* 'plate'); KRISTOFORIDHI 354; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 139; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 101 (prefix *rr-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 88 (prefix *rr-* + *asht* bone'), IV 85-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82 (same as CAMAJ and ÇABEJ).

rrathë f 'kind of fishing-basket'. Connected with *rreth*.

rrazbitem refl. 'to weaken'. Note a secondary variant *rrobitem* influenced by *rrob*. Borrowed from Slav **orzbiti* 'to defeat, to break', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *razbija*, SCr *razbiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER Wb. 362). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; SVANE 253.

rrebe f, pl. *rrebe* 'mood, caprice'. Another variant is *rebë*. From PALb **raibā* etymologically connected with Lith *rāibas* 'multicolored, variegated', Latv *rāibs* id. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 686-687; POKORNY I 859.

rrebesh m, pl. *rrebeshe* 'shower'. Related to *rribë*.

rrebull m 'thrush (illness)'. From **raiba* 'multicolored' attested in *rrebe*.

rreckë f, pl. *rrecka* 'cloth, rag'. Borrowed from deminutive Slav

**rešzka* 'fringe', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reska*, SCr *reska*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from SCr *resa* 'fringe'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253.

rrege f, pl. *rrege* 'fallow land'. Continues PALb **wragā* related to Gk ῥαγή 'split, cleft', ῥήγνυμι 'to break, to split' and its cognates. ◇ FRISK II 637, 652-653; POKORNY I 1181-1182.

rregull m 'order'. Related to *rregull* 'rule'.

rregull f, pl. *regulla* 'rule, norm'. Borrowed from Lat *rēgula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Ital *regola* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

rrej ~ **rrêj** aor. *ërreja* 'to deceive'. From PALb **arn-enja* further related to Gk ἀρνέομαι 'to lie' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542 n. 2). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88 (*rrem* 'lie', a derivative of *rrej*, to Lat *verbum* 'word'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to OE *wrǣne*); FRISK I 145-146; POKORNY I 62; ÇABEJ *St.* II 90-91 (derived from *re* 'cloud'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 348-349 (from a Romance source related to Lat *errōneus* 'erring').

rrek aor. *rreka* 'to strain, to bother'. Continues PALb **raika* related with Lith *reikà* 'need, necessity', *reĩkti* 'to be necessary' further explained in connection with Lith *riėkti* 'to cut, to plow the fallow land'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Goth *wrohjan*); FRAENKEL 714.

rrem m, pl. *rrema* 'oar'. Borrowed from Lat *rēmus* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from Ital *remo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 74 (from Gk ῥεῦμα).

rrem adj. 'false'. Derived from *rrej*. ◇ CAMARDA I 83 (to Lat *error* 'mistake'); MEYER *Wb.* 373-374; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 88-89 (to Gk ἀρνέομαι 'to lie'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200.

rremb ~ **rrem** m, pl. *rremba* ~ *rrema* 'branch'. Other variants are *rrem* and *rrëmb*. Borrowed from Lat *rāmus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 45, *Wb.* 364-365) with a secondary *-mb* < *-m*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *LKUBA* 18-19, 276; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235-236; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 91; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 97.

rrep m, pl. *rrepa* 'turnip'. Other variants are *rrap* and *r(r)epë*. Borrowed from Lat *rāpum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (*rrap* from Ital *rapa* id. while *rrep* - from Slav **rěpa* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162 (from Slavic); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; LANDI *Lat.* 45; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ *AE* (borrowed from Gk *ράπυς*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 349-350 (borrowed from or related to Gk *ράπυς*).

rreptë adj. 'strong, inexorable'. Derived from *rrjep*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from Turk *rehb* 'fear'); KRISTOFORIDHI 358 (from Lat *rapidus* 'fast'); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 86, VII 184.

rreshk aor. *rreshka* 'to roast'. Borrowed from WGmc **raustjan* id., cf. OHG *rōsten*. Note a derivative *rreshk* 'smell (of food), appetite'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 88 (to Latv *su-vergt*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-kë*).

rreshktaq adj. 'wrinkled (of an elderly person)'. Derived from *rreshk*. Cf. also *rreshkët* 'dried, roasted'.

rretër ~ rretën f, pl. *rretra ~ rretna* 'long leather rope, twisted leather lace'. Another variant is *retër ~ retën*. Borrowed from Rom **retina* 'bridle' attested in Fr *rêne* id. (JOKL *RIEB* II 56-59). ◇ CAMARDA II 142; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 91; JANSON *Unt.* 58; HAARMANN 146.

rreth m, pl. *rrathë* 'hoop, rim (of wheel); circle'. Deminutive in *-th* of an unattested **rat* 'wheel', cf. Skt *rātha-* 'wagon', Lat *rota* 'wheel', OIr *roth*, OHG *rad* and the like (CAMARDA I 323). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Wb.* 372 (to OHG *chreiz* 'circle'), *Alb. St.* III 8, 28; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (agrees with BARIĆ); MAYRHOFER III 38-39; WALDE-HOFMANN II 443-444; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 2; VENDRYES [R] 45-46; POKORNY I 866; HULD 116 (from **uroikos*, cf. Gk *ροικός* 'curved, bent'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 91-93 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology and comments on the umlaut in sg.).

rrevë f 'lot'. Borrowed from Lat *rēbus*, dat.-abl. pl. of *rēs* 'thing, circumstance'.

rreze f, pl. *rreze* 'ray, spoke'. Another variant is *rrezë*. Singularized plural of **rraz* borrowed from Lat *radius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to Lat *rādix* 'root'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Rom pl. **radia*), Alb. *St.* IV 14; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1049, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 93; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 85, 97.

rrezg m 'culmination, acme, prime'. Another derivational variant is *rrezm* id. Suffixal derivative of *rreze*.

rrezgull f, pl. *rrezgulla* 'disc, circle'. Derived from *rrezg*.

rrezhde f, pl. *rrezhde* 'unripe mulberry'. Reflects an unattested Bulgarian reflex of Slav **rēdja* fem. 'thin, sparse'.

rrëcok m 'bird's stomach'. Phonetic variant of *rraskë*.

rrëfanë f, pl. 'handle'. Derived from *rrëfej* in its unattested meaning *'to carry (away)' continuing the same meaning of Lat *referre*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234 (to *rruvâ* with a secondary -f-).

rrëfangull f, pl. *rrëfangulla* 'buttonhole'. Derived from *rrëfanë* 'handle'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237 (variant of *vrangull*).

rrëfatem refl. 'to fork, to bifurcate'. Metathesis of **furkatem*, see *furkë*.

rrëfej aor. *rrëfeva* 'to tell, to show'. Borrowed from Lat *referre* 'to tell, to inform' (CAMARDA I 119; MEYER *Wb.* 373). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 93-94 (prefix *rrë-* added to -*fej* borrowed from MGk φαίνω 'to show, to make appear').

rrëfeshk m, pl. *rrëfeshk* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from *rrufe* (JOKL *LKUBA* 221-222). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 94 (derived from *ferr*: **rrë-ferr-shk*).

rrëgallë f, pl. *rrëgalla* 'pebbly site; deep and narrow ravine'. An early Slavic loanword, from **rogalb* 'corner', see *ragal*. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15, *ZONF* X 197 (to *ragal*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 94-95.

cluster. ◇ CAMARDA I 116 (to Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle'); MEYER *Wb.* 373 (borrowed from Rom **rōdiculāre*, derivative of Lat *rōdere* 'to bite'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 95-96 (from *regj*); HAARMANN 146.

rrëkajë adv. 'in torrents, in a stream'. Borrowed from Slav instr. sg. **rěkojō* '(in a) river'.

rrëke f, pl. *rrëke* 'stream (of rain), mountain brook'. Singularized plural of **rekë*. Borrowed from Slav **rěka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 323). ◇ SVANE 172; MURATI *Probleme* 97-99 (derived from *rrjedh*).

rrëkëllej aor. *rrëkëlleva* 'to roll'. A prefixal derivative of *këllehem* 'to seethe, to boil up'.

rrëkuall m 'thistle'. A prefixal derivative in *rrë-* < *për-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 244 n. 1) of *kalli*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *cardoscolimo* 'kind of wild artichoke'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 54; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; DEMIRAJ *AE* 350.

rrëmaç adj. 'lefthanded'. Derived from *rrem*.

rrëmbej aor. *rrëmbeva* 'to rob, to seize'. Borrowed from Lat *rumpere* 'to tear, to tear away'. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ῥέμβομαι 'to roam'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (from Ital *rubare* 'to steal'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051.

rrëmejtë adj. 'steep'. A prefixal derivative of *majë*.

rrëmeta pl. 'bast shoes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slavic **remeta* 'belts, laces', plural form of **remę* - an analogical formation derived from Slav **remy*, **remene* 'belt, lace'.

rrëmih aor. *rrëmiha* 'to dig up'. Another variant is *rrëmoj*. Borrowed from Lat *rīmāre* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146). ◇ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk ῥυμός 'pole of a chariot; trace').

rrëmiqe f, pl. *rrëmiqe* 'precipice'. Phonetic variant of *rrëmejtë*.

rrëmujë f 'disorder, confusion; booty'. Continues PALb **raimuljā* related

Lat *ērādīcā*

rrə̃qethem 305 'to feel feverish, to shiver'. A prefixal derivative of

rrězě f, pl. *rrěza* 'foot (of a mountain or a tree)'. From PALb **wradjā* etymologically connected with *rrěnjě*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210.

rrězoj aor. *rrězova* 'to throw down, to pull down'. Based on *rrězě*. ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (derived from *rreze*).

rrī aor. *ndenja*, *ndeĵta* 'to sit, to stand, to stay, to remain'. The suppletive aorist belongs to the paradigm of *ndeĵ*. The form of present goes back to PALb **rina* etymologically close to Skt *ṛnóti* 'to arise, to move', Gk ῥνυμαι 'to move up' and related forms. ◇ CAMARDA I 45 (to Gk ἐρύκω 'to keep in, to curb'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (to IE **klei-* 'to lean, to bend' with impossible phonetic changes), *Alb. St.* IV 59 (evaluates his earlier etymology as ambiguous); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 170-171 (to Lat *nīdus* 'nest'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545 (rejects MEYER's etymology); JOKL *Studien* 76-77 (to Gmc **rōwō* 'quiet', Gk ἐρωή id.), *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 80 (from IE **nizdō*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 238; FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; POKORNY I 326-332; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 109 (to IE **reidh-* 'to ride').

rrībē f 'gale, wind, waterfall, torrent'. From PALb **wribā*, a zero-grade formation connected with IE **uerb(h)-* 'to turn, to bend' and, as far as the derivational structure is concerned, identical with Slav **vŕba* 'pussy-willow', Lith *virbas* 'rod, birch-rod, twig' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434, *TBK* 195). For the semantic development of *rrībē* cf. E *wind* ~ *to wind*. ◇ FRAENKEL 1259; POKORNY I 1153; VASMER I 293.

rrikē f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Rom **rādica*, cf. Lat *rādix* 'root' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 365-366). A parallel form *rrilkē* reflects Rom **rādicula*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32 (from Slavic); CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk ῥάπυς 'turnip'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 243; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 238; SVANE 145.

rrime f, pl. *rrime* 'rainworm'. Singularized plural of PALb **wrima* continuing IE **urmi-* ~ **urmo-* 'worm': Lat *vermis* id., Goth *waúrms* 'worm, snake', Lith *varmas* 'insect' (OREL *IF* XCIII 116). ◇ FRAENKEL 1201; FEIST *Goth.* 555-556; WALDE-HOFMANN II 760; POKORNY I 1152.

rripē f, pl. *rripa* 'precipice, stone wall'. Borrowed from Lat *rīpa* 'bank, coast' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 367). ◇ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

rriqër ~ rriqën f, pl. *rriqëra ~ rriqna* 'tick'. Borrowed from Lat *ricinus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* III 74). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 146.

rris aor. *rrita* 'to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow'. Goes back to **writja* etymologically connected with IE **uert-* 'to turn': Skt *vartate*, Lat *vertō*. Goth *wairþan* 'to become' and the like. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *ṛdhnōti* 'to grow'); CAMARDA I 52 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 29; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88 (from **urdhō*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 29 (to Lat *orior*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 239; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Lith *rýtas*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-765; POKORNY I 1156-1157; HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (same as SCHMIDT, to IE **er-* ~ **or-* 'to start moving, to stir'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-432 (follows SCHMIDT and HAMP); DEMIRAJ *AE* 351-352 (reconstructs a prefix **n-*).

rrisgë f, pl. *rrisga* 'stone splinter'. Somehow connected with *rrasë*.

rriskë f, pl. *rriska* 'disc, circle'. A suffixal derivative of *rreth*.

rrizhgoj aor. *rrizhgova* 'to creep up (of plants)'. Goes back to **rrishgoj* borrowed from Lat *resurgere* 'to rise (again)'.

rrjedh aor. *rrodha* 'to flow'. From PALb **redza* etymologically related to Lat *rigāre* 'to wet, to moisten', ON *raki* 'wetness' (PISANI *Saggi* 130). ◇ CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk *ῥέω* 'to flow'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (to Goth *rign* 'rain' in which, however, -g- continues IE **-k-*), *IF* V 195, *Alb. St.* III 18, 73; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (compares *rrjedh* with Skt *vrājati* 'to stride, to go'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 435; POKORNY I 857; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 51 (to *erdha*, see *vij*); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448 (follows MANN); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201; HULD 110 (agrees with MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 352-353 (to a poorly attested IE **sr-edh-*).

rrjesht m, pl. *rrjeshta* 'row'. Another variant is *rresht*. Borrowed from Lat *regestum* 'list' (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* IV 19). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVI

147 (from Lat *restis* 'rope'); BERNARD *LB* IX/2 86 (from Turk *rişte* 'thread'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 99-100 (follows JOKL); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 145-146.

rrjetë f, pl. 'net'. Another variant is *rret*. Borrowed from Lat *rēte* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 364). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 86.

rroboj aor. *rrobova* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc **raubōjan* 'to rob, to plunder': OS *rōbōn*, OHG *roubōn*, Goth *biraubon*. ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 94.

rrobull m, pl. *rrobuj* 'mountain pine'. Borrowed from Lat *rōbur* 'oak' with a dissimilation of sonorants (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 100). ◇ HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

rrodhe f, pl. *rrodhe* 'burdock'. Singularized form of **rodhē* borrowed from Gk *ῥόδον* 'rose'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 367 (from Rom **cardella*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 92 (related to Lith *rėzgis* 'basket'); JOKL *LKUBA* 219-226 (to *rruaj*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 100-101 (supports JOKL).

rrogë f, pl. *rroga* 'alpine meadow'. Borrowed from Slav **rogъ* 'horn' also denoting 'spur of a mountain' as in Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251, 279 (from *rruaj*).

rrogoz m, pl. *rrogoza* 'reed mat'. Borrowed from Slav **rogozъ* 'reed', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *rogoz* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 216; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 323; SVANE 115.

rroj aor. *rrova*, *rrojta* 'to live, to stay'. Continues PALb **rānja* identical with Lith *rōju*, *rōti* 'to cope, to be ready' further connected with *rīeti* 'to stack (wood)' and derived from IE **rēi-*. ◇ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk *ῥώομαι* 'to move strongly, to dance'); MEYER *Wb.* 375 (to Lat *regere* 'to direct'); MANN *Language* XVII 12 (from Rom **remanāre* 'to remain'); FRAENKEL 743-744; POKORNY I 859; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198, 266.

rrojbě f 'carthamus'. Another variant is *rrolbě* with a secondary *-l-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 101). Borrowed from Rum *roibă* 'madder' < Lat *rubia* id. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EW* 132; ÇABEJ *St.* II 101 (from Lat *rubia*); LANDI *Lat.* 66, 97.

rrok adj. 'raw'. Derivative originally meaning 'something snatched off', based on the verb *rrok*.

rrok aor. *rroka* 'to seize, to snatch, to touch'. Borrowed from Gmc **rukkjan* 'to move, to remove, to stir, to snatch, to pull, to push': OE *roccian*, OHG *rucchan*, ON *rykkja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 39 (to Gk ῥήγνυμι 'to tear'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 89 (to Gk εὐρίσκω 'to break asunder, to rend'); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 262.

rrokë f, pl. *rrokë* 'spiral'. Borrowed from Rom **rucca* ~ **rocca* 'distaff': Ital *rocca*, Sp *rueca*.

rrokoll adv. 'bad, chaotic'. Derived from *rrok* 'to seize'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

rrokopujë adv. 'bad, evil'. A compound of *rrokë* and *-pujë*, derived from *punë*.

rrokotele pl. 'rubbish'. An expressive formation based on *rrok* 'to seize'.

rrol m, pl. *rrola* 'old and unused ox'. From **rrozgël*, diminutive of *rrozg*.

rropak m, pl. *rropakë* 'annex'. Borrowed from South Slavic **ropakъ*, cf. Bulg *ropa* 'pit, quarry'.

rropulli pl. 'intestines, guts; fruit'. An emphatic prefixal formation based on *pullë*.

rroshponjë f, pl. *rroshponja* 'cave in a river-bank hollowed out by water'. A univerbation of Lat *rōsu(m) pōne* 'hollowed out behind (the river)' ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 244 n. 1 (derived in *rro-* < *rrë-* from *shpoj*).

rrotë f, pl. *rrota* 'wheel'. Borrowed from Lat *rota* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 714; MEYER *Wb.* 375, *Alb. St.* III 74). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr.*

Grundriß ² I 1045, 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

rrotull f, pl. *rrotulla* 'disc, circle'. Another variant is *rrokull*. Borrowed from Lat *rotula* 'little wheel'. The verb *rrotulloy* 'to turn' is derived from *rrotull*. ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to *rreth*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

rrozg m, pl. *rrozga* 'old and unused ox'. Borrowed from Slav **rožьka* 'horned animal, horn', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rožka*, *rožko*.

rrshim m 'shower'. From **rrebeshim*, derivative of *rrebesh*.

rrua ~ **rrue** m 'stream'. Back formation based on *përrua*.

rruaj ~ **rruej** aor. *rruajta*, *rrova* 'to shave'. From PALb **wrāgnja* related to Gk ῥήγνμι 'to break, to tear'. ◊ CAMARDA I 51 (to Gk ῥέπω 'to pull, to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 375 (from Lat *rādere* 'to scrape'), *Alb. St.* III 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; WEIGAND 76 (contamination of Lat *rādere* and *rōdere* 'to bite'); JOKL *LKUBA* 223-224 (related to *rādere*); FRISK II 652-653; POKORNY I 1181; ÇABEJ *St.* II 102 (agrees with JOKL).

rrudhë f, pl. *rrudha* 'wrinkle'. Continues PALb **rudzā* etymologically connected with Lat *rūga* id. (CAMARDA I 74). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 90-91 (to Skt *várjati* 'to turn, to tear'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 448-449; POKORNY I 870.

rrufe f, pl. *rrufe* 'lightning'. Borrowed from Lat *romphaea* 'long sword', adaptation of Gk ῥομφαία id., with a semantic development similar to that of Ital *saetta* 'arrow, dart' and 'thunderbolt' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 62-63 (on Bulg *rofeja*, *ruf'a*).

rrugë f, pl. *rrugë* 'street'. Borrowed from Rom **rūga* id. continuing Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1050; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198, 217; HULD 110; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 97.

rrum m 'clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns'. Another variant is *rrome*.

From PALb **wrubna* identical with Gk ῥάμνος 'thorny bush', further connected with Lith *viřbas* 'branch, shoot'. ◇ POKORNY I 1153.

rrumbull adj. 'rolled into a ball'. Borrowed from Rom **rombulus* based on Lat *rhombus* 'magic whirligig or wheel', cf. Ital dial. *rummulu*, *rumbulu* (MEYER Wb. 370). ◇ CAMARDA II 151 (to Gk ῥόμβος 'magic wheel'); LANDI *Lat.* 61.

rrunë f, pl. *rruna* 'lamb'. Borrowed from Slav **runo* 'fleece', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *runo*, SCr *runo*. Note a parallel form *runs* continuing Slav **runьсь*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 371 (*runs* from **runt-ēs*).

rrush m, pl. *rrush* 'grape'. From PALb **rāguša* related to Gk ῥάξ id. (CAMARDA I 87). The feminine form **rāgušā* is reflected in the name of Illyr *Ragusa* ~ *Ragusium* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 102-103). The form of the latter Ῥαούσα in Const. Porphyrogen. *De adm.* reflects the early Albanian loss of the intervocalic voiced stop before the contraction of vowels (KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk.* 5 19). ◇ MEYER Alb. *St.* I 41 (to Pers *raz* 'grape'), Wb. 371 (to Slav **grozdь* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (to Lith *rausiù* 'to dig'); FRISK II 642.

rrushkull m, pl. *rrushkuj* 'kind of thorny plant'. Borrowed from Rom **rūsculus*, derivative of Lat *rūscus* 'butcher's-broom' (MEYER Wb. 371). ◇ CAMAJ Alb. *Worthb.* 118 (derivative in *-ull*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

(G) **rruvâ** m, pl. *rruvanj* 'vine without grapes'. Another variant is *rrufâ*. Somehow related to *rrush*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 103 (to *rrëfanë*).

rruvi f, pl. *rruvi* 'line'. Metathesis of *vërri* 'little furrow' (KRISTOFORIDHI 22), derivative of *vë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 376 (from Rom **rubēscula* based on Lat *ruber* 'red'); KRISTOFORIDHI 364 (to *vijë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 103 (*vërri* - to *varrë*), IV 86.

rruzull m 'sphere, globe (of earth)'. Derived from *rruzë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 103-104).

rryell m, pl. *rryej* 'euphorbia'. Borrowed - with a dissimilation of sonorants - from Balkan Rom **āliōlum* > Rum *aliol*, *alior* id. (PEDERSEN

KZ XXXIII 539). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 366 (from Rom **aliellum*); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 6-7; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 118; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104 (against both MEYER and PEDERSEN).

rryeshěm adv. 'slow'. Derived from *ryej*.

rrylě ~ rrillě f, pl. *rryla ~ rrila* 'lentil'. Borrowed from Lat *ervilla* id., derivative of *ervum* (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123.

rrymě f, pl. *rryma* 'flow (of water)'. From PALb **srūmā* related to Gk ῥεῦμα 'stream', ON *straumr* id., Lith *sraumuō* 'fast stream' and other derivatives in *-men- of IE **sreu-* 'to flow' (MANN *Language* XXVI 385). ◇ FRISK II 650-651; FRAENKEL 887; POKORNY I 1003; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202, 277.

rryp ~ rrip m, pl. *rrypa ~ rripa* 'belt'. From PALb **wripa* with the further development similar to that of *krymb ~ krimb*. Related to Gk ῥάπτω 'to sew together, to stitch', Lith *veřpti* 'to spin' and the like (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37). ◇ HAHN 110 (to *rjep*); CAMARDA II 62 (follows HAHN); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (the same); FRAENKEL 1261; FRISK II 643; POKORNY I 1156; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104 (the same).

S

s' adv 'not'. Identical with *ç', çě* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 321, 341). ◇ BOPP 497 (identical with -s in *mos*); CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from Lat *dis-*); JOKL *AArbSt* I 37-38; TAGLIAVINI 242; PISANI *Saggi* 110, 154; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104-105 (follows PEDERSEN).

sa pron., adv. 'how'. From PALb **tšja* etymologically connected with *se*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from NGk σάν 'when, whenever' < ὥς ἄν); HAMP *Numerals* 836 (from **k^uǰ*).

sabje f, pl. *sabje* 'sword'. Other variants are *sablě, sahjě*. Borrowed from the South Slavic word for 'sword': Bulg *sah'a*, SCr *sablja* (MIK-LOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32), itself of questioned Hungarian origin (*szablya* id. derived from *szabni* 'to cut'). See MEYER *Wb.* 376.

sajě f, pl. *saja* 'sledge'. In dialects, an older form *sanjě* is preserved. Borrowed from Slav **sani* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sani*, SCr *sani* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◇ SVANE 35.

sajoj aor. *sajova* 'to devise, to think of'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sajıklı* 'clever, far-sighted').

sak m 'net'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *sak* id., SCr *sak* 'package of hay', themselves from Rum *sac* 'sack, fishing net' (MEYER *Wb.* 377). ◇ PUȘCARIU *EWB* 134.

sak adv. 'really, for sure'. An allegro form of *saktě* 'exact, precise' of Romance origin. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sahih* 'true, exact').

sakavicě f, pl. *sakavica* 'long hook for pulling down branches'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *sakavica* 'axe' < Slav **sĕkavica*.

sakě f, pl. *saka* 'axe'. Back formation based on *sakavicě*. As to *sakicě* 'small axe', it was formed in Albanian from *sakě*.

salikoj aor. *salikova* 'to carry out the ceremony of burial'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 105-106 (derived from *psaløj* 'to sing psalms', a Modern Greek loanword).

samem refl. 'to have had taste, to get spoiled'. Derived from *samě*.

samě r 'dog's excrements'. Continues PALb **tswa(n)-ma*, a derivative in *-*mo-* of the Indo-European word for 'dog', otherwise unattested in Albanian, cf. Skt *śvā*, Gk *κύων*, OIr *cú*, Lith *šuo* and the like (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantics cf. Slav **govъno* 'excrements', originally - 'cow's excrements' derived from IE **gʷou-* 'cow'. ◇ FRAENKEL 1033-1034; FRISK I 58-59; MAYRHOFER III 402-403; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7; VENDRYES [C] 257; POKORNY I 632-633.

samtě adj. 'insipid, unflavored, tasteless'. Based on **samě* borrowed from Slav **samъ* 'self', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sam*, SCr *sam*. The intermediate meaning must have been 'having a taste of itself' or similar.

sana pl. 'elves, spirits of mountains'. Borrowed from Slav **sanъ* 'snake, dragon': CS *san* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 378).

saně f 'hay'. Borrowed from Slav **sěno* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *s'ano*, SCr *sijeno* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 378). The development of Slav *-ě- > -a- is repeated in NGk σάνον id. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 108, *Slavia* XIII 639; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160, 295; TAGLIAVINI 243; SVANE 40.

sarkě f 'build, frame, figure (of human body)'. Continues PALb **tšerkā* derived from IE **k^{er}-* 'to make, to build': Skt *karōti*, Lith *kūrti* and the like. ◇ POKORNY I 641-642.

se pron. 'what', conj. 'that, than'. From PALb **tšjā* continuing pronominal IE **kⁱjā* (MEYER *Wb.* 383; LA PIANA *Studi* I 127). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316 (to **k^e-*); JOKL *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 243 (from **sā*); MANN *Language* XXVI 385, *Hist. Gr.* 122 (from **k^{em}*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 225; HULD 110-111 (agrees with MANN); ÇABEJ *St.* II 119; HULD 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 353-354.

sembër pl. 'two peasants using the same pair of oxen or having common cattle'. Another variant is *sëmbër*. Borrowed from Slav **sębrъ* 'neighbor, comrade, peasant', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *sebar* (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 286, 302, *Zb. Miletić* 121-122). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 106-107; SVANE 192.

send m, pl. *sende* 'thing'. From PALb **tsjam tam* < IE **kⁱjom tom*, a sequence of two pronouns in neuter of which the first is related to *se* (OREL *Fort.* 79-80). ◇ CAMARDA I 335 (to Skt *sant-* 'existing, being'); MEYER *Wb.* 381 (from Turkish); ASCOLI *Frammenti linguistici* 15 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 92 (the same); SPITZER *MRIW* I 322 (to Lat *genus* 'kin'); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE **es^{ntis}*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 107-108 (from *sen* with a phonetically developed -d; *sen* is then explained as accusative of *se*).

serě f 'tar'. Borrowed from Slav **sěra* 'sulphur', cf. Bulg *s'ara*, SCr *sera*, *sjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 381). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173.

serre f, pl. *serra* 'high steep rock'. Borrowed from Ital *serra* 'chain of mountains'.

setë f, pl. *seta* 'sieve'. Back formation of *sitë* taken for a plural in -i-. ◇ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk σῆθω 'to sift, to bolt').

sëmboj aor. *sëmbova* 'to ache, to be painful'. Connected with *dhëmb* (LAMBERTZ LP VII 88), this verb continues a prefixal form *c-dhëmboj. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 108 (phonetic variant of *cëmoj*).

sëmurë ~ sëmunë adj. 'ill, sick'. An analogical formation based on *sëmundë* 'illness' < *'inability', a univerbation of *së mund*, cf. *s'* and *mund* (HAHN 77, 116). ◇ CAMARDA I 101, 312 (same as HAHN); MEYER Wb. 291 (follows HAHN and CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI 245; ÇABEJ St. II 108 (semantic parallels in other Balkan languages: NGk ἀνημπορία, Arum *niputeare*).

sëpatë f, pl. *sëpata* 'axe'. Borrowed from the Bulgarian definite form in -ѣт -*sapѣт* 'axe-handle'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 382 (indirectly, from Rom **sappata*); VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. 55.

sfejکہ f, pl. *sfejka* 'beet'. Derived from Lat *felicem*, *filicem* 'fern, weed'.

sfurk m, pl. *sfurq*, *sfurqe* 'rake; scorpion'. A prefixal form based on **furکہ* borrowed from Lat *furca* 'rake, fork' (JOKL LKUBA 116).

sfytyrij aor. *sfytyriva* 'to snort'. A prefixal derivative based on *fytyrë*.

si adv. 'how, as'. From PALb **tsei* continuing pronominal IE **k^hei* (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 317). ◇ MEYER Wb. 383 (related to IE demonstrative **kⁱi-*), Alb. St. III 12; PEDERSEN Kelt. Gr. I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 243-244; HAMP IF LXVI 53 (equal to Lat *quei* > *qui* 'how'); MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (from **k^hi*), Hist. Gr. 201 (reconstructs **k^hiġ* identical with Lat *quia* 'why'); POKORNY I 646-647; ÇABEJ St. VII 240; HULD 111.

sikundër conj. 'as'. Another variant is *sindëkur*. Compound of *si*, *ndë* and *kur*. ◇ CAMARDA I 322 (to Lat *secundum* or Ital *secondo*); MEYER Wb. 384 (Ital *secondo* 'according to' influenced by *kundër*); ÇABEJ St. VII 272.

sillě f, pl. *sillě* 'breakfast'. Derivative of *sjell* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 109-110) used to denote delay, cf. *sillet* 'to be late'. Thus, 'breakfast' is treated as a meal delaying the beginning of day's work. ◇ PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 114 (from **k'ilā*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 59 (related to Gk ἔως 'dawn' and the like); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 41 (from IE **k'(e)lā* 'das Herbringen'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 35 (to OE *hvil* 'time, while' and its cognates).

sillě f, pl. *silla* 'power, force'. Borrowed from Slav **sila* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sila*, SCr *sila* (MEYER *Wb.* 384). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 303; SVANE 224.

(G) **simahuer** m 'accomplice'. Borrowed and morphologically adapted from MGk σύμμαχος 'comrade-in-arms' (JOKL *IF* XLIV 61-62). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 110.

simotër f, pl. *simotra* 'blood sister, colleague, fellow, partner'. Compound of *si* and *motër*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273 (neologism).

sipër adv. 'above', prep. 'over'. Recombination of *persipër* 'up there, above' < *për s'epër* where *s'epër* < *së epër* is the ablative of (i) *epër* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 110-111). ◇ BOPP 499 (combination of *si* and *për*); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26 (from Lat *super*); CAMARDA I 318-319 (to Lat *super* and its cognates); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65 (from Lat *super*); MEYER *Wb.* 385 (from pronominal *si-* and *-për*, found in *tepër*); PEDERSEN *Festskrift Thomsen* 250, KZ XXXVI 311 (*-për* compared with *prej*); THUMB *IF* XIV 358 n. 1 (borrowed from Lat *super*).

sisë f, pl. *sisa* 'breast, bosom, tit'. Borrowed from Slav **sisa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sisa*, SCr *sisa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33). ◇ CAMARDA I 78, 88 (compared with *cicë*, *thithë* id.); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; SVANE 182.

sitë f, pl. *sita* 'sieve'. Borrowed from Slav **sito* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sito*, SCr *sito* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 385-386). As to the verb *sit* 'to sift', it is borrowed from Slav **sějati* id. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 299; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; SVANE 72.

sitka pl. 'bran'. Borrowed from Slav **sitъka* id., diminutive of **sito*, cf. *sitě*.

sitkë f 'cane, rush'. Borrowed from Slav **sitъka* id., diminutive of **sita* id., cf. SCr *sita*. ◇ SVANE 113.

sivjet adv. 'this year'. From PALb **tsjei wetei*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE **k̑ei uetei* (BOPP 460; MEYER Wb. 383, Alb. St. III 12). See *sonte*. ◇ CAMARDA I 188; MEYER Gr. Gr. 298; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; CHANTRAINE 1116; HULD 112-113.

sivonë f 'delicate face'. Used by DE RADA. Unclear. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 111 (from *sinë*, accusative of *sy*, with an epenthetic -vo-, from an exclamatory *o*).

sjell aor. *solla* 'to bring'. Continues PALb **tšela* or **tšelna* related to IE **k̑el-*: Skt *cāraṭi* 'to move, to walk', Gk *πέλω* 'to come into existence, to become', Lat *colō* 'to cultivate, to till' (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 277). ◇ MEYER Wb. 386 (reconstructs IE **k̑el-*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; BARIĆ ARSt. I 66; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244 (follows PEDERSEN); JOKL LKUBA 229, *Die Sprache* IX 123; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, *Language* XXVIII 35; MAYRHOFER I 376; FRISK II 500-501; CHANTRAINE 878; WALDE-HOFMANN I 245-246; POKORNY I 639-640; ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 145, St. II 109-100; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 115; HULD 111 (semantic parallel to *sjell* in E *wind*); DEMIRAJ AE 354.

skallua ~ **skallue** m, pl. *skallonj* 'eye (of a plant), shoot of rice'. Derived from *kalli*.

skamur ~ **skamun** adj. 'poor, needy'. A univerbation of *s* 'kam.

skaj ~ **skâj** m, pl. *skanje* ~ *skâje* 'edge, border'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **kanj* < PALb **kanja* related to Slav **konъ* 'edge', Latv *atkan* 'again'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 174 (to *kënd*); JOKL LKUBA 116 (from Slav **konъ* 'edge'); SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 197, 326 (agrees with JOKL); VASMER III 51; ÇABEJ St. II 111 (together with *skanjo* 'chair' borrowed from Ital *scagno* id.); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* X 195-196; POKORNY I 564.

skërdehem refl. 'to get drunk'. A prefixal derivative of *deh*.

skërfyell m, pl. *skërfyej* 'larynx'. A prefixal derivative of *fyell*.

skëterrë f 'hell, darkness'. A prefixal derivative of *terr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 111).

sklepë f 'matter from the eyes, rheum'. Other variants are *skërlepë* and *skërloq*. A prefixal derivative of *glepë*.

skllupe f, pl. *skllupe* 'strong bough'. Borrowed from Slav **skorlupa* 'skin, bark' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *skralupa*.

skopit aor. *skopita* 'to castrate'. Borrowed from Slav **skopiti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *skop'a*, SCr *skopiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 387). ◇ SVANE 262.

skorratinë f 'snow storm'. Another variant is *sllotinë*. The form *skorratinë* was influenced by *skorrë*. Originally, derived from *skllotë*.

skorrë adj. 'exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav **skorъ* 'quick', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *skorъ*, Bulg adv. *skoro*, SCr adv. *skoro*.

skundill m, pl. *skundij* 'seam, edge'. Continues an earlier **skëndill*, a suffixal derivative of *skanj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Rom **cantile*); KRISTOFORIDHI 500 (from South Slav *skut* 'seam, fold', cf. *skutë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 111-112 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

skuq aor. *skuqa* 'to make red'. Derived from *kuq*.

sokëllas aor. *sokëllita* 'to shout, to cry'. A prefixal derivative of *këllas*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 389 (to SCr *sokoliti*).

sokol m, pl. *sokola* 'falcon'. Borrowed from Slav **sokolъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sokol*, SCr *soko* (STIER KZ XI 137; MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 389). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 198, 304; TAGLIAVINI 245; SVANE 148.

sonte adv. 'this night'. From PALb **tsjā(i) naktāi*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE **kjāi nok'ti-*, cf. Lith *šiānakt* id. and the like (BOPP 460). ◇ CAMARDA I 224; MEYER *Wb.* 298, *Alb. St.* III 12, *Gr. Gr.* 298; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 311 (reconstructs *so-* < **tjā*); JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, XXVIII 33; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; HULD 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

sorrë f, pl. *sorra* 'crow'. Continues PALb **tšārsnā* corresponding, with a different ablaut grade, to Skt *kṛṣṇā-* 'black, dark', OPrus *kirsnan* 'black', Slav **сѣрънъ* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 35). The anlaut affricate of Proto-Albanian is preserved in Rum *cioarā* 'crow'. ◇ STIER KZ XI 220 (on the connection with Rum *cioarā*); CAMARDA II 44 (of Slavic origin); MEYER *Wb.* 390 (to Slav **sorka* 'magpie'), *Alb. St.* III 39 (from IE **kūornā*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 337; JOKL *LKUBA* 93; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 74; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140; ERNOUT-MEILLET 143; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22 (to Lat *cornix* 'crow'); PISANI *Saggi* 130; MAYRHOFER I 264; POKORNY I 583; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; TRUBACEV *ĖSSJa* IV 155-157; TOPOROV *PJa* IV 3-7; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 110; HAMP *GJA* VI 43; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234, 254; HULD 145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; KORTLANDT KZ XCIV 249; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355.

Wb. 383), cf. *sonte*. From here, *sotmë* condary phonetic variant *sormë*. ◇ MEYER 296; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* 03 (*sormë* based on **sor* < **kjēi* + *HeiHri*, *AE* 283.

ased on **sot* borrowed from Slavic **сѣтъ* Slavic: Bulg *сѣт*, SCr *sat*. Note -o- ren- *IA Slav. zaim.* 12). ◇ SVANE 159.

close to Bulg *slog* 'boundary, limit, land measure'. ◇ SVANE 37.

smilat aor. *smilata* 'to flatter'. Borrowed from South Slavic **smil'ati* 'to cajole', cf. Bulg *smil'avam*.

sodit aor. *sodita* 'to observe'. Borrowed from Slav **soditi* 'to judge', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *сѣд'а*, SCr *suditi*. An early loanword with *-q- rendered as -o- (SVANE 227, 241). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

**lā diti-* (BOPP 513; MEYER 'modern' is derived, with its *Gr. Gr.* 298; JOKL *IF* XLIX XXVI 379; HULD KZ XCVIII to Av *ayarā* 'day'); DEMIRAJ

sotinë f 'empty honeycomb'. 'honeycomb', cf. in South dering Slavic -ъ- (DESNICK

sovajkë f, pl. *sovajka* 'shuttle'. Borrowed from South Slavic **sovadlŭka* id. attested in Bulg *sovalka* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12).

spërndrit aor. *spërndrita* 'to make shine'. A prefixal derivative of *ndrit*.

spicë f, pl. *spica* 'thorn, splinter'. Borrowed from Slav **stŕpica* 'peg, splinter', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *spica*, SCr *spica* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◇ SVANE 35.

spikth m, pl. *spiktha* 'woodpecker'. Identical with *pikth*.

spith m 'dropsy'. Derived from *pi*.

spreth m, pl. *sprethe* 'cornice, eaves'. Derivative based on PALb **praka* continuing IE **prǵ-ko-*: Lat *procerēs* 'protruding beams', Bret *a-raok* 'forward'. ◇ POKORNY I 815.

sqap m, pl. *sqep* 'he-goat'. See *cjap*.

sqaq aor. *sqaqa* 'to make weak'. Based on **qaq* continuing PALb **kekja* related to Lith *kėkos* 'swing', Latv *ķekuôt* 'to swing'. ◇ FRAENKEL 235.

sqep m, pl. *sqepa* 'beak'. Derived from *qep*.

sqeptore f, pl. *sqeptore* 'woodcock, snipe'. Derived from *sqep* as Ital *beccaccia* from *becco* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 112-113).

sjetull f, pl. *sjetulla* 'armpit'. A relatively late borrowing (with Lat *s-* rendered as *s-*) from Rom **scetula*, cf. Lat *scutula* 'shoulder-blade' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252). ◇ CAMARDA I 63 (from Lat *spatula* 'shoulder-blade'); MEYER *Wb.* 403 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244; HAMP *AJPhil* LXXV 186-189 (derives the dialectal variant *sjetull* from IE **k^hek^h-los*), *ZfBalk* XXXII/1 28-33 (to Lat *poples* 'back of the knee'), *StF* XXVI/1 81-83; HULD 111-112 (follows HAMP); MESSING *St. Whatmough* 173-178.

sqimë f, pl. *sqima* 'adornment, decoration'. Borrowed from MGk σχῆμα 'form, shape, figure' (CAMARDA I 69; MEYER *Wb.* 388). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 113.

sqitës m 'comb'. Nomen agentis in -ës of *sqis*, a dialectal Greek form of *shqis* (MEYER Wb. 228). ◇ MEYER Alb. St. V 101 (to *qij*); ÇABEJ St. II 113 (follows MEYER Wb.).

sqoj aor. *sqova* 'to wake up'. A prefixal derivative of *qoj*.

sqotë f, pl. *sqota* 'sleet'. Other variants are *shqotë* and *shkllotë*. The most archaic form is *shqotë* where the original Slavic **sl-* is substituted by **skl-*. The source is Slav **slota* id. (VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. I 56-57). ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 113-114.

squfur m 'sulphur'. Another, and more conservative, form is *shqufur*. Borrowed from Rom **slufurem* instead of Lat *sulphurem* as in Arum *sclifur* id. (MEYER Wb. 411, Alb. St. IV 54). Because of **sl-* > *shq-*, Slavic mediation cannot be excluded, cf. *sqotë*. In this case, the Arumanian form is also a Slavic or an Albanian loanword. ◇ VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. I 56; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 253; MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1046; HAARMANN 152; ÇABEJ St. II 114.

sqyt m, pl. *sqyta* 'shield'. Under the influence of *qytë*, transformed from **shqytë*. The latter was borrowed from Lat *scūtum* id. ◇ MEYER Wb. 388 (from Slav **ščitъ* id.); VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. 57.

stan m, pl. *stane* 'stall, herd'. Borrowed from Slav **stanъ* 'site, stall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stan*, SCr *stan* (MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente 33; MEYER Wb. 391-392). ◇ CAMARDA I 160 (to IE **stā-*); SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 165; SVANE 62.

stap m, pl. *stape*, *stapinj* 'stick, staff'. Borrowed from Slav **stapъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stap*, SCr *stap* (MEYER Wb. 392). ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 279; SVANE 80.

stavë f, pl. *stava* 'heap of wood, haystack'. Borrowed from Slav **stava* id. attested in Bulg *stava* (MEYER Wb. 392). ◇ SVANE 42, 61.

stegë f, pl. *stega* 'bandolier'. Borrowed from Slav **sъtega* 'loop, belt', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *st'aga*, dial. *stega*.

stejë f, pl. *steja* 'bedding, saddle cover'. Another variant is *stelë*. Bor-

rowed from Slav **stel'a* 'bedding, cover', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stel'a*, SCr *stelja* (MEYER Wb. 392).

steně f, pl. *stena* 'wooden wall'. Borrowed from Slav **stěna* 'wall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stena*, SCr *stijena*, *stena*. As to *stenicě* 'bug', it is derived from *steně* (MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente 34; MEYER Wb. 392). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 151; SVANE 53.

step m 'rock, peak'. Borrowed from Slav **stъpъ* 'plateau, steppe', attested in the Balkans in SCr dial. *step* 'hilly countryside' (OREL Ètimologija 1983 139-140, Ètimologija 1984 182). ◇ MEYER Wb. 427 (from Turk *tepe* 'hill'); JOKL Balkangerm. 125 (to *thep*); ÇABEJ St. II 114 (agrees with JOKL).

stepem refl. 'to be slow, to stop'. A prefixal derivative based on PALB **tapa* related to ON *þefja* 'to stamp, to ram'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 392 (to SCr *stepsti* 'to knock together').

sterrě adj. 'dark, black'. Expressive prefixal derivative of *terr*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 392 (from **cerrě* < SCr *crn* 'black'); JOKL LKUBA 113 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ St. II 114 (identical with *sterě* 'cistern' in view of the expressions similar to *dark as in the well*).

stěrditem refl. 'to meet accidentally'. A prefixal derivative of *di*. The prefix *stěr-* is fairly productive and appears in numerous other forms, cf. *stěrdhěmb* 'fang', *stěrflok* 'to tousle (hair)', *stěrgjysh* 'forefather, great-grandfather' and the like.

stěrkas aor. *stěrkita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav **strъkati* ~ **strъcati* id., cf. in South Slavic: SCr *strcati*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 393 (to Bulg *strъčka* 'sprinkling device').

stěrqokě f *stěrqoka* 'jackdaw'. A prefixal derivative of *qok* 'kind of owl' (WEIGAND 79). ◇ MEYER Wb. 393 (to Slav **stъrkъ* 'stork'); SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 198; JOKL Slavia XIII 613-614 (to *stěrklas* 'to sprinkle' and *qokth*); ÇABEJ St. II 115 (agrees with JOKL).

stěrvině f, pl. *stěrvině* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav **stěrvina* id. attested in South Slavic: SCr *strvina* (MEYER Wb. 393). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 189, 325; SVANE 133.

stěrvís aor. *stěrvita* 'to train'. Borrowed from Slav **stěrviti* 'to bait, to lure, to train', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *strъv'a* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 196; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 609). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 213.

stog m, pl. *stogje* 'haystack'. Borrowed from Slav **stogъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stog*, SCr *stog* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◇ SVANE 42.

stol m, pl. *stola* 'stool', Borrowed from Slav **stolъ* 'table, chair', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stol*, SCr *sto* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150, 303; SVANE 66.

stopan m, pl. *stopaně* 'shepherd, chief shepherd, shepherd's assistant'. Borrowed from an old Iranism in South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stopan*, SCr dial. *stopanin* (MEYER *Wb.* 393). ◇ TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1965 37 (reconstructs Iran **asta-pān*- 'house keeper').

strazě f 'garrison'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **storža* 'guard', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *straža*, SCr *straža* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 394). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143, 180.

strehě f, pl. *strehě* 'eaves (of the roof)'. Borrowed from Slav **strěxa*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *str'axa*, SCr *strehā* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 394). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 305; SVANE 54.

stremě f, pl. *stremě* 'square measure used to measure plots of land'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *str'ama*.

strokě f 'scab, rash'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stroka*, SCr *stroka* 'illness of sheep'.

strug m, pl. *strugje* 'plane (instrument)'. Another variant is *strugě*. Borrowed from Slav **strugъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *strug*, SCr *strug* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 395). The verb *strugat* 'to plane' is borrowed from Slav **strugati* id. The parallel form *strugoj* id. is derived from *strug*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172.

strukě f, pl. *struka* 'ambush'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *strъka*, *struka* 'passage, path'.

strukull m, pl. *strukuj* 'hen-coop'. Derived from *strukë*.

strum m 'pool'. Borrowed from Slav **strumy* 'brook' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *strumen*. ◇ SVANE 171.

strup m 'scab'. Borrowed from Slav **strupъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *strup*, SCr *strup* (SVANE 184).

sufërinë f 'storm, breeze'. Another related form is *fufarinë* 'tempest, rain-storm'. Derived from *sufroj* 'to whisper into somebody's ear' borrowed from Ital *soffiare* 'to blow'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 395 (to Ital *zufolare* 'to whistle'); ÇABEJ St. II 115 (onomatopoeia).

sukë f, pl. *suka* 'low hill'. Continues **tšukā* related to Skt *śuka-* 'awn of grain; spike of insect', Av *sūkā-* 'needle'. ◇ POKORNY I 626; MAYRHOFER III 363-364.

sukull m *sukuj* 'rag, cloth, lump, snow-flake'. Derived from *sukë*. The original meaning of the word must have been 'lump'. ◇ JOKL *UngJb* VII 82 (to *cukla* 'combing, flocks'); ÇABEJ St. II 115-116 (borrowed from Slav **sukъno* 'broadcloth').

sulem refl. 'to rush to, to throw oneself upon, to attack'. From PAIb **tšula*, a zero-grade of *sjell* (LA PIANA St. *Varia* 26). ◇ MEYER Wb. 395 (to Slav **sъlati* 'to send'), Alb. St. III 12, 77; LIDÉN *Arm. Studien* 77-78 (to Arm *slanam* 'to run'); JOKL *LKUBA* 59 (follows LIDÉN); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 94 (to Skt *cyávate* 'to move, to go away'), *AARBSt* II 81 (to *thëllëzë*); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 58-59; ÇABEJ St. II 116-117 (follows LA PIANA).

ed on PAIb **tsumba*
omm 'vessel'. ◇ FRISK
of Skt *kumbha-* 'pot'
II 348; ÇABEJ St. VII

borrowed from Slav
sъd, SCr *sud*. ◇ Mi-
ectly from **soditi* 'to

201 (compares with IE **kueid-* 'to shine, to be white'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 248, *Stratificazione* 95-96; LA PIANA *Studi* I 32 (to IE **keu-* 'to shine'); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 97 (reconstructs **ok'iōn*); CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 17; MAYRHOFER I 16; ÇABEJ St. II 118-120 (to **sūn-* 'sun' by analogy with OIr *súil* 'eye'); VASMER III 128-129; HULD 113; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Spr.* 223 (reconstructs **Hk^hiyyo-iH*); DEMIRAJ AE 356-357.

judge'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 180, 291; ÇABEJ St. VII 184; SVANE 227.

sup m, pl. *supe* 'shoulder'. Continues PAIb **tsupa* related to Skt *śupti-* id., Av *supti-* id., MLG *schuft* 'front shoulder-blade (of animals)' (MEYER Wb. 396, Alb. St. III 12, 31). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 337; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 146; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MAYRHOFER III 357; POKORNY I 627; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ AE 355-356.

surmë adj. 'dark grey'. Continues PAIb **tsurma* < IE **k^hrmo-*, identical with Lith *širmas* 'grey' (JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 153-155). Cf. *thjermë*. ◇ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (supports JOKL); SOLTA *Die Sprache* II 123 n. 2; FRAENKEL 988-989; ÇABEJ St. II 117 (from SCr *sur* 'grey'); HULD 145; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ AE 356.

sutë f, pl. *suta* 'female deer, doe'. Identical with *shutë* 'female deer; hornless', *shytë* 'hornless'. Continues PAIb **tšutā* < **tšuktā* borrowed to Rum *ciut* 'hornless', *ciută* 'female deer' (ÇABEJ St. II 117-118) and Slav **šutъ* 'hornless'. The Albanian word is further related to IE **kuk-* in Lith *šukos* 'comb', *šukë* 'crock', *šukėtas* 'dented, chipped', Latv *suka* 'brush'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 420; FRAENKEL 1031; POKORNY I 629; VASMER IV 492; HULD KZ XCVIII 104 (from **ōku* + *petēH* 'swift flying', cf. Gk *ὠκυπέτης*).

sy m/n, pl. *sy* 'eye'. From PAIb **atšīwi*, a form of dual similar related to Skt *akṣī*, Av *aši*, Lith *akì*, Slav **oči* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 291, 318-320) but influenced by **duwō* 'two'. The dialectal auslaut -y < -i seems to be secondary. ◇ MEYER Wb. 383 (to Slav **sijati* 'to shine' and/or **sinь* 'blue'), Alb. St. III 12, 79; HIRT

sumbull f, pl. *sumbulla* 'round button; bud'. Ba continuing IE **kumb-*, cf. Gk *κύβη* 'bowl', OIr c II 48; POKORNY I 592 (reconstructs **k-* in view but -bh- is irregular); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* 254.

sundoj aor. *sundova* 'to rule'. Based on **sund* **sodъ* 'court, trial', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg KLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER Wb. 396 (di-

ed from sy (ÇABEJ St. II 124-125 (follows CAMAJ); LANDI *Lat.* 96, 137-138).

is such as *sha Zotin* 'by m (KRISTOFORIDHI 382;

on the floor'. Borrowed from (ÇABEJ St. II 122). ◇

variant is *zhagit*. Based on the floor'. Borrowed from (ÇABEJ St. II 122). ◇

al form of *enj* with the ant'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 399 (mace'), *Alb. St.* V 101; (r); ÇABEJ St. II 122-123 (MANN *Language* XXVI

, based on *shajtoj*.

, to hit'. Etymological- which *shitë* 'wound' is *tāre* 'to wound with an'). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE*

uth-West Iranian **saka-* 1), cf. MPers *sak*, Class. < Iran **s-* indicating a ts, i.e. before the VI

362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 358.

shakull m, pl. *shakuj* 'goatskin'. Borrowed from Lat *sacculus* 'small bag' (CAMARDA I 161; MEYER *Wb.* 377). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 526 (agrees with MEYER); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 117 (derived from *shark*); ÇABEJ St. II 124-125 (follows CAMAJ); LANDI *Lat.* 96, 137-138.

shalakuq aor. *shalakuqa* 'to warm over fire (of hands and feet)'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *kuq*.

shalë f, pl. *shala* 'saddle; inner side of thigh, pair of legs'. Borrowed from Lat *sella* 'seat, saddle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 398). Clearly enough, *shalë* 'inner side of the thigh; leg' is historically identical with the word for 'saddle' (CAMARDA II 165). As to *shalë* 'Borrigo officinalis', it goes back to the same source. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 283; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (to Gk *σαλῖς*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ St. II 125-126 (separates *shalë* as an anatomical term and equates it with Gk *σκεῖλος* 'leg (from the hip downwards)'; as a plant-name, *shalë* is explained from IE **skel-* 'to cut'); HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

shap m 'disease of the cattle, Aphta epizootica'. An early borrowing from Slav **sapъ* 'glanders'. ◇ WEIGAND *BA* III 112 (to Rum *şopirlă* 'lizard'); ÇABEJ St. II 127 (from Turk *şab*).

shap m 'alum'. Borrowed from Lat *sapa* 'thick grape juice'.

shapkë f, pl. *shapka* 'cap, hat; slipper, old shoe'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *šapka* id., SCr *šapka* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 399). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; ÇABEJ St. II 127.

shapkë f, pl. *shapka* 'woodcock'. Identical with *shapkë* 'cap, hat' (MEYER *Wb.* 399). ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 127-128 (related to *sqep*).

shaploj aor. *shaplova* 'to pound earth-clods'. Derived from Rom

337-338; ÇABEJ St. II 124-125 (follows CAMAJ); LANDI *Lat.* 96, 137-138.

Another morphological variant is *sysk*. Deriv 120-121).

Sh

sha interj. Used in a limited number of context God'. An allegro form of *pasha*, optative of *ka* ÇABEJ St. II 121-122).

shag m, pl. *shegje* 'coarse linen fabric spread from Lat *sagum* 'cloak made of coarse fabri LANDI *Lat.* 96, 142.

shagit aor. *shagita* 'to crawl flatwise'. Another on **shag* borrowed from the Slavic verb 'to s Russ *šagat*', Ukr *šahaty*, Czech *šahati* and bel **segati* 'to reach'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 97 (to *shes* IV 392-393; ÇABEJ St. II 122, 329 (phonetic

shaj aor. *shava* 'to insult, to offend'. A prefix original meaning 'to blow out' > 'to be indigri (from Rom **sannarī* based on Lat *sanna* 'gri TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255-256 (against MEYE (to Gk *σκεδάσσωμι* 'to scatter, to disperse'); 381 (to Gk *ψαίνω*).

shajkë f, pl. *shajka* 'peg, nail'. From **shajt-kë*

shajtoj aor. *shajtova* 'to dash against, to strike ly identical with *shitoj* 'to wound' from v derived. The verb is borrowed from Lat *sagitt* arrow' (CAMARDA II 146; to Lat *sagitta* 'arrov IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ St. II 123-124.

shake f, pl. *shaka* 'dog, bitch'. Borrowed from Sc < Iran **spaka-* 'dog' (JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 30-3 Pers *sak*, NPers *säg*, Tadjik *sag* etc. Note *sh-* borrowing preceding Albanian-Slavic conta

**sappula*, cf. **sappa* 'hoe': Rum *sapă*, Ital *zappa*. ◇ PUȘCARIU EWR 135.

shapoj aor. *shapova* 'to polish'. Borrowed from Rom **sappāre* 'to hack' based on **sappa* 'hoe', cf. Rum *sapă*, Ital *zappa*.

sharanduk aor. *sharanduka* 'to pinch'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *nduk*.

sharavaze f, pl. *sharavaze* 'weed'. A prefixal derivative in *shara-*.

sharavidhe f, pl. *sharavidhe* 'mussel'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *vidhë*.

sharë f 'sheep with white spots on the muzzle'. Borrowed from South Slavic **šara* id., cf. Bulg *šara*, SCr *šara* (ÇABEJ St. II 129).

sharë pl. 'offense'. An early borrowing from Slav **sora* reconstructed on the basis of Russ *ssora* 'row' < **sr̥sora* and SCr *osoran* 'rude', Slovene *osoren* < **ob-sorъnъ*. ◇ SVANE 137.

shark m 'fruit pulp'. Borrowed from Gk σάρξ 'flesh', occasionally, 'pulp' (KRISTOFORIDHI 384; JOKL IF XLIV 23-24). ◇ CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 113 (suffix -k); ÇABEJ St. II 128 (to IE **sker-* as in Slav **skora* 'skin, hide'), IV 88.

shark m 'woolen cloak; green skin of nuts'. A parallel morphonological variant is *sharkë*. An early borrowing from Slav **sorka* 'shirt'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 400 (from Rom **sarica*); BÜGA II 314; VASMER III 724-725; STEINHAUSER SlRev III 284-285 (compares *shark* with Slav **sorka* and explains both words from Arabic); SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 251 (from Lat *serica*); ÇABEJ St. II 128-129 (identical with *shark* 'fruit pulp'); HAARMANN 149.

sharov m, pl. *sharova* 'big dog, large spotted hound'. Borrowed from Slav adj. neut. **šarovъ* 'spotted, multicolored', cf. Bulg *šaro* 'spotted (of dogs)'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 129 (to *sharë*).

shartoj aor. *shartoj* 'to cross (of animals), to engraft (of plants)'. Borrowed from Rom *(in)*sertāre* based on Lat *serere* 'to sow', cf. Sp *enjer-*

tar 'to cross (animals)', Port *enxertar* id. (MEYER Wb. 400). ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 129-130 (from Rom **insertāre* or **exquartāre*); HAARMANN 149.

sharrĚ f, pl. *sharra* 'saw'. Borrowed from Lat *serra* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 60; MEYER Wb. 400). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1044; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 249; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ St. VII 268; HAARMANN 149; LANDI Lat. 95, 128, 177.

shat m, pl. *shata*, *shetër* 'hoe'. Borrowed from Lat *sector* 'cutter'. For the auslaut cf. *mbret*. Note the development of *-ct-* > Alb *-t-*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 400 (to Lat *secō* 'to cut' and the like), Alb. St. III 5, 40; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 282-283 (*i*-stem); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 256; CAMAJ Alb. Wortb. 61 (from IE **skod-*); ÇABEJ St. VII 208, 224; DEMIRAJ StF XXVII/2 200-201 (to Lat *sacena* 'kind of hoe [of the pontifex]'), AE 358-359.

shatorre f, pl. *shatorre* 'tent'. Borrowed from Slav **šatъrъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *šatъr*, SCr *šator* (CAMARDA II 160).

she m 'undrying rivulet'. Derived from *shi*. ◇ JOKL WuS XII 63-65 (borrowed from Finno-Ugric, cf. Hung *séd*, *sét* 'brook, rivulet'); ÇABEJ St. II 130 (follows JOKL).

shegĚ f, pl. *shegĚ* 'pomegranate'. Borrowed from an unknown Mediterranean word that may be reconstructed as **si(l)g'ā* in view of Gk σίδη, σίβδη id., σίλβια· σίδια (Hes.) coming from the same source (CAMARDA II 154). ◇ MEYER Wb. 401; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 250-251; FRISK II 702-703; ÇABEJ St. II 131.

shejth m, pl. *shejthe* 'birthmark'. Diminutive of *shenjĚ*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 269.

shekĚ f, pl. *sheka* 'large wooden vessel'. Other variants are *sheke* and *sheqe*. Back formation based on **sheqĚ* borrowed from Rom **sicla* 'pail', the source of Ital *secchia* id. (THUMB IF XXVI 10). ◇ MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 60 (from Ital *secchia* 'pail'); MEYER Wb. 401 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL LKUBA 102 n. 1 (follows THUMB); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ St. II 131-132 (MGk σίτλα, NGk σίκλα, σοῦκλα 'kind of big vessel' go back to the same source); HAARMANN 150; LANDI Lat. 95, 119.

shekull m, pl. *shekuj* 'age'. Borrowed from Lat *saeculum* id. (MEYER Wb. 401). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1049; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 71, 142.

shelg m, pl. *shelgje* 'willow'. Borrowed from Lat *salix* id. (MEYER Wb. 401). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147.

shelkë f, pl. *shelka* 'cover, wrapping'. Identical with *shelqe*.

shelqe f, pl. *shelqe* 'wooden vessel for salt; vessel used as a plate by shepherds'. Other variants are *shelkë* and *sheqe*. Borrowed from Rom **salica* 'salt-cellar' (to Lat *sāl* 'salt'). ◇ MEYER Wb. 401 (from Ital *secchia* 'pail'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251; ÇABEJ *St.* II 132 (variant of *shekë*); LANDI *Lat.* 95, 144.

shelqëror ~ shelqnuer m 'trunk with several branches used as a hanger in front of a shepherd's hut'. Borrowed from Lat *sarcinarius* 'used for packing, loading', reflected in the Rumanian synonym of the Albanian word *sărciner*, *sălciner* (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* II 132). ◇ HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 157.

shemb aor. *shemba* 'to tear, to destroy'. A prefixal derivative from PALB **ampa*, a nasal present related to Skt *āpnóti* 'to reach', Gk *ἄπτω* 'to seize, to grasp' and other continuants of IE **ap-*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 404 (from Ital *scemare* 'to diminish, to lessen'); POKORNYI 50-51.

shembëll f, pl. *shembëlla* 'example, sample'. Another variant is *shem-bull*. Borrowed from Lat *exemplum* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Lat *similis* 'similar'); MEYER Wb. 404 (*shembëll* 'sign' from Lat *symbolum* 'symbol' but this meaning of the Albanian word is dubious); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 132-133 (back formation of *shembëllej* influenced by Lat *exemplum*).

shembëllej aor. *shembëlleva* 'to resemble'. Borrowed from Lat *similare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER Wb. 404). The noun *shem-tyrë* is derived from here. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047 (*shem-tyrë*, *shembëlltyrë* derived from Rom **simulātūra*); 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 133; HAARMANN 150.

shemë f, pl. *shemë* 'swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Lat *exāmen* 'swarm' (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). ◇ HAARMANN 124.

shemër ~ **shemërk** f, pl. *shemra* 'mistress, concubine, rival'. A morphonological transformation of the original Rom **sub-marīta* or **sub-marītica*, cf. Lat *marīta* 'married woman'. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 5-12 (from IE **sm-marī* further related to Lat *marītus* 'married'); TAGLI-AVINI *Stratificazione* 119-120; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII 140; ÇABEJ *StF* II/4 49 (early borrowing from Slav **sębrъ*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 359-360.

shenjë f, pl. *shenja* 'sign'. Borrowed from Lat *signum* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60-61; MEYER *Wb.* 401). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045 (from Italian), 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20, 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 250, 267; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58.

shenjtë adj. 'saint'. Another phonetic variant is *shēnjtë*. Borrowed from Lat *sanctus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 84; MEYER *Wb.* 404; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 57). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249, 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 62-63; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 121, 142.

sherbelë f, pl. *sherbela* 'sage (plant)'. With a dissimilation of sonorants, borrowed from Rom **salviella* based on Lat *salvia* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31).

shermend m, pl. *shermend* 'shoot, sprout (especially, of vine)'. Borrowed from Lat *sarmentum* 'twig, branch' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58; MEYER *Wb.* 402). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 116, 177.

sherp m 'wild celery'. Borrowed from Gk σέλπον· σίλφιον (Hes.), σίλφιον 'umbelliferous plant' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 17) or from Lat *sirpe* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 21). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 402 (from Rom **silpium* < Gk σίλφιον); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 133-134 (agrees with THUMB).

shes aor. *shita* 'to sell'. A prefixal derivative of *-es* attested in *pres*. The original meaning is 'to cut off, to divide, to separate a share'. ◇

MEYER *Wb.* 402 (compares *sh-* with E *sell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from **eks-ketiō*).

shesh m, pl. *shesha* 'plain, plane, flatness, square'. Borrowed from Lat *sessus* 'seat' (MEYER *Wb.* 402). ◇ CAMARDA II 161 (to Gk ἴσος 'equal (in size)'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

shete pl. 'bran'. Plural of **shatë* borrowed from Lat *sectum*, participle of *secō* 'to cut'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 134 (related to *shat*).

shetkë f 'mane'. Borrowed from Slav **ščetъka* 'brush, bristle' otherwise unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *ščetka*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224.

shëkroj aor. *shëkrova* 'to devote, to dedicate'. Borrowed from Lat *sacrāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1052). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24.

shëlboj aor. *shëlbova* 'to save, to deliver'. Borrowed from Lat *salvāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 147.

shëllij ~ **shëllî** aor. *shëlliva* 'to salt'. Borrowed from Lat *salīre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

shëmoj aor. *shëmova* 'to choke, to suffocate'. Borrowed from Lat *exanimāri* id.

shëmtoj aor. *shëmtova* 'to make ugly, to distort'. Borrowed from Rom **examputāre*, cf. Lat *amputāre* 'to cut down, to amputate'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Rom **signitāre*); SKOK *A ArbSt* II 342 n. 3 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 134-135 (based on *shenjë*).

shëndet m 'health'. Borrowed from Lat *sanitātem* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 109.

shëndosh adj. 'healthy'. Borrowed from Rom **sanitōsus* id. (MEYER Wb. 404; MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 57-58). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 110.

shëndërtat m 'Transfiguration; Trinity'. Borrowed from Lat *sanctam trinitātem* 'holy Trinity' (ZOJZI *BIShk* 1949/1 85-86). ◇ MEYER Wb. 404 (to *shëndrit*); KRISTOFORIDHI 391 (from Italian); ÇABEJ LP VIII 116-117 (follows ZOJZI), *St.* II 135 (from *shenj tëritat*); HAARMANN 148.

shëndrit aor. *shëndrit* 'to shine'. Prefixal derivative in *shën-* of *ndrit*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

shëngjetë f 'best part of hunting trophies'. Prefixal derivative of *gjah*.

shëpullë f, pl. *shëpulla* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipkë*.

shërbej aor. *shërbeva* 'to serve'. Borrowed from Lat *servīre* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 60; MEYER Wb. 404). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ²I 1048; JOKL *LKUBA* 78; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 135-136; HAARMANN 149.

(T) **shëroj** aor. *shërova* 'to heal'. Borrowed from Lat *sānāre* id. (MEYER Wb. 405). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ²I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 147.

shëshëris aor. *shëshërita* 'to hiss'. Borrowed from Gk σσιρίζω 'to whistle' influenced by Lat *susurrāre* 'to hiss' (MEYER Wb. 405). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252.

shëtiti aor. *shëtita* 'to go for a walk'. Another variant is *shetit*. Borrowed from Slav **šetati* 'to walk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *šetam*, SCr *šetati* (MEYER Wb. 403). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 192; SVANE 254.

shi m/n, pl. *shira* ~ *shina* 'rain'. From PALb **sūja*, with an irregular development of the initial **s-* > *sh-* explained by the dissimilation in the intermediary form **jūja* (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 282). The

word is connected with IE **sū-* 'rain; to rain': Gk ὕει, Tokh A *swase*, Tokh B *swese* 'rain', *sū-* 'to rain' and, in particular, OPrus *suge* 'rain' = [*sūjē*] (MEYER *Alb. Studien* III 43, 81, *Wb.* 405; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350). ◇ CAMARDA I 72 (to Gk χιών 'snow'); JOKL *Studien* 77; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 281; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91 f.; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251-252; PORZIG *Gliederung* 185; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 912; VAN WINDEKENS I 443; HAMP KZ LXXIV 128-129; FRISK II 978-979; CHANTRAINE I 164; ÇABEJ *St.* II 136; HULD 113; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 360-361.

(G) **shĭ** m 'occiput'. Borrowed from Lat *sinus* 'curve, bend, lap'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (to Slav **šija* 'neck'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96 (< IE **ksī(n)j-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96.

shi adv. 'exactly, right'. Borrowed from Lat *sic* 'so, yes'.

shibë f 'cold (illness)'. Derivative of *shi*.

shibël f, pl. *shibla* 'bread crumb; splinter'. Based on Slav **šibati* 'to strike, to hit'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from SCr *šiba* 'twig').

shigjetë f, pl. *shigjeta* 'arrow'. Another form is *shëgjetë*. Borrowed from Lat *sagitta* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 143 (from Rum *săgeată*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58, 95.

shij ~ **shĭ** aor. *shiva* ~ *shina* 'to thresh'. Borrowed from Lat *exigere* 'to drive away, to push out, to throw'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 388, XXVIII 40 (to Gk ξύω); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 228.

shijë f, pl. *shija* 'taste'. A more archaic form is *shilë*. Borrowed from Rom **suāvilīa*, based on Lat *suāvis* 'sweet', cf. Skt *svadati* 'to make palatable' ~ *svādu-* 'sweet'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Gk ὕλως 'propitious, gracious'); BUCK 1029-1031.

shikëll f, pl. *shikëlla* 'gall-nut'. Borrowed from Rom **sicula* < Lat *silicula* 'small pod'.

shikoj aor. *shikova* 'to look, to pay attention'. Other forms are *shëkoj* and *shukoj*. Borrowed from the deponential Lat *sequor* 'to follow',

in particular, 'to follow with eyes' - *oculis sequor*. ◇ CAMARDA I 141 (to *shoh*); MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Rom **sedicāre*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 137.

shiløj aor. *shilova* 'to saddle'. Derived from *shalë*, with an irregular vowel change in the root (JOKL *LKUBA* 22).

shilor m, pl. *shilorë* 'burden, load, faggot, breast bone (of cow or pig)'. Derived from *shiløj*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 128-129 (-*lor* to *pluar*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (derived from *shul*).

shipkë f, pl. *shipka* 'box on the ear'. Borrowed from South Slavic **šibьka* 'blow, ramrod', cf. Bulg *šibka*.

shiringë f, pl. *shiringa* 'syringe'. Borrowed from Lat *syringa* id.

shirk m 'goatskin, wineskin'. The Greek-Albanian form is *shiq*. A phonetic variant of *rrëshek* ~ *rrëshiq* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 137).

shise f, pl. *shise* 'feeling'. Dissimilated from **shishe*. Borrowed from Lat *sēnsus* id.

shitë f, pl. *shita* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipkë*.

shitë f, pl. *shita* 'illness of sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *sītūs* 'weakness'.

shkabë f, pl. *shkaba* 'eagle'. A prefixal formation related to *gabonjë* and reflecting PALb **iš-gaba* (JOKL *LKUBA* 303-306). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 406 (compared with Slav **koba*, **kobь*, **kobьсь* 'falcon'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 140, *Stratificazione* 140-141; TOPOROV *PJa* III 108 (follows MEYER); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (follows MEYER).

shkadhis aor. *shkadhita* 'to cut (branches)'. Derived from *kadhë* (KRISTOFORIDHI 391). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 137 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 88.

shkagoj aor. *shkagova* 'to refuse, to decline'. Borrowed from Lat *excaudicare* 'to uproot, to eradicate'.

shkak m, pl. *shkaqe* 'reason, cause; noose, snare, trap'. The original meaning must have been close to 'noose, snare, trap' later developed to the abstract notion of 'cause'. Continues PALb **skaka* etymologically related to ON *skaga* 'to protrude', Slav **skokъ* 'jump' < IE **skek-* 'to jump, to be agile'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 407 (to *shkarkoj*); VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; ÇABEJ St. II 138 (from **shkark* related to Lat *curvus* 'crooked, curved').

shkal m 'rain-storm'. Derived from *shkal* 'to bring down'.

shkal aor. *shkala* 'to bring down, to drag, to roll, to charm (of fairies)'. Continues PALb **skala* related to Gk σκάλλω 'to chop', Lith *skeliù*, *skėlti* 'to split', ON *skilja* id. and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 800-801; FRISK II 715-716; POKORNY I 923-927.

shkalbësoj aor. *shkalbësova* 'to cut off (rotten parts)'. Derived from *kalb*.

shkalc m, pl. *shkalca* 'barrow, tray'. Derived from *shkallë* (MEYER Wb. 407). ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 138 (to *shkel*).

shkalis aor. *shkalita* 'to dismount'. Another morphological variant is *shkalos*. Derived from *kalë*.

shkalis aor. *shkalita* 'to caress, to make weak'. Derived from *shkal*.

shkallë f, pl. *shkallë* 'stairs, staircase'. Borrowed from Lat *scālae* 'stairs' (MEYER Wb. 406-407; MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 58). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß ² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 252; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ St. VII 184; HAARMANN 148.

shkallmë f, pl. *shkallma* 'sword'. Borrowed from Gk σκάλμη id. (ÇABEJ St. II 138) if not an artificial coinage of FISHTA used in his *Shqypnija i lirë*.

shkalloj aor. *shkallova* 'to exaggerate, to go mad'. Borrowed from Rom **exscālāre* 'to escalate' based on Lat *scālae* 'stairs', cf. *shkallë*. From here *shkallaq* 'crazy' is derived. ◇ MEYER Wb. 407 (from Rom **excallāre*, to Lat *callis* 'path'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 539 (against

MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to *shkel*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 139 (derived from *shkallë*).

shkandull m, pl. *shkanduj* 'temptation'. Borrowed from Rom **scandulum* for Lat *scandalum* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048).

shkapërcej aor. *shkapërceva* 'to cross'. One of several prefixal derivatives in *shka-për-*, in this case - based on *ecëj*. Cf. also *shkapërdaj* 'to divide', *shkapërthej* 'to trample down'.

shkardhë f 'dog chain; long stick attached to the dog's neck to prevent it from biting its master'. From PALb **iš-gardā*, etymologically connected with *gardhë* and forming full parallel to Slav **jъz-gorda* 'fence' (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 67-69). The original meaning of *shkardhë* may be approximated as 'pile-structure, fence', taking into account the derivative *shkardhinë* 'structure open from all sides; roof'. The proto-Albanian form was borrowed as Rum *zgardă* 'dog-collar, necklace, collar, willow-loop keeping folding doors shut' (POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 354; KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Antič.* 136). ◇ KALUŽSKAJA *Balk. Sredizemn.* 177-178 (derives *shkardhë* from **sker-* 'to cut'); ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IX 30.

shkarkoj aor. *shkarkova* 'to unload' Borrowed from Rom **discarricāre* id. (CAMARDA I 66), cf. Rum *descareca*, Ital *scaricare* and the like. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 44.

shkarpë f, pl. *shkarpa* 'brushwood'. Borrowed from Gk σκάριφος 'contour; brushwood' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Rom **discarpere* or **excarpere* 'to tear off'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

shkarpë f, pl. *shkarpa* 'honeycomb (without honey)'. Historically, of the same origin as *shkarpë* 'brushwood'. A honeycomb devoid of honey is described as an empty 'contour'. ◇ CAMARDA I 173 (divides into *sh-karpë*).

shkartoj aor. *shkartova* 'to sort, to grade, to assort (of bad things); refl. 'to be perforated by worms'. Borrowed from Rom **excarptāre*, a variant of **excarptiāre* 'to tear off, to pick': Sp *escarzar*, Port *escarçar*.

shkarth m, pl. *shkartha* 'servant, slave'. Derived from **karth*, cf.

kërthi 'tiny; baby' s.v. *kërth*. Semantically, cf. Lith *tar̃nas* 'servant' ~ Skt *tar̃naka-* 'calf', *tāruṇa-* 'young; boy'. ◇ FRAENKEL 1060; BUCK *Synonyms* 1334-1335; MAYRHOFER II 483, 485-486; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237, 257.

shkarthi adv. 'across'. Deived from *kërthi*.

shkarzej aor. *shkarzeva* 'to humiliate, to abase', refl. 'to roll in dust (of horses and donkeys)'. Another variant is *shkarzoj*. In all meanings, the Albanian verb is used metaphorically as it comes from Rom **excardiāre* 'to spin wool'. ◇ CAMARDA I 142 (root *skar-*); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Slav **skarędъ* 'disgusting, monster'); VASMER III 634 (against MEYER).

shkarravesh aor. *shkarravesha* 'to divide, to cut into pieces'. An expressive verb.

shkas aor. *shkava*, *shkajta*, *shkita* 'to slip, to slide'. Continues PAIb **skatja* corresponding to Lat *scateō* 'to stream, to flow out', Lith *skantū*, *skàsti* 'to spring, to jump' (BARIĆ *ARSt* 100). ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σκαίός 'left', σκάζω 'to be lame'); MEYER *Wb.* 411 (reconstructs **skes-*); JOKL *Studien* 82 (to Slav **kotiti* 'to roll', **kačati* 'to swing'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (same as JOKL); WALDE-HOFMANN II 491; FRAENKEL 798; POKORNY I 950; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

shkas m, pl. *shkase* 'impulse, motive, incentive'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

shkatërr f 'ray, skate'. Based on **shkat* borrowed from Lat *squātus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 139).

shkatërroj aor. *shkatërrova* 'to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom **ex-cathedrāre* 'to evict, to oust'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228 (from *katër*).

shkath aor. *shkatha* 'to make skillful'. Based on **shkath*, *shkathët* 'agile, quick, skilful'. The latter is derived from *shkak*.

shkazmë f, pl. *shkazmë* 'slippery slope'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

shkel aor. *shkela* 'to make a step, to walk'. Another variant is *shklas*. Continues PALb **skala* or **skalatja* related to Skt *skhálate* 'to stumble, to trip'. Derived from *shkel* is *shkelb* 'step' (JOKL *LKUBA* 283). ◇ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk σκάλλω 'to dig, to hoe'); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from IE **skel-* in its unspecified meaning); JOKL *Studien* 78-79 (to Lith *kulnis* 'heel', Lat *calx* id.); MAYRHOFER III 509 (reconstructs **sk(h)er-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 238.

shkelc m, pl. *shkelca* 'stair'. Singularized plural of *shkalc*.

shkencë f, pl. *shkenca* 'science'. Borrowed from Lat *scientia* id.

shkep aor. *shkepa* 'to rip open, to unrip, to tear'. Continues PALb **skaipa* related to ON *skifa* 'to split', OFries *skīvia* 'to divide' and other continuants of **skei-p-*. ◇ CAMARDA I 152 (to *shkabë* and *shqipe*); POKORNY I 922.

shkep aor. *shkepa* 'to resemble'. A parallel form is *shkrep*. A prefixal derivative of **krep* continuing PALb **krepa* 'body' related to Skt instr. sg. *kṛp-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *hrēf* 'body, lap' (JOKL *Studien* 80). For the semantic development cf. Goth *galeiks* 'like' ~ *leik* 'body'. ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 327 (original group *shkr-*); WALDE-HOFMANN I 277-278; MAYRHOFER I 260; FEIST *Goth.* 188-189; POKORNY I 620; BUCK *Synonyms* 910-912; ÇABEJ *St.* II 139-140 (identical with *shkrep*); DEMIRAJ AE 361 (identified with *shkep* 'to rip open').

shkëlbazë f 'spleen inflammation'. Prefixal derivative of *këlbazë*.

shkëlbozë f, pl. *shkëlboza* 'bark'. Derivative in -*ozë* of **shkalbë* continuing PALb **skalbā*, connected with ON *skalpr* 'ship', *skelpa* 'grimace' < *'crack, split', MLG *scholpe* 'mussel'. These forms, in their turn, go back to IE **skel-* 'to split, to cut'. ◇ POKORNY I 926; MANN *HAED* 480 (identical with *gëlvozhdë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 140 (to *kalb*).

shkëlqar aor. *shkëlqara* 'to polish (of metals)', refl. 'to clear (of weather)'. Derivative of *shkëlqej*.

shkëlqej aor. *shkëlqeva* 'to shine, to polish'. Derived from *qelq* (CAMARDA I 101; MEYER *Wb.* 221). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 201.

shkëmb ~ **shkamb** m, pl. *shkëmbinj* ~ *shkambinj*, *shqembe* 'seat, throne; rock'. Borrowed from Lat *scamnum* 'bench, throne'. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58; MEYER *Wb.* 408). The meaning 'rock' developed from an earlier *'slope' < *'bench', cf. Russ *prilavok* 'bench, slope'. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (of non-Indo-European origin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 105, 115.

shkëmbej aor. *shkëmbeva* 'to change, to exchange'. Borrowed from Rom **excambiāre* id.: Rum *schimba*, Ital *scambiare* and the like (HAARMANN 124). ◇ PUȘCARIU *EWB* 139.

shkëndijë f, pl. *shkëndija* 'spark'. Borrowed from Rom **scintilia* id. attested in Rum *scînteie* instead of a more widely known Lat *scintilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; CAMARDA I 67: related to Lat *scintilla*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (derived from *shkëndej* 'to sparkle' borrowed from Lat *excandescere* 'to catch fire'); MEYER-LÜBKE 580 (phonetical difficulties of the above Romance reconstruction), *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 124.

shkëpurdh aor. *shkëpurdha* 'to scratch'. An expressive verb derived from *këpurdhë*.

shkëput aor. *shkëputa* 'to separate, to tear off'. Derived from *këput*.

shkërbej aor. *shkërbeva* 'to imitate'. A hypercorrect derivative of *shkep* ~ *shkrep* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 140). From here *shkërba*, *shkërbe* 'monster' is derived.

shkërdhec m, pl. *shkërdheca* 'keg, barrel'. An early borrowing from Slav **skovordьъ* 'pan' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. ◇ CAMARDA II 210; MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scardasso* 'card, in textile'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

shkërmoq aor. *shkërmoqa* 'to pound, to trample'. Derived from *kërmë*.

shkërpicë f, pl. *shkërpica* 'spark'. Derived from *kërpicë*.

shklakonem refl. 'to invade, to burst into'. A phonetic variant of

shkalkonem 'to dismount' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 140) continuing Rom **excaballicāre* based on Lat *caballus* 'horse'. Cf. also *ngalkonem* 'to mount' < Rom **incaballicāre*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scalcare* 'to carve').

shklepë f, pl. *shklepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum'. Derived from *glepë*.

shklesë f, pl. *shklesa* 'roof shingle'. Derivative of *shkel*.

shklluq aor. *shklluqa* 'to drink at one gulp'. Based on the onomatopoeic **klluq* 'gulp'.

shkmes aor. *shkmesa* 'to clip, to prune (bushes, trees)'. Derived from *kmesë*.

shkoj aor. *shkova* 'to go'. A late apocopation of *shtekoj* attested in Northern dialects and based on *shtek* < *shteg* (JOKL *Studien* 80-82; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141). From here *shkojēz* 'pore' is derived. ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σχάω 'to slit open [to let something escape]'); MEYER *Wb.* 408 (compares with Lat *sequor* 'to follow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253 (follows JOKL); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to wander'), *Hymje* 24; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (agrees with BARIĆ); WALDE-HOFMANN II 490; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (accepts JOKL's etymology); HULD 114.

shkollë f, pl. *shkolla* 'school'. Borrowed from Lat *schola* id., or as suggested by MEYER *Wb.* 387, from Venet *scola*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (agrees with MEYER).

shkop m, pl. *shkopinj*, *shqep* 'stick, cane'. Continues PALB **skāpa* further related to Gk σκάπος· κλάδος, σκήπτρον 'staff' (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 408), Lat *scāpus* 'shaft, stem', OHG *skaft* 'shaft, spear'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 60 (borrowed from Lat *scāpus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (Latin loanword); PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (borrowed from North-Western Greek); POKORNY I 932; FRISK II 728-729; HULD 114; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

shkopis aor. *shkopita* 'to castrate'. Borrowed from Slav **skopiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *skop'a*, SCr *skopiti* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253). Note the anlaut *shk-*. ◇ SVANE 136, 262.

shkoq aor. *shkoqa* 'to husk, to hull'. Derived from *kokë*. The verb *shkoqis* 'to explain, to clarify' is based on *shkoq*.

shkorsë f, pl. *shkorsa* 'rug made of goat wool'. Borrowed from Lat *scortea*, fem. adj. 'made of fur or of hide' (MEYER Wb. 408). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

shkorret m, pl. *shkorrete* 'bush'. Another variant is *shkorre*. Derivative of *shqerr* with a different ablaut grade *-ē- > PALb *-ā-. ◇ HAHN 122 (to *korie* 'verdure, young growth'); MEYER Wb. 199-200 (follows HAHN); JOKL *ZONF* X 188-189 (derivative of *korr*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with JOKL).

shkožë f, pl. *shkoza* 'beech'. Derived from *shkoj*. The word describes the beech as a 'walking' tree similar to *bredh*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 408 (to Slovene *kozol* 'basket made of bark', Russ *kuzov* 'basket' and the like); JOKL *WuS* XII 71-73 (to Lith *skrúoblas* 'red beech'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to OE *scaga* 'bush'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; HULD *KZ* XCV 305-306 (derived from **kār-* 'hard'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 362 (to *shkorre*, *shkurre*, *shqerr*).

shkrabë m, pl. *shkraba* 'scrawl'. From PALb **skrabā* related to Lat *scrobis* 'pit', OE *screpan* 'to scratch', Lith *skrebėti* 'to rustle', Slav **skrebtī* 'to scratch' and the like. ◇ TRAUTMANN *BS/Wb.* 267; VASMER III 656; WALDE-HOFMANN II 500; POKORNY I 943-944

shkrap m, pl. *shkrapa* 'scorpion'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. OCS *skrapii* id., Bulg *skrapl'a* id. (MEYER Wb. 409). ◇ CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk σκorpion 'scorpion'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59 (from Lat *scorpiō* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (agrees with CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAMP *LB* XXXV/1-2 67.

shkrefetij aor. *shkrefëtiva* 'to neigh'. An onomatopoeia. ◇ MEYER Wb. 409 (to SCr *krhati* 'to cough, of a horse').

shkreh aor. *shkreha* 'to release (safety device, trigger)'. Derived from *shkrep*. ◇ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk κρέκω 'to weave').

shkrehezë f 'bird trap'. Derived from *shkreh* (KRISTOFORIDHI 339).
 ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 89.

shkrep aor. *shkrepa* 'to strike (fire); to release (trigger)'. Based on *shkrep* 'rock'. As to *shkrep* 'to be sexually attracted', it is an obvious metaphor based on *shkrep* 'to strike (fire)'. Borrowed to Rum *scăpăra* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (to Rum *scăpăra* 'to sparkle', NGk σκραπτῶ 'to shine'), *Alb. St.* III 31 (to Gk σκράπτω); JOKL *Studien* 80 (to Lat *corpus* 'body'), *Sprache* IX 151 (to Slav **kresati* 'to kindle fire'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 144; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (to Lat *crepō*); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowed from Gk ἀστράπτω 'to shine'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; DEMIRAJ *AE* 362-363.

shkrep m, pl. *shkrepa* 'rock'. Prefixal derivative of *krep* (JOKL *LKUBA* 116). ◇ VASMER *ZfslavPh* XIV 60 (from **shkrap* borrowed to SCR *škrapa* 'pebble'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 363-364 (reconstructs **kṛHp-*).

shkretë adj. 'lonely, deserted, empty'. Borrowed from Lat *sēcrētus* 'separate, isolated' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 409). ◇ CAMARDA I 339 (to *krej*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; SANDFELD *LBalk* 74; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 149.

shkrif aor. *shkrifa* 'to hoe, to loosen'. Related to *shkrij* 'to melt', a prefixal derivative of *grij*.

shkruaj ~ shkruiej aor. *shkrova* 'to write'. Borrowed from Lat *scribere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409, *Alb. St.* IV 38). ◇ CAMARDA I 101 (to *kruaj* and Lat *scribere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 223 (follows MEYER), *IF* XLIX 291; TREIMER *MRIW* I 362 (follows CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; ÇABEJ *St.* II 142-143 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology).

shkrumb m, pl. *shkrumba* 'black ashes, anything burned to ashes'. Continues PAIb **iš-kruma* with a non-etymological *-mb* < **-m* as obvious from the Albanian loanword in Rumanian - *scrum* id. A zero grade of IE **krem-* attested in Lat *cremō* 'to burn' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 143). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (from Turk *kurum*); CAPIDAN *DR* II 458 (from Avar); WALDEHOFMANN I 287; POKORNY I 572; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; ROSETTI

ILR I 281; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 154 (to **kerə*- 'to burn'); DURIDANOV *BE XVIII/4-5* 401-406.

shkrydh aor. *shkrydha* 'to comb, to card (of wool)'. Derived from *krydh*.

shkrryej aor. *shkrreva* 'to make dirty (of clothes)'. Based on *gërryej*.

shkues m, pl. *shkues* 'matchmaker, father-in-law'. Derived from *shkoj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 398). ◇ ÇABEJ *St. II* 143 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 89.

shkul aor. *shkula* 'to tear out, to pull out, to eradicate'. A zero-grade of IE **skel*- 'to cut, to split' attested also in *shkal*. ◇ CAMARDA I 66 (opposed to *n-gul*); POKORNY I 923-926.

shkulë f 'branch placed in the middle of a meadow and forbidding to use it as a pasture'. Another variant is *shkujë*. An early borrowing from Romance, cf. OSard *iskolka* 'guard of private property', OPort *escolca* id. (BARIĆ *Hymje* 71). ◇ ÇABEJ *St. II* 143-144 (borrowed from Middle Greek or derived from *shkul*).

shkulm m, pl. *shkulma* 'wave'. Prefixal derivative of *kulm* (ÇABEJ *St. II* 144).

shkumë f, pl. *shkumë* 'foam'. Another form is *shkumbë*. Borrowed from a Germanic loanword in Rom **scuma* id. (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409-410). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1050 (from Ital Neapol *škumme*); HELBIG 59 (from Ital dial. *scuma* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255.

shkund aor. *shkunda* 'to shake, to swing'. Continues PALb **skunta*, nasal present of IE **skeut*-. Mlr *scothaid* 'to cut off', Lith *skutù, skùsti* 'to scrape'. Derived from here are *shkundulloj* 'to shake strongly' and *shkundëllimë* 'earthquake'. ◇ CAMARDA I 67 (to Lat *scindō* 'to tear into parts'); MEYER *Wb.* 410 (from Lat *excutere* 'to shake off'); TREIMER *MRIW* I 356 (*sh-kund* to Slav **kydati* 'to throw'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 218 (to Lith *kutėti* 'to shake'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; FRAENKEL 823-824; VENDRYES [S] 52; POKORNY I 954.

shkupë f 'warm spring wind'. Derived from *Shkup*, the Albanian name of Skopje (ÇABEJ *St.* II 144).

shkurt adj. 'short', m 'February'. Borrowed from Gmc **skurtaz* 'short': OHG *scurz*, OE *sceort*. Of particular interest is *shkurte* 'shirt' from Gmc **skurta* ~ **skurti*- id.: ON *skyrtá*, MLG *schorte* and the like. ◇ CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *curtus* 'short'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *curtus* 'short'); MEYER *Wb.* 409 (from Rom **excurtus* unattested elsewhere); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (from **ex- + curtus*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; ERNOUT-MEILLET 160; ONIONS 822; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 124.

shkurre f, pl. *shkurre* 'bush'. Phonetic variant of *shkorre*, cf. *shkorret* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26, 67; ÇABEJ *St.* II 144-145). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 410 (borrowed from Lat *cornea*, adjective of *cornus* 'cornel'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230, 328 (to Slav **kъry* 'root'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 103, *AArbSt* I 156 (to OIr *crann* 'tree'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XL 493 (same as BARIĆ).

shkyç aor. *shkyça* 'to unlock'. Based on *kyç*.

shluk m, pl. *shluqe* 'blister'. Borrowed from Rom **slucus*, metathesized variant of Lat *sulcus* 'furrow, wound'.

shlyej aor. *shleva* 'to pay off, to cancel, to cover'. Derived from *lyej*.

shlligë f, pl. *shlliga* 'viper'. A parallel form is *shëlligë*. A tabooistic description derived from *lig* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 359). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 77-78 (to OIr *selige* 'turtle'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 97; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; LAMBERTZ *Alb. Märchen* 10 n. 2 (to Germ *schleichen* 'to crawl' and the like); ÇABEJ *St.* II 145.

shllim m 'idea'. Derived from *shllej* 'to resemble', a phonetic variant of *shembëllej* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 146).

shoh ~ shof aor. *pashë* 'to see'. From PAIb **sākska* with a dissimilation of sibilants. Further connected to IE **sek** 'to follow, to see': Skt *sācate* 'to accompany, to follow', Gk *ἑπομαι*, Lat *sequor*; cf. in particular Goth *saihan* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St.* III 7, 43; reconstructs an intermediate **sjeħ*) and Hitt *šakuišk-*. The aorist

XVII 46; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282 (to Gk σπόρος 'sowing').

shpargër ~ shpargën m, pl. *shpërgenj* 'diaper'. A more archaic singular in Geg is *shpërgâ*. Borrowed from Gk σπάργανον id. (CAMARDA I 85; DIEFENBACH I 57). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 414 (from NGk *σπαργάνι); ÇABEJ *St.* II 148 (follows DIEFENBACH).

shpartë f, pl. *shparta* 'broom (bot.)'. Borrowed from Lat *spartum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

shparr m 'kind of oak'. From PAIb **spara* borrowed from rather than identical with Lat *sparus* 'short spear' or OHG *sparro* 'beam, girder', ON *spari* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 186-188). ◇ WALDE-HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991.

shpat m, pl. *shpate* 'precipice, mountain forest'. Prefixal derivative of **pat* continuing PAIb **pata*. The latter is related to Skt *pâtati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk πίπτω 'to fall' and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 163-164). ◇ FRISK II 542-543; MAYRHOFER II 199; POKORNY I 825; ÇABEJ *St.* II 146-147 (back formation of *shpatull*).

shpatë f, pl. *shpata* 'sword'. Borrowed from Lat *spāta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◇ CAMARDA I 158 (to an unattested Gk σπάθη); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150.

shpatull f, pl. *shpatulla* 'shoulder, shoulder-blade'. Borrowed from Rom **spatula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◇ CAMARDA II 158; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 150.

shpejtë adj. 'quick, fast'. Borrowed from Lat *expeditus* 'easy, expedite, quick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24) or restored from Rom **expeditäre*, cf. *shpëtoj* (JOKL *RIEB* II 72-73). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 413 (against MIKLOSICH; to Slav **spěxъ* 'hurry'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 100-101 (to Gk σπεύρομαι 'to rush'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 147-148 (in view of OAlb *shpjertë* of BUZUKU, a postverbal formation of *shpie*).

shpellë f, pl. *shpella* 'cave'. Borrowed from Lat *spēlaeum* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk σπήλαιον id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62

(from Lat *spelunca*); PISANI *Saggi* 120; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk σπήλαιον); HULD *KZ* XCIX 250 (follows MIHĂESCU); LANDI *Lat.* 176.

shpend m, pl. *shpend*, *shpendë* 'bird'. Other forms are *shpes*, *shpezë* and *shpen*. Derived from *pendë* as proved by *shpendël* 'down' going back to the same source. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 413 (a prefixal derivative of **pet-no-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141.

shpene f, pl. *shpene* 'snow-flake'. Related to *shpend* and *shpendël*.

shpenkoj aor. *shpenkova* 'to disembowel (of poultry)'. From **shpend-koj*, based on *pendë*.

shperr aor. *shperra* 'to win (money), to gain'. From PALb **sparja* related to Gmc **sparōjan* 'to leave unharmed, to keep': ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OE *sparian*. ◇ ONIONS 850.

shpeshë adj. 'frequent, thick'. Borrowed from Lat *spissus* 'thick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

shpet m, pl. *shpeta* 'garden fence'. Singularized plural of *shpat* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 148).

shpërbëhet refl. 'to rot, to to decompose'. Derivative of *bëj*. As in many other verbs, the prefix *shpër-* borrowed from Lat *super-* is used here.

shpërej aor. *shpereva* 'to hope'. Borrowed from Lat *sperāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

shpëtoj aor. *shpëtova* 'to save'. Borrowed from Rom **expeditāre*, frequentative of Lat *expedire* 'to extricate, to disengage' (MEYER *Wb.* 414, *Alb. St.* IV 36). ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ἐκπέτομαι 'to fly out, to fly away'); JOKL *RIEB* II 71-72 (derived from *pet-kë* as a calque of Lat *ex-cappāre* 'to go, to be in a hurry'), LKUBA 78; SPITZER *MRIW* I 330 (from Rom **hospitāre* 'to receive as a guest'); HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* II 149 (agrees with JOKL).

shpie aor. *shpura*, *shpum* 'to bring away'. Prefixal derivative of *bie* (MEYER Wb. 35). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 82-83 (from *-*perō* related to *pruva*). *LKUBA* 230; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105 (agrees with JOKL); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257-258; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 63; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 366-367.

shpih ~ **shpif** aor. *shpiha* ~ *shpifa* 'to slander, to calumniate'. The initial *sh-* is a prefix as it follows from *këpif* 'to blame' (MEYER Wb. 413). Continues PAIb *-*peikška* related to OHG *fehan* 'to hate', Lith *peikiū*, *peikti* 'to blame'. ◇ FRAENKEL 525; POKORNY I 795.

shpik aor. *shpik* 'to drink out, to find out'. Derived from *pik*.

shpinë f, pl. *shpina* 'back, spine'. Borrowed from Lat *spīna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER Wb. 414). Note the lack of rhotacism in Tosk. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 150.

shpirt m, pl. *shpirtëra* ~ *shpirtna*, *shpirtë* 'soul, spirit'. Borrowed from Lat *spīritus* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER Wb. 414). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 148-149.

shpirrë f 'asthma'. Deverbative based on *-*shpirroj* continuing Rom *-*dis-spīrāre*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62 (based on Lat *spīrāre*); MEYER Wb. 414 (same as MIKLOSICH).

shplaj aor. *shplava* 'to rinse'. Parallel forms are *shpëljaj* and *shpërlaj*. A prefixal derivative of *laj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 149). ◇ CAMARDA I 40 (to IE *-*pleu-* 'to swim, to float'); MEYER Wb. 237, *Alb. St.* IV 99 (from Rom *-*ex-per-lavāre*).

shpoj aor. *shpova* 'to drill'. Another form is *shpuaj*. Borrowed from Rom *-*ex-pugere* for *-*ex-pungere* 'to prick out, to strike out' (MEYER Wb. 414) or rather, from *-*ex-pāgere* 'to pierce'. ◇ CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk σπᾶω 'to pull'); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 12-14, *LKUBA* 217, 244 (from *-*pēriō*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 69; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 63; ÇABEJ *St.* III 154, 179-180, VII 258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 367-368.

shpor m, pl. *shporë* 'spur; rooster's breast'. Borrowed from Rom

**spora* 'spur' (MEYER *Wh.* 414), a Gothic loanword unattested in Rumanian. The verb *shporoj* 'to pierce' is derived from *shpor* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 368). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 120-123 (*shporoj* to *shpoj*), LKUBA 217, 244; MEYER-LÜBKE 616; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 69.

shportë f, pl. *shporta* 'basket'. Borrowed from Lat *sporta* 'basket, sieve' (MEYER *Wh.* 414). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *sporta* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 151.

shporr aor. *shporra* 'to move away, to drive away'. Based on PALb **pāra* related to Skt *pīparti* 'to bring over, to save', Gk περάω, πείρω 'to penetrate' and the like (CAMARDA II 152; to Gk πόρσω 'forwards'). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 84 (to Goth *fairra* 'far', Skt *pāra-* 'ulterior, further'); FRISK II 491; MAYRHOFFER II 284; POKORNY I 816-817; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

shpreh aor. *shpreha* 'to express, to speak'. Goes back to PALb **iš-per-akška*, further connected with *eh* 'to sharpen' < **akška* and *preh* id. < **per-akška*, with the semantic development 'to sharpen' > 'to express' similar to that of Slav **raziti* 'to strike' ~ **vyraziti* 'to express', Lat *premere* 'to press' ~ *exprimere* 'to express' (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54) ◊ JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 249-250 (< PALb **spregska*, an inchoative in *-*sk̃-* connected with OE *sprecan* 'to speak', OS *sprekan* id., OHG *sprehhan* id.); PORZIG *Gliederung* 139 (follows JOKL); PISANI *REIE* IV 7 (from Rom **expressō*); POKORNY I 996-997; SGGJa I 100, 111; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 192; *SBJa Leksikol.* 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; HULD 98; SCHRIJVER *BC* 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 368-369 (against OREL).

shpreso aor. *shpresova* 'to hope'. Based on *shprej*, *shpërej* id. borrowed from Lat *spērāre* id. (MEYER *Wh.* 414).

shpretkë ~ shpënetkë f, pl. *shpretka ~ shpënetka* 'spleen'. Borrowed from Lat *splēnētīcum* 'related to spleen' (MEYER *Wh.* 413-414). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk σπλήν 'spleen'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 151.

shprishë f 'breakfast'. Deverbative based on *shprish* 'to card, to

comb; to have breakfast'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *prish*.

shprohë f 'deadly nightshade, belladonna'. From PAIb **sprēujā* related to MHG *sprājen* 'to be scattered' < Gmc **sprēwjān*. ◇ POKORNY I 994.

shputë f, pl. *shputa* 'foot sole'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav **stopa*, deverbative of **stopati* 'to step', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stъpam*, SCr *stupati*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 415 (from Slav **stopa* 'sole').

shpuzë f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Lat *spodium* 'ash' (MEYER Wb. 415) and passed to Rum *spuză*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1052; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (identical with Gk σπογγιά 'sponge'); SCHMIDT KZ L 245 (prefixal derivative of IE **peuōr-/pun-* 'fire'); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 29; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 349; ROSETTI ILR I 281; HAARMANN 151.

(G) **shqa** m 'Bulgarian'. Borrowed from Lat *sclavus* 'Slav' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER Wb. 410), cf. Rum *șchiau* id. (PUȘCARIU EWR 1547). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; CAMARDA I 87 (to Gk ξενία 'hospitality'); PUȘCARIU EWR 139; MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL IF XLIV 37, *Slavia* XIII 295; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 253; SKOK *ZfromPhil* LIV 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; SVANE 148; LANDI *Lat.* 105, 138.

shqarr m, pl. *shqarra* 'marten'. Another variant is *shar*. Continues PAIb **skera* related to Latv *skara* 'curly fur', Slav **skora* 'hide'. The original meaning must have been '(marten) fur'. For the semantic development cf. E *marten* borrowed from OFr *martrine* 'marten fur'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 399-400 (borrowed from Slav **дѣхоръ* 'pole-cat'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 153 (to Gk σκῶπ 'excrement'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; MÜHLENBACH-ENDZELIN III 872; VASMER III 650; ONIONS 558; ÇABEJ *St.* II 150 (from IE **sker-* 'to cut').

shqekë f, pl. *shqeka* 'blind; secret, hidden'.

shqelme 'step'. Derived from *shkel*. ◇ ÇABEJ

shqimtë adj. 'unhappy, abandon

shqimth m 'dandruff'. Deminut

shqem m 'threshold'. Singularized plural of *shkam* ~ *shkamb* 'stool, chair, threshold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 150-151). The latter was borrowed from MGk σκάμνον 'bench'.

shqeme f, pl. *shqeme* 'Rhus coriaria, sumach, plant used for tanning'. Singularized plural of **sh(ë)kam* < **sh(ë)mak*, a metathesized borrowing from MLat *summacus* id. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 151 (from Gk ὑοσκόμοσ 'kind of plant Hyoscyamus niger').

shqep aor. *shqepa* 'to rip, to tear'. The antonym of *qep* built with the prefix *sh-* (CAMARDA I 101; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219.

shqepoj aor. *shqepova* 'to be lame'. Based on *shqep* 'lame' borrowed from Rom **sclōpus* reflected in Rum *şchiop* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411). Other Romance languages have **cloppus*. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 139; MEYER-LÜBKE 159, *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124 (from Rom **excloppus*).

shqerr aor. *shqorra* 'to tear (cloth)'. From PALb **skera* related to Gk κείρω 'to cut off', OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut off' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St.* III 60, 71). From here *shqerrë* 'coarse' is derived. ◇ JOKL *IF* XXX 197, *LKUBA* 156 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249-250; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35 (to Dac σκιάρη 'kind of thorny plant'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; GEORGIEV *Issledovaniya* 114 (follows BARIÇ); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; FRISK I 810-811; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; POKORNY I 938-939; DEMIRAJ *AE* 369-370.

shqezë f, pl. *shqeza* 'harrow'. Derived from *shqeyj*.

shqile f 'rennet'. Dialectal variant of **shtile*, derived from *shtjell* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 370). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 282 (prefixal derivative of *qel* 'to bring, to

ed, lonely'. Related to *shqimth*.

ive in *-th* derived from *qime*.

shqelm m, pl. *shqelma*, *shq*
St. VII 241.

snqyej aor. *snqyeva* 'to tear, to break'. From PAID **skanja* related to IE **sken-* 'to split' mainly represented by a deverbative adjective **sken-to-*, cf., for example, Bret *skant* 'scales', ON *skinn* 'hide, skin'. ◇ POKORNY I 929.

shqymb aor. *shqymba* 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Continues PALb **skūmba*, a nasal present related to Goth *af-skiuban* 'to push back, to reject', Lith *skumbù, skūbti* 'to hurry up', Slav **skubō, *skubati* 'to pull, to tear'. ◇ FRAENKEL 820; FEIST *Goth.* 9; VASMER III 660; POKORNY I 955.

shqyrtoj aor. *shqyrtova* 'to examine, to observe'. The original form must have been **shkrytoj*. Borrowed from Lat *scrūtārī* 'to examine, to find out'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 388 (from Rom **disquirītāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 152 (derived from *qyr*).

shqyt m, pl. *shqyta* 'shield'. Borrowed from Lat *scūtum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

shregull f, pl. *shregulla* 'swing'. Derived from *rregull* preserving the otherwise unattested meaning of Lat *rēgula* 'bar, board'.

shtagë f, pl. *shtaga* 'pole, stick'. Continues PALb **stagā* etymologically connected with ON *stjaki* id., Latv *stēga* 'long pole' and the like. ◇ POKORNY I 1014.

shtalbër m 'wooden snare'. Based on PALb **stalba*, an *o*-grade form related to ON *stolpi* 'beam, girder', Lith *stulbas* 'post, pole', Slav **stьlbъ* id. reflecting the zero-grade of **stelb-*. ◇ VASMER III 765; FRAENKEL 930; POKORNY I 1020.

shtalkë f, pl. *shtalka* 'frame'. From PALb **stalikā*, nominal derivative based on IE **stel-* attested in various forms such as, for example, Skt *sthāla-* 'elevation', Gk *στολή* 'equipment', MLG *stale* 'post' and other similar continuants. ◇ FRISK II 786-788; MAYRHOFER III 525; POKORNY I 1019-1020.

shtalp m 'rennet'. Continues PALb **stalpa* related to *shtjell* in view

shqipiu m. masculine-acc. FOLLOWED FROM GR ΟΧΙΝΟΣ id. (ÇABEJ St. II 151-152) with -χ- rendered as *-k- > -g-. ◇ MEYER Wb. 411 (from NGk σκίφος, σχῖνος id.).

shqipe adj. 'Albanian'. Calque of Slav *slověne 'Slavs' (from *slovq, *sluti 'to speak clearly') based on *shqipoj* 'to speak clearly' (TRUBAČEV Slav. jaz. XI 6). The historical and cultural importance of this calque is unprecedented insofar as it reflects a situation of ethnic symbiosis in the area. This situation must have followed the Proto-Albanian period. ◇ CAMARDA II 152 (to *shqipe* 'eagle'); MEYER Wb. 411 (*shqipe* derived from *shqipoj*); DIEFENBACH Türk. 27 (to *sqep*); TREIMER IF XXXV 135-137 (prefixal derivative of *qipi* 'heap' < *sem-kūpo- 'people, gathering'); SOLMSEN Eig. 98; JAKOBSON IJSL 1959/1-2 271 (*slověne from *slovo 'word'); POLÁK Slavia LIX 347-350; TRUBAČEV Etimologija 1980 12-13 (Slav *slověne from *slovq, *sluti); ÇABEJ LVJSOS IV 78-96 (*shqipoj* as a denominative of *shqipe*).

shqipe ~ shqype f, pl. *shqipe ~ shqype* 'eagle'. Contamination of *shkabë* and *shqipoj* < Lat *excipere* in its original meaning 'to take out, to seize'. The influence of Lat *accipiter* 'bird of prey' cannot be altogether excluded. ◇ CAMARDA II 152 (to *shkabë*); MEYER Wb. 276-277 (from Lat *accipiter*); JOKL LKUBA 307-308 (prefixal derivative of *qep*); TAGLI-
AVINI Stratificazione 141; LANDI Lat. 120, 130.

shqipoj aor. *shqipova* 'to speak clearly, to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *excipere* id. (MEYER Wb. 411). ◇ CAMARDA I 124-125; HAARMANN 124.

shqirrë f, pl. *shqirra* 'reed'. Derived from *shqerr*.

shqis aor. *shqita* 'to tear, to separate'. Derived from *qis*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 243.

shqitë f, pl. *shqita* 'slippery place'. Derived from *shkas*.

shqopë f, pl. *shqopa* 'brier'. With a secondary -q-, borrowed from Lat *scōpa* 'twig, branch' (KRISTOFORIDHI 396; WEIGAND BA II 224). ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 152, IV 88-89.

shquaj ~ shquej aor. *shqova* 'to discern, to stress, to learn'. Derived from *quaj*.

of its derivative *mbë-shtillem* 'to become sour' (JOKL *LKUBA* 282-230). $\diamond$ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 171 (explains dialectal *shtarp* as related to Gk τρέφω 'to make sour, of milk'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284-285 (to *gjalpë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; ÇABEJ *St.* II 152-153 (agrees with JOKL).

shtallë f, pl. *shtalla* 'stall'. Borrowed from Lat *stabulum* id. $\diamond$ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (from Ital *stalla*).

shtang adj. 'hard'. From PALb **stanga* related to ON *stinga* 'to put, to stick', Lith *stėngiu*, *stėngti* 'to be able', *stiñgti* 'to become hard', Latv *stiñgti* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39) $\diamond$ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk στέγω 'to cover'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stanga*); FRAENKEL 895-896, 906, *ZfslavPh* XXIII 344 (to OHG *stanga*); POKORNY I 1015.

shtarët adj. 'bitter'. Continues PALb **stara* etymologically related to Gk στερεός 'tough, hard', ON *starr* 'stiff', Lith *steñti* 'to become stiff, to harden' and the like. $\diamond$ FRISK II 790-791; FRAENKEL 902-903; POKORNY 1022; MANN *Language* XXVI 381-382 (to Av *stavro* 'strong', Skt *sthāvara-*).

shtat m, pl. *shtatra* ~ *shtatna* 'figure, image'. Borrowed from Lat *status* 'height, stature' (MEYER *Wb.* 415). $\diamond$ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stato*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (against MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (from IE **sthātos*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

shtatë num. 'seven'. Goes back to PALb **septati-* from IE **septm-ti-*. The latter is derived from IE **septm* 'seven', cf. Skt *saptá-*, Gk ἑπτά, Lat *septem* (BOPP 459; CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 415, *Alb. St.* III 33, 59). From the point of view of derivation, *shtatë* is close to such abstract formations in **-ti-* as Skt *saptatí-* 'seventy, seven tens', cf. BRUGMANN *Gr.* I 722, 971. $\diamond$ JOKL *Studien* 48 (on the group **-pt- > -t-*), *LKUBA* 315; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284, *Kelt. Gr.* I 72, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 222, 224; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 39; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 106; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35; MAYRHOFER III 431; FRISK I 545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 517-518; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351-352; POKORNY I 909; HAMP *Numerals* 914; HULD 142; KÖDDERITZSCH *St. albanica* XXII/2 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 370.

shtazë, shtëzë ~ shtâzë f, pl. *shtazë, shtëzë ~ shtâzë* 'animal'. The original Tosk form is *shtëzë*. Derivative in -zë (MEYER Wb. 415) of an unattested **shtë* ~ *shtâ* continuing PALb **stana* from IE **stāno-*, an adjective in *-no- from IE **st(h)ā-* 'to stand' (JOKL LKUBA 245-247 with a reconstruction of the phonetically difficult full grade in **st(h)ā-no-*). ◇ MEYER Wb. 415 (from Rom **bēstāna*, based on Lat *bēstia* 'animal, beast'); BUGGE BB XVIII 186 (from Rom **extrāna* for Lat *extrānea*, fem. 'outside, external, strange'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; POKORNY I 1004-1008; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 64, 125 (to *shtie*); ÇABEJ St. II 154-155 (agrees with JOKL); OREL ZfBalk XXIII 150 (to OHG *stati* 'strong, tough'); HULD KZ XCVI 152-158 (identical with Lat *quadrupēs* 'having four feet'), XCVIII 101 (reconstructs **k^{et}(u)or pd-^{jē}H*); DEMIRAJ AE 371.

shteg m, pl. *shtigje* 'path, road'. From PALb **staiga* identical with IE **stoigho-* 'way': Gk στωῖχος 'row, line', Goth *staiga* 'way', Latv *staīga* 'walking', *stīga* 'path', Slav **stъza* id. (MEYER Wb. 415, Alb. St. III 9, 58). ◇ MEYER Gr. Gr. 275; PETERSSON LUÅ XIX/6 12; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 99; FRISK II 783-785; CHANTRAINE 1049; FEIST *Goth.* 447; POKORNY I 1017-1018; KLINGENSMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 102; HULD 114; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; KORTLANDT SSSL X 221; DEMIRAJ AE 371-372.

shterë f, pl. *shtera* 'mortar'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *pistōrium* 'related to flour-grinding'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 415 (from Rom **pistārium* for Lat *pistōrium*); HAARMANN 142.

shterpë adj. 'barren, sterile'. A parallel form *shterkë* continues **shterp-kë* (JOKL apud TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259). Borrowed from Gk στéριφος id. (DEMIRAJ AE 373). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *starí* 'sterile cow'); HERZOG *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 736 (from Rom **extirpus* 'barren, sterile'); TREIMER *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 391 n. 1 (against HERZOG); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259 (to *shtjerrë*); DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 153 (to Lat *sterilis*); HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (from Gk στéρφος); LANDI *Lat.* 57, 82.

shterrë f, pl. *shterra* 'heifer'. Related to *shtjerr* and *shtjerrë*, pl. of *qengj*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149-150.

shtet m, pl. *shtete* 'state'. Historically identical with *shtat*. Singularized plural of **shtat* borrowed from Lat *status* id.

shtëllungë f, pl. *shtëllunga* 'flock of wool'. Derivative in *-ungë* from *shtjell* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196). ◇ WEIGAND 85-86 (from *shtëllis*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 155 (follows PEDERSEN).

shtëmbë ~ shtambë f, pl. *shtëmba ~ stamba* 'clay vessel'. Borrowed from Gk στόμνος 'large vessel' (CAMARDA I 83; MANN *Language* XVII 23). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 391, *Alb. St.* IV 109 (from NGk στόμνα 'pitcher'); JOKL *ZONF* X 191-192 (from IE **sthā-* 'to stand'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 153-154 (repeats MANN's etymology).

shtëmëngët adj. 'left; standing aside'. Prefixal form related to *mangut*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

shtëngër adj. 'squinting'. Based on **shtëng* borrowed from Rom **stancus* 'weak, left': Rum *stîng*, Ital *stanco*, OFr *estanc* (MEYER *Wb.* 415). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 48.

(G) **shtëpâ** m, pl. *shtëpanj* 'shepherd producing cheese, cheese-maker'. The Tosk form must have been **shtëpër*. Its existence is confirmed by *shtëpreshë*. An early borrowing from Slav **stopanъ*, cf. *stopan* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 155).

shtëpi f, pl. *shtëpi, shtëpira* 'house'. A morphological adaptation of the metathesized Lat *hospitium* 'lodging, inn, guest-chamber', cf. NGk σπίτι 'house' (CAMARDA I 100; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 415-416). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256-257, *Origini* 191; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 129; HULD 115; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

shtëpreshë ~ shpneshë f, pl. *shtëpresha ~ shpnesh* 'female shepherd; (good) housewife'. Another phonetic variant is *shtëpresë*. Feminine form of *shtëpâ* semantically influenced by *shtëpi* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 155-156).

shtërg m, pl. *shtërgj* 'stork'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *štrǎk*, SCr *štrk*. Note the voicing of the auslaut -k.

shtëroj aor. *shtërova* 'to run dry, to dry up'. Another variant is *shtroj*. Based on *shter(r)* id. derived from *ter*.

shtërzim m, pl. *shtërzime* 'labor pains'. From **shtërpëzim*, based on *shterpë*.

shtërras aor. *shterra* 'to diminish, to shrink'. Another variant is *shtërr-roj*. Borrowed from Lat *extenuāre* 'to make smaller'.

shtiak m, pl. *shtiakë* 'miscarriage'. Derived from *shtie*.

shtiaz pl. 'sparks'. Postverbal of *shtie* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 156). ◇ THUMB KZ XXXVI 186-187, *IF* XXVI 9 (from NGk ἑστία 'fire'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 195 (dialectal plural of *shtijë*).

shtie aor. *shtura*, *shtyra*, *shtira*, *shtiva* 'to pour in, to put in, to throw'. From PALB **stera* related to Skt *str̥ṇāti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk στόρνουμι 'to stretch, to spread', Lat *sternō* 'to spread', Slav **stǫrŏ*, **sterti* id. (JOKL *Studien* 84-85). ◇ CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk στείχω 'to walk, to march'); MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to *shtjell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *LKUBA* 127; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259-260; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 8 (part. *shtënë* < **standhno-*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 21 (reconstructs **steuno-*); FRISK II 802-803; WALDE-HOFMANN II 590-591; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; VASMER III 379; POKORNY I 1030; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 63; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIII 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374-375.

shtijë f, pl. *shtija* 'spear, ray'. Borrowed from Lat *hasta* 'spear' (MEYER *Wb.* 416). Derived from *shtijë* is *shtizë* 'spear'. ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 413 (to *shtie*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 89.

shtiret refl. 'to pretend, to simulate'. Derived from *shtie*, cf. refl. *shtihet* id. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

shtirë adj. 'weak'. Related to *shtie*, cf. *shtiret*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 416.

shtjell aor. *shtolla* 'to throw'. Continues PAIb **stela* etymologically connected with Gk στελλω 'to put, to set', OHG *stellen* 'to put', OPrus *stalliti* 'to stand' (CAMARDA I 44; MEYER Wb. 416, Alb. St. III 58, 77). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 543; JOKL IF XXXVII 111, LKUBA 127; PISANI Saggi 119; FRISK II 786-788; ENDZELINS DI IV/2 313; POKORNY I 1019-1020; ÇABEJ St. VII 230-231; DEMIRAJ AE 376.

shtjerr aor. *shtorra* 'to untwist, to untwine'. Derived from *tjerr*.

shtjerrë f 'lamb, young cow, heifer'. Another variant is *shqerrë*. Continues PAIb **sternā* or **sterjā* related to Skt *starī*, Gk στεῖρα and the like (MEYER Alb. St. III 58). See *qengj*. Borrowed to Rum *stirā* 'sterile (of animals)'. ◇ STIER KZ XI 209-210; MEYER Gr. Gr. 232; JOKL LKUBA 156; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 259; LA PIANA Studi I 95; POGHIRC Ist. limb. rom. II 350; ROSETTI ILR I 282; HAMP Münch. St. Spr. XL 37 (remodelled from pl. *shqerra* and related to *krye*); DEMIRAJ AE 376-378.

shtog m, pl. *shtogje* 'elder, elder-berry'. From PAIb **stāga* related to *shtagë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 417 (from Rum *soc* id., with serious doubts); BARIĆ ARSt 32; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147 (from Lat *sabucus*).

shtoj aor. *shtova* 'to increase'. Continues PAIb **stānja* etymologically connected with Skt *tiṣṭhati* 'to stand', Gk ἵστημι 'to put', Lat *stō* 'to stand', OHG *stān* id., Lith *stōju*, *stōti* id., Slav **stojo*, **stojati* id. (CAMARDA I 176). ◇ PEDERSEN Kelt. Gr. I 79; BARIĆ ARSt 69 (to Lat *tōtus* 'whole'); LA PIANA St. Varia 23; MANN Language XXVI 381 (derives *shtoj* from **stājō*); FRISK I 739; FRAENKEL 914; MAYRHOFER II 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; VASMER III 769; POKORNY I 1004-1005; CIMOCHOWSKI St. IE 45; KLINGENSCHMITT Münch. St. Spr. XL 103, 125; ÇABEJ St. VII 227, 242; DEMIRAJ AE 378 (to IE **steHy-o-*).

agnant green on ponds'. From PAIb **strapa* related to MHG 'Lith *par-strapinti* 'to drag oneself back'. ◇ FRAENKEL POKORNY I 1025.

'shepherd's purse'. Derived from *shtrap*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II *ërpinj* and *gjarpër*).

shtrapëzoj aor. *shtrapëzova* 'to spread'. Derived from *trapezë*.

shtrat m, pl. *shtretër* ~ *shtretën* 'bed; layer'. Borrowed from Lat *stratum* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 64; MEYER Wb. 417). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1041; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 260; MANN Language XVII 18 (related to Gk στρατός); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 152; LANDI Lat. 177.

shtreb aor. *shtreba* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Verbal form connected with *shtrep*.

shtregë f 'pile of wood'. From PAIb **stragā* related to MHG *strac* 'tight', OE *strec* 'hard, strong'. ◇ HOLTHAUSEN AEW 324; POKORNY I 1023 (adduces nonexistent Lith *strēgti* 'to harden, to freeze').

shtrek m, pl. *shtriqe* 'corpse, carrion'. From PAIb **streka* reflecting a noun derived from IE **ster-* 'unclean liquid, manure'. Note that a similar semantic evolution is found in ORuss *stǫrvъ* 'corpse, dead body' belonging to the same root. The Albanian form seems to represent a case of Schwebeablaut if confronted with such derivative of **ster-* as Lat *stercus* 'excrements'. Note, however, Celtic forms based on **strenk-*: Bret *stroñk* id., W *trwnc* id. (OREL Linguistica XXIV 434-435). ◇ WALDE-HOFMANN II 589; POKORNY I 1031-1032.

shtrembër adj. 'crooked, curved'. An earlier form is *shtremb*. Borrowed from Rom **strambus* id.: Rum *strîmb*, Ital *strambo* and the like (MEYER Wb. 417). ◇ HAARMANN 151-152; LANDI Lat. 47-48.

shtrenjtë adj. 'dear, expensive'. Borrowed from Rom **strinctus* 'narrow': Rum *strîmt*, Venet *strento*, SItal *strinto* (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 64; MEYER Wb. 418). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE MRIW I 24, Gr. Grundriß² I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 260-261.

shtrep m, pl. *shtrepa* 'maggot, larva'. There exists a parallel form *shtrebë*. As to pl. tantum *shtërpinj* 'reptiles, vermin', it is an obvious derivative (plural) of *shtrep*. Goes back to PAIb **straupa* etymologically close to Slav **strupъ* 'wound, scab, poison'. Borrowed to Rum *strepede* 'cheese worms'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 137 (connects *shtërpinj* with *gjarpër* supposing **sr-* > **str-* in Proto-Albanian); JOKL Reallex. Vorgesch. I

shtrap m 's
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shtrapër m
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90, LKUBA 283-284; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 284; VASMER III 784-785; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 105; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 349; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; HULD 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374.

shtreth m, pl. *shtretha* 'board'. Derivative of *shtrat*.

shtreze f, pl. *shtreze* 'stern (of a ship)'. Singularized plural of **shtër-
ez* based on an unattested **shtërë* < PALb **steura*. The latter was borrowed from Gmc **steurō* 'steering paddle, rudder, stern', cf. OE *stéor*, further related to Gmc **steurjan* 'to steer'. ◇ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 320.

shtrëngo aor. *shtrëngova* 'to press, to squeeze'. Borrowed from Lat *stringere* 'to stretch, to press, to squeeze' (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH *Lat. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 260; DURIDANOV *BE* 4-5 (1968) 401-406; HAARMANN 152.

shtrigë f, pl. *shtriga* 'witch'. Borrowed from Lat *striga* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (assumes Slavic mediation); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261 (prefers the Latin etymology).

shtrij aor. *shtriva* 'to spread, to stretch'. From PALb **strinja* related to Skt *stṛñāti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk *στόρνυμι* 'to spread, to stretch', Lat *sternō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 50, 59). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 52; JOKL *Studien* 85, *Mélanges Pedersen* 150, *Sprache* IX 120; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; FRISK II 802-803; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 195; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; WALDEHOFMANN II 590-591; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 137, *St.* VII 206; HAMP *LB* XX 116; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 115-116; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 65; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378-379.

shtrij aor. *shtrija* 'to stretch (of arms and legs)'. Based on *shtrij*.

shtrofkë f, pl. *shtrofka* 'den'. Derived from *shtrohë* ~ *shtrofë* (OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 353). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (from Slav **stropъ* 'roof'); JOKL LKUBA 101, *Mélanges Pedersen* 150 (to *shtroj*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 156 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 379.

shtrohë ~ **shtrofë** f, pl. *shtroha* ~ *shtrofa* 'kennel'. From PALb **strājā*,

a long-grade form connected with Latv *straja* 'stall covered with straw', Slav **strojъ* 'construction', and further, with Lat *stria* 'furrow, fold' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (analyzes Geg *shtrof* as a borrowing from Slav **stropъ* 'roof'); JOKL *LKUBA* 101; WALDE-HOFMANN II 602; VASMER III 780.

shtroj aor. *shtrova* 'to spread'. From PALb **strānja*, long grade of the same root as in *shtrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◇ CAMARDA I 139; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052 (from Lat *sternō* 'to spread'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 255-256; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 241.

shtrosë f, pl. *shtrosa* 'goat hide (used as a cushion)'. Derived from *shtroj*.

shtrud m 'strawberry'. Phonetic variant of *shtrydh*, cf. also *shtrydhëz* id. Derived from *shtrydh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 157). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (to Slovene *truskelica* 'garden strawberry' and the like); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 101 (to Lat *frāgum* id.); RĂDULESCU *JIES* III 385-393 (< IE **strugʰh-*).

shtrungë f, pl. *shtrunga* 'milking enclosure'. Derived from *shtroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 157-158). From Albanian, the term was borrowed by various languages of the Balkans and of the Carpathian area, cf. Rum *strungă*. ◇ HAHN 127 (to *shtrëngo*); MEYER *Wb.* 418 (loanword of dubious origin); JOKL *Studien* 89 (from IE **strug-* as in Lat *stringō* 'to press, to squeeze'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105, *AArbSt* I 154-156 (from **sm-tronk'ā* related to G *drängen* 'to press', ON *þróngr* 'narrow'); GIUGLEA *DR* II 343-345 (crossing of Gmc **stanga* 'pole' and Rom **rūga* 'road, street'); MEYER-LÜBKE *DR* IV 642-645 (crossing of Rom **stringa* and **rūga*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 334; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281-282.

shtrydh aor. *shtrydha* 'to squeeze out'. Related to *ndrydh*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (from Latin); PISANI *Saggi* 122.

shtrrak m, pl. *shtrraqe*, *shtrriqe* 'partition wall; hut used to isolate a sick animal'. Borrowed from Rom **sternăcus* based on Lat *sternō* 'to spread, to cover'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 158-159 (identical with *shtrat*).

shtuara adv. 'upright'. Based on *shtuar* ~ OGeg *shtuom*, participle of

shtoj (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196, *Kelt. Gr.* I 70, 79). ◇ *JOKL Studien* 88; ÇABEJ *St.* II 159 (follows PEDERSEN).

shtunë ~ sh(ë)tundë f, pl. *shtuna ~ shtunda* 'Saturday'. From an earlier form *shëtundë* (BUZUKU, BARDHI) continuing Lat *Saturni diēs* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Lat *sabbatum*); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rom **sambata* with a metathesis); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262 (follows SKOK); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 58, VII 268; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 134, 159.

shtupë f 'tow'. Borrowed from Lat *stuppa* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 395, *Alb. St.* IV 110 (from NGk στουπί id.); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLIV 332-337; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 159; HAARMANN 152.

shturë f, pl. *shtura* 'starling'. Borrowed from Lat *sturnus* id.

shtyj ~ shtyj aor. *shtyta, shtyva, shtyra ~ shtyna* 'to push'. From PALB **stūdnja* etymologically close to Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tundō* 'to push', OIr *do-tuit* 'to fall', Goth *stautan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). ◇ *JOKL Studien* 3 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 10-11 (to Lith *stūmti* 'to push'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261-262; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FEIST *Goth.* 451; MAYRHOFFER I 511; WALDE-HOFMANN II 616-617; POKORNY I 1033-1034; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 379-380.

shtyllë f, pl. *shtylla* 'post, column'. Borrowed from Gk στῦλος id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from NGk στῦλος id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 151 (from Lat *stilus*).

shtyp aor. *shtypa* 'to crush, to squash, to break into pieces'. Derived from **typ*, cf. *typth*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to Lat *stīpāre* 'to press together'), *Alb. St.* III 59; KRISTOFORIDHI 414 (to Gk τύπτω 'to strike'); WEIGAND 236 (from Slav **stępati* 'to step'); *JOKL Studien* 85-87 (from **shtryp* related to Gk τρᾶπέω 'to tread grapes'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263.; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk τύπτω); CHANTRAINE 1129; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

shtyr ~ shtir aor. *shtyra ~ shtira* 'to push; to cross (a river)'. Derived from *shtyj*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to Skt *tārati* 'to cross over').

shuaj ~ shuej aor. *shova, shuajta, shohta* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Lat *subjugāre* 'to subjugate' with the loss of two intervocalic voiced stops. ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σβέννυμι 'to quench'); MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from Lat *exungere* 'to anoint'); JOKL *LKUBA* 329; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 327 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk ψάω < *k'sājō); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257.

shuguroj aor. *shugurova* 'to ordain'. Other phonetic variants are *shëkroj, shukroj, shugroj*. From Lat *sacrāre* 'to sanctify' (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◇ HAARMANN 147.

shuj aor. *shujta* 'to be silent'. An onomatopoeia based on *shuj* 'hush!'.

shuk aor. *shuka* 'to throw'. Derived from here are *shuk* 'ball' and *shukull* 'mignonette'. A prefixal derivative of PALb **uka* related to IE **uek-* 'to bend', cf. in particular Skt *vacyāte* 'to fly up'. ◇ POKORNY I 1134.

shul m, pl. *shule* 'post, pole'. Borrowed from Slav **šulb* 'log, trunk', cf. in South Slavic: Slovene *šulj*, SCr *šulj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 419 (to Slav **sulica* 'spear'), Alb. *St.* III 43 (from **sud-lo-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131 (from Lat *insubulum* 'weaver's beam').

shul adv. 'one-sided, crooked'. Prefixal derivative of *ul*.

shullatë f, pl. *shullata* 'drain, gutter'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *sublāta* 'lifted, raised'.

shullë ~ shullâ m 'sunny spot'. Borrowed from Lat *solānus* (*locus*) id. (MEYER *Wb.* 419). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 88, 157.

shumë adv. 'many, much'. Borrowed from Lat *summus* 'uppermost, highest' (MEYER *Wb.* 419). ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (cognate of Lat *summus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263; JOKL *Arch. Roman.* XXIV 134 (borrowing from the substantive Lat

summa); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 196 (from neut. Lat *summum*); HULD 116; HAARMANN 58, 152.

shungulloj aor. *shungullova* 'to shake'. Borrowed from Rom **exungulāre* for **exundulāre* 'to seethe'.

shuplakë f, pl. *shuplaka* 'palm'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCr *supljaca* (MEYER *Wb.* 419-420). ◇ CAMARDA II 167 (to Gk πλήσσω 'to strike, to hit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264, *Stratificazione* 96-97; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 252 (to OFr *soufflace* 'slap in the face').

shurdhër adj. 'deaf'. Another morphological variant is *shurdhët*. Borrowed from Lat *surdus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046, 1049; 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 152.

shurqel m, pl. *shurqela* 'waterfall'. Singularized plural of **shurkal* < **shurkadël*, a nominal derivative of **shurkadoj* borrowed from Lat *super-cadere* 'to fall down (of water)'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 159-160 (identical with *zurkal* id. and further connected with *rrëkajë*).

shurukoj aor. *shurukova* 'to thunder, to make noise'. Borrowed from Rom **subraucare* 'to make hoarse', cf. Ital dial. *surragare*.

shurrë f 'urine'. Derived from *shurr* 'to urinate', a prefixal form based on PALb **ura* connected with Skt *vār* 'water', Tokh A *wär*, B *war* id., ON *vari* id. and the like, cf. in particular Lat *ūrīna* 'urine' (JOKL *Studien* 89-90). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 420 (to Gmc **suraz* 'sour', Lith *sūras* 'salty'), Alb. *St.* III 43, 73; BARIĆ *ARSt* 96-97 (to Skt *kṣara-* 'water'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195 (to Bulg *šurkam* 'to urinate'); MAYRHOFER III 194; WALDE-HOFMANN II 840; VAN WINDEKENS I 557-558; POKORNY I 80; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 46 (to Gk σκῶρ 'dung'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251; HAMP *Evidence* 139 (to Hitt *šëhur* 'urine'); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208, KZ LXXXVI 131 (treats *shurrë* as a *Lallwort*); MURATI *Probleme* 133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 380.

shushallë f, pl. *shushalla* 'peeled corn-cob'. Derived from **shush* borrowed from Lat *exossus* 'boneless, devoid of bones'.

shushkĕl f, pl. *shushkla* 'pod'. Variant of *shikĕl*.

shushunjĕ f, pl. *shushunja* 'leech'. Borrowed from the metathesize Rom **saguisungia* < Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER Wb. 420). ◇ HAARMANN 148.

shut adj. 'hornless'. Another form is *shyt*. Borrowed from Slav **šutъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *šut*, SCr *šut* (MEYER Wb. 420). Rum *ciut* id. goes back to the same source. ◇ DENSUSIANU GS I 245 (from Iranian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 707 (Rum *ciut* from Albanian); IL'INSKIJ IORJaS XX/3 103 (identifies Slav **šutъ* 'hornless' with **šutъ* 'clown, stupid' < IE **kseu-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; GOLAB MJ X 27 (from a Balkan substratum); RUSSU TD 203-204 (Rum *ciut* is from Dacian); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 109; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* 340; KLEPIKOVA SPT 84-86; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 153 (from IE **skhed-* 'to split'); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 67-71 (farfetched Romance etymology from Lat *sectāre*); ROSETTI ILR I 275; MOUTSOS ZfBalk XXV/2 161-165 (from Rumanian).

(T) **shutra** pl. 'comb (to card linen or wool)'. Based on Lat *sūtus* 'sewn together'.

T

tabelĕ f, pl. *tabela* 'table, plate'. Borrowed from Lat *tabella* id.

taç pron. 'the one that, the one which'. The univerbation of *ta*, neut. of *ai*, and *çĕ* (ÇABEJ St. II 160).

taft m 'stench; scorching heat'. Borrowed from Lat *tāctus* 'touch, feeling'. ◇ MANN HAED 508 (to *aht* 'sigh' and *afsh*); ÇABEJ St. VII 243.

taftar m 'funnel'. Borrowed from Rom **traiectārium* id. for Lat *traiectōrium* id. (MEYER Wb. 421). ◇ JOKL IF XXXVII 209 (from Rom **trānsfunditōrium*); BARIÇ *Hymje* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 71-73; ÇABEJ St. II 160-161 (follows MEYER but reconstructs Rom **tractārius*); HAARMANN 154.

taiě f. pl. *taia* 'screw'

tajiis 'to feed' (from NGk τὰγίζω id.). ◇ MEYER Wb. 422 (*tajě* 'wet-nurse' from Turkish).

tajkě f 'kind of oblong grapes'. Derived from **tajě* borrowed from Lat *tālea* 'cut off part, trunk'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 162-163 (borrowed from SCr *tamjanika* 'kind of grapes', Bulg *tam'anika* id.).

take f, pl. *take* 'small boat'. Borrowed from Turk *taka* 'kind of boat' (ÇABEJ St. II 163). ◇ JOKL LKUBA 161 (from SCr *tak* 'pole, post'); TREIMER Slavia III 448 (agrees with JOKL).

takoj aor. *takova* 'to reach, to meet, to get'. Borrowed from Rom **toccāre* 'to touch' which, however, leaves unexplained the root vowel in Albanian. ◇ MEYER Wb. 422 (from Ital *toccare* 'to strike, to touch'); ÇABEJ St. VII 217.

talě f 'measure, size'. Borrowed from Rom **talía* 'tally': Ital *taglia*, OFr *taille*, Sp *taja* and the like.

tall aor. *talla* 'to ridicule, to deride'. From PAIb **talna*, causative related to OIr *tuilid* 'to sleep', Lith *tylù, tìlti* 'to become silent', Slav **toliti* 'to persuade, to make quiet' and their cognates. ◇ FRAENKEL 1095; VASMER IV 71; VENDRYES [T] 170; POKORNY I 1062.

tallě f 'Sorghum halepense; peeled corn-cob; corn straw'. From PAIb **talā*, zero-grade connected with Gk τῆλις 'fenugreek', Lith *atólas* 'first grass emerging after the hay-mowing' (RESELLI RIL XCI 475-476). ◇ MEYER Wb. 423 (borrowed from Lat *talla* 'skin of onion'); POKORNY I 1055; FRISK II 892-893; FRAENKEL 22; ÇABEJ St. II 163-164 (borrowed from Lat *tālea* 'sprout, shooting'); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152; LANDI Lat. 28, 126.

tamě f, pl. *tamě* 'water-source'. Derived from *amě* with a prefix *t-* continuing PAIb **at-*. The prefix is etymologically identical with Lith *at-* 'from', Slav **ot(ъ)-* id. ◇ XHUVANI - ÇABEJ BShkSh 1956/4 99 (recombination of the oblique case form *tě amě*); FRAENKEL 20; VASMER III 168; POKORNY I 344-345; ÇABEJ St. II 164.

tamě f 'smell, stench'. As in *tamě* 'water-source', a prefixal deriva-

case *tě amě*).

tangallě f, pl. *tangalla* 'big forest'. Derived from PAIb **tāle* (forest)' related to ON *þétrr* 'thick', Lith *tánkus* id. ◇ POKORNY I 1068; ÇABEJ St. VII 254, 281.

tangě f 'resentment, prejudice, damnation'. An early loan Slav **toga* 'grief'. ◇ MANN Language XXVI 386 (related to DEMIRAJ AE 381).

tapě f, pl. *tapa* 'cork'. Borrowed from Romance **tappum, tappo*, Catal *tap*.

tarogzě f, pl. *tarogza* 'helmet'. The word seems to be FISHTA and representing a derivative in *-zě* based on *ta*. St. Fil. XVIII/2 5-9 (borrowed from Gk θώρακεῖον MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/3-4 350; DI GIOVINE SSL XXIV 271-272; St. II 165 (from Gk θώραξ 'cuirass').

tarok m, pl. *tarokě* 'young bull'. Diminutive of **tar*, see *tauro-*. Language XXVI 381 (directly from **tauro-*).

tartallis aor. *tartallisa* 'to flounder, to roll'. Borrowed from NGk *τάρταλλος* 'to shiver of cold' (ÇABEJ St. II 165-166). ◇ JOKL Studien 10 (1907) 100 (*taralā-* 'moving to and fro').

tarr aor. *tarra* 'to cut (vine)'. An *o*-grade continuing PAIb **tar-* related to *tjer*.

tarrabec m, pl. *tarrabeca* 'youth, youngster'. Derived from *rabeckě*.

tash adv. 'now'. Other variants are *tashi*, *tashti*, *ndashti*, continues **to-su*, locative of the pronominal stem **to-* (VASMER I 5-6). ◇ MEYER Wb. 19 (combination of *t-* and *-sh* in *ashtu*); BARIĆ AArbSt I 140 (against VASMER); TAGLIAZUCCHI mazia 265; ÇABEJ St. II 166 (pronominal *t(a)-* and a second of dubious origin).

tatě m 'father, dad'. A typical *Lallwort* (CAMARDA I 115; MEYER *Wb.* 424-425) which, however, may be borrowed from Slavic, cf. SCr *tata*, Bulg *tato*. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 23 (from **tatā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 1021-102 (from Lat *tata* id.), *Stratificazione* 120; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 1718 (influenced by Romance forms); ÇABEJ *St.* II 166-167 (univerbation of the oblique definite form of *atë* preceded by the article *të*); SVANE 189; MURATI *Probleme* 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 382-383.

tatëpjetë f, pl. *tatëpjeta* 'slope', adv. 'down'. With assimilation of occlusives, continues **katëpjetë*, an antonym of *përpetë*, with **katë* < PALb **kata* related to Gk *κάτω* 'down', OIr *cét-* 'with', Hitt *kata* 'with, below' (CAMARDA I 304). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*tatë-* identical with *tet-* in Geg *tetposhtë*, cf. *tërposhtë*); FRISK I 800; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 48; VENDRYES [C] 83-84; ÇABEJ *St.* II 167 (*tatë-* continues a "double article" *të të*).

tatoj aor. *tatova* 'to tax'. Borrowed from **taxitāre* id. based on Rom **taxa*.

tatull f 'stramonium, thorn-apple'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *tatul*, *tatula* id., SCr *tatula* id. (WEIGAND 87), a phonetically transformed loanword coming from Lat *datura* id. and influenced by Slav **tata* 'father'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 72 (from Ital *datura* 'thorn-apple'); DIEFENBACH I 259 (to Rum *tatina*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 167 (from Turk *tatula* id.)

te prep. 'to', adv. 'where, there'. More archaic forms are *tek* ~ *tekë* as well as *teku*. As a preposition, *te(k)* requires nominative and therefore continues PALb **tai ku*, dative reflecting IE **toi k^u* 'to that which' (BOPP 501, 504; CAMARDA I 317). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 425, *Alb. St.* III 23, 88 (*te-* from ablative **tōd*); JOKL *LKUBA* 26 (agrees with MEYER), *WuS* XII 64; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 255-256 (form of the pronoun **to-* followed by *ku*); TAGLIAVINI 272; SANDFELD *LBalk* 118-119 (similarity between *tek* and Rom **illac* > Rum *la* 'there'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (*te-* to Gk *τῶ* 'then'); HAMP *SCL* XXXIII/6 493, *ZfceltPh* XXXVII 170-172; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 257 (to Slovene *tu* 'in, into'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 167-169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

teh m, pl. *teha* 'blade'. A prefixal derivative of *eh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 169). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to Ital *taglio* 'cut'); GELZER *ZfromPhil* XXXVII

268 (from Rom **taliāre* 'to cut'); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 540-541 (to Gk τέκτων 'artisan').

tej prep. 'on that side', adv. 'over there'. Continues PALb **tai e* < **toi eks* parallel to *tēhu*.

tejzë f, pl. *tejza* 'sinew'. Derived from *tel* 'wire', of Turkish origin. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 426 (on *tel*).

teka pl. 'whims'. Borrowed from Slav **tekъ* 'wish, appetite', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *tek* (MEYER *Wb.* 426). The verb *tekem* 'to wish' is derived from *teka*.

telatin m 'lacquered leather'. Borrowed from Turk *telatin* 'Russian leather', itself borrowed from Russian (ÇABEJ *St.* II 170). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 311 (from Russ *tel'atina* 'veal, calf's leather'); MANN *HAED* 512 (agrees with SELIŠČEV).

tendë f, pl. *tenda* 'tent'. Another form is *tëndë*. Borrowed from Romance **tenta* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 429). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from **tnt-*); HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 116.

tenjë f 'moth, wood-engraver'. Borrowed from Lat *tinea* 'moth, worm' (MEYER *Wb.* 427). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 136 (from Lat *taenia*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Latin or from Ital *tigna* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152-153; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 71.

tepë f 'spelt, Triticum monococcum'. Borrowed from Gk τίφη id. (JOKL *Beiträge*). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 170-171.

tepër adv. 'more, very', adj. 'superfluous'. Univerbation of neut. *t(ë) epër*, cf. *epër* (XHUVANI *Studime* 63). ◇ CAMARDA I 319 (from *te* and *për*); MEYER *Wb.* 427 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 171 (from **tōd uperom*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 171 (follows XHUVANI).

teposhtë f 'slope', adv. 'down, downwards'. Another variant is *tërposhtë*. A synonym of *tatëpjetë*, this word is divided into a prefix *tër-* and the adverbial *poshtë*. There are numerous other derivatives in *tër-*,

cf. *tërfurk* 'pitchfork' to *furkë*, *tërheq* 'to pull, to draw' to *heq* and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (suggests *tet-* as the first element); HAARMANN 154.

ter m, pl. *terë*, *tera* 'bull'. Singularized plural of **tar* continuing PALb **taura* related to Gk τᾱῦρος id., Lat *taurus* id., Lith *taūras* id., Slav **turъ* id. (CAMARDA I 53). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 427 (borrowed from Lat *taurus*), Gr. *Gr.* 232; MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (follows CAMARDA); FRAENKEL 1067-1068; FRISK II 860-861; WALDE-HOFMANN II 650-652; VASMER IV 122; POKORNY I 1083; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 171-172; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 72; DEMIRAJ *AE* 384.

ter aor. *tera* 'to make dry'. Continues PALb **tarsja*, a causative of **ters-* etymologically identical with Skt *tarṣáyati* id., Lat *torreō* id., ON *þerra* id. (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 427, *BB* VIII 187) ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 23 (doubts the comparison with IE **ters-*), *Alb. St.* III 23; FOY *IF* VI 334 (to OIr *tír* 'earth, ground'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96; MAYRHOFER I 525; WALDE-HOFMANN II 694; POKORNY I 1078-1079; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 36; ÇABEJ *St.* II 172-173; HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

terë f 'dry land'. Derived from *ter*, cf. a similar semantic motivation in Lat *terra* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 173-174). From here *terik* 'land' is derived.

terig m 'light breeze'. Borrowed from an unattested in its Venetian form, **eterigo*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 174 (identical with *terik*, see *terë*).

term m 'foundation, plot of land'. Derived from *terë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 174).

terplote f, pl. *terplote* 'winnowing shovel'. Prefixal derivative of *plotë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 174-175). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (prefixal derivative in *tër-* of **plote* borrowed from Italian or Rom **palotta*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538.

terr m 'darkness'. Continues an oblique case of *err*: *t(ë) err* (MEYER *Wb.* 97-99). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049 (from Lat *tenebrae* 'darkness'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243, 246.

terrtohem refl. 'to knit one's brows in wrath'. Based on *terr*.

tesh m 'herpes'. Related to *teshë*.

tesha pl. 'belongings, utensils, things'. Continues PALb **taišā* related to Lith *tiesiū*, *tiēsti* 'to make right, to build, to set', *teisūs* 'right'. ◇ BARIĆ ARSt. I 96 (to Gk τέκτων 'artisan' and other reflexes of IE **teḱp-*); FRAENKEL 1073-1074, 1089; ÇABEJ St. II 175-176 (from Lat *testa* 'vessel, pot'); LANDI Lat. 94, 119.

teshem refl. 'to sneeze'. Continues PALb **teuša* related to Latv *tusēt* 'to pant', *tust* id. representing IE **teus-*. Derived from *teshem* is *teshtij* id. ◇ MEYER Wb. 356 (connected with *fshaj* and *psherëtij*); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 267; PORZIG Gliederung 107; ÇABEJ St. II 175 (onomatopoeia).

teshë f 'speck of dust, little splinter'. From PALb **taksjā* related to IE **teḱp-*: Skt *takṣati* 'to carpenter, to cut', Lat *texō* 'to weave', Lith *tašau*, *tašyti* 'to hew' (OREL Fort. 80). ◇ MAYRHOFER I 468; WALDE-HOFMANN II 678-679; FRAENKEL 1065; POKORNY I 1058-1059; ÇABEJ St. VII 212, 266.

tetë num. 'eight'. Continues PALb **aktō(ti)* related to the Indo-European word for 'eight' **oktō(u)*: Skt *aṣṭā*, Arm *ut*, Gk ὀκτώ and the like (BOPP 512; MEYER Alb. St. II 66, Wb. 428). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 319-320, Kelt. Gr. I 123; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 267; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 259; LA PIANA Studi I 81-82; BARIĆ Hymje 43; PISANI Saggi 106; FRISK I 374-375; MAYRHOFER I 63; POKORNY I 775; HULD 156; HAMP Numerals 914-915; DEMIRAJ AE 385.

teto f, pl. *teto* 'aunt'. Borrowed (in the form of vocative in -o) from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *teta*, SCr *teta* (MEYER Wb. 428). ◇ TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 267.

tëbanë f, pl. *tëbana* 'shepherd's hut'. A prefixal derivative of *banë*. Cf. some other derivatives in *të-*: *tëharr* 'to cut (wood)' (cf. *harr*), *tëholloj* 'to make thin' (cf. *hollë*), *tëmbëll* 'sweetness' (cf. *ëmbel*).

tëbuti m, pl. *tëbuta* 'oak'. Singularized form of (*dru*) *të buta* 'soft wood' (ÇABEJ St. II 176). ◇ LAMBERTZ KZ LIII 306 (borrowed from NGk μπουτί 'stump').

tëhu adv. 'on this side'. From PALb **toi ksu* where the second com-

ponent is equal to Gk ξύν 'with, at the same time'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 334 (connected with *tě*); FRISK II 339; ÇABEJ *St.* II 176-177 (to *-tu* in *atu*, *kětu*).

těmběl ~ **tamběl** *n/m* 'gall-bladder'. Identical with *těmběl* ~ *tamběl* 'sweetness', see *ěmběl*. The original meaning of the latter includes such elements as 'sour', 'bitter'. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 273; DEMIRAJ *AE* 385-386 (to Lat *tama* 'swelling (on the leg)' or to Lith *tulžis* 'bile').

těrboj *aor.* *těrbova* 'to have a dry mouth; to infuriate; to pamper (children)'. Borrowed from Lat *turbāre* 'to ruffle, to agitate' (CAMARDA I 195, 203; MEYER *Wb.* 429). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

těřě ~ **taně** *adj.* 'whole, all'. Continues PALb **twana* < **tuono-* derived from IE **teyǵ-* 'to swell' (SPITZER *MRIW* I 331-332) and morphologically close to Lith *tvinti* 'to rise, to swell (of water)', *tvānas* 'flood'. For the semantic development, cf. Lat *tōtus* continuing the same **teyǵ-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 429 (from Rom **tōtānus* to Lat *tōtus* 'whole'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; FRAENKEL 1154; WALDE-HOFMANN II 695-696; POKORNY I 1080-1083; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; JANSON *Unt.* 31.

těrfojě *f* 'trefoil, shamrock'. Borrowed from Lat *trifolium* *id.* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *trifoglio* *id.*); MEYER *Wb.* 429 (follows MIKLOSICH 67); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 177 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 108, 126.

těrmal *adv.* 'downwards'. Another form is *těrma*. Prefixal derivative of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 177.

těrmet *m, pl.* *těrmete* 'earthquake'. Another form is *termek*. Borrowed from Rom **terrae mōtus* *id.* (MEYER *Wb.* 427). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Ital *terremuoto* *id.*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64, 128, 159.

těrmoně *adv.* 'always, ever'. A prefixal form based on *muaj*.

tërpi f 'tuberculosis'. Based on an unattested **tërpis* 'to suffer, to endure, to bear' borrowed from Slav **tъrpěti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *търпна*, *търп'а*, SCr *trpljeti* (MEYER Wb. 430). ◇ SVANE 183.

tërpijetë adv. 'up, upwards'. Compound consisting of *tër-* and *pjetë*, cf. *tatëpjetë*.

(T) **tërsirë** f, pl. *tërsira* 'rope (made of genista)'. Borrowed from Rum *tărsină*, itself from Bulg *търсина* 'horse-hair' (CAPIDAN DR III 885-886). The rhotacism is of analogical origin. ◇ PUŞCARIU EWR 158; JOKL AArbSt I 46 (from Slav **torčina* 'band' but then one should expect Rum *tărcină*), Sb. Miletič 118-120; SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 323 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ St. II 177-178 (from Bulg *търсина*); JANSON Unt. 65-67.

tërshërë ~ tërshanë f 'oats'. In Geg there is also a form *trishanë*. Borrowed from Rom **trimēnsānum* for Lat *trimēnse triticum* (MEYER Wb. 430), cf. OItal *tremeste* 'cereal needing three months to ripen' < Lat *trimestris*. ◇ MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 154.

tërthortë adj. 'oblique, indirect'. Based on an unattested **tërthor*. Prefixal derivative in *tër-* (ÇABEJ St. II 178-179) based on **thor*. The latter reflects Palb **tāsra* continuing IE **kes-ro-*, to Skt *śāsati* 'to slaughter, to cut down', Gk κέαζω 'to split' and the like. ◇ MEYER Wb. 255 (from Rom **trānsvertōrius*); POKORNY I 586; PISANI KZ LXXI 63-64 (from Lat *tortus* 'twisted').

tërrkas aor. *tërkata* 'to be out of tune'. Borrowed from Slav **tъrkati* 'to rub, to touch, to stir, to knock', also used as an onomatopoeia, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *търкам*, SCr *trkati*.

tëtym ~ tëtim m 'cold season, cold'. Singularized univerbation of *të tyma*, to *tym*, as supported by the following expression: *u diqa së tymi ~ me dekë së timi* 'to die of cold' (ÇABEJ St. II 179). ◇ CAMARDA II 140 (to Gk τινάινω 'to stretch'); LAMBERTZ KZ LIII 301 (to *tym*); ÇABEJ St. II 179 (*të-* treated as a prefix).

tī pon. 'thou'. From Palb **tā* continuing IE **tā* id.: Av *tā*, Gk σύ, Lat *tū*, OIr *tú* and the like (CAMARDA I 217; MEYER Wb. 430, Alb. St. III 23). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 282; BARIĆ ARSt. I 109; TAGLIAVINI Dal-

mazia 267; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 71; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; FRISK II 817; WALDE-HOFMANN II 712; BARTHOLOMAE 654-655; POKORNY I 1097-1098; ÇABEJ *St.* II 179-180; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 386-387.

tillĖ adj. 'such'. Continues PAIb **tila* based on the pronominal stem **tjo-* and similar in its formation to ON *pít* 'there' $\diamond$ MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to IE **to-*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 200 (to Lat *tālis* 'such'); POKORNY I 1086-1087; ÇABEJ *St.* II 181 (analogical formation based on *ti*, *tij*).

timĕr ~ **timĕn** m 'weft, woof'. Borrowed from Lat *tegminem* 'cover' (WAGNER *ZfromPhil* XXXIX 102). $\diamond$ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 181 (explains *timĕr* as a singularized plural with a secondary *-i-*); HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 117, 147.

tinĕ f 'slime, mud'. Borrowed from Slav **tina* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *tina*, SCr *tina* (SVANE 169).

tinĕz adj. 'secret'. Continues an earlier noun **tĕjnĕ* borrowed from Slav **tajĕna* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tajna*, SCr *tajna* (MEYER *Wb.* 431).

tingĕ f, pl. *tinga* 'tench'. Borrowed from Lat *tinca* id.

tingĕlloj aor. *tingĕllova* 'to ring, to sound'. Another variant is *tringĕlloj* 'to knock, to ring' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). Based on *tingull* 'sound, ring' continuing an unattested Rom **tinnunculus*, cf. Lat *tinnuncula* 'kestrel', *tinnulus* 'sonorous, resonant'.

tirĕ f 'bundle, skein, hank'. Derived from *tjerr*.

tirĕ ~ **tinĕ** f, pl. *tira* ~ *tina* 'large wine barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *tīna* 'wine vessel' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 430). The parallel Geg form *tî* seems to reflect Rom **tīnum* > Ital *tino* id. (ÇABEJ II 181-182). $\diamond$ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; JOKL *BA* IV 209 n. 1 (from Latin rather than Ital *tino* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

tirk m, pl. *tirq* 'white felt', pl. *tirq* 'felt gaiters'. Another form is *tire*. Together with Rum *tureac* 'top (of a boot)' (DIEFENBACH I 250; MEYER

Wb. 431) borrowed with an East Germanic cognate of OHG *theobroch* 'gaiters': Goth or Gepid **piuhbrōks* (DICULESCU *ZfromPh* XLIX 399; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116-118). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 424 (to *tjerr*); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 169 n. 1 (to Lat *tergum* 'back, spine'); TREIMER *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 392 (to Russ *perčatka* 'glove'); SANDFELD *LBalk* 97; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 93-94 (to Lat *torqueō* 'to turn'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-k*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 182-183 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 90-93.

tis m 'yew'. Borrowed from Slav **tisъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tis*, SCr *tis* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 184; SVANE 130.

titull m, pl. *tituj* 'title, ground of right or claim'. Borrowed from Lat *titulus* id.

tjegull f, pl. *tjegulla* 'brick'. Borrowed from Lat *tēgula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER Wb. 431, *Alb. St.* IV 65). ◇ CAMARDA I 161 (to Gk στέγη 'cover, roof'); MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 25, *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1049; JOKL *Studien* 105, *LKUBA* 50; TREIMER *MRIW* I 251; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; HELBIG 31, 133 (from Ital *tegola* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 184; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 135.

tjerr aor. *torra* 'to spin'. Continues PALb **terka* related to Tokh B *tärk-* 'to turn' (only as part. pret.), Lat *torqueō* id. and the like (MEYER Wb. 431, *Alb. St.* III 23, 84). For the development of the cluster *-rk- < *-rkʰ- cf. *mjel*. ◇ CAMARDA I 41 (to Gk τρίβω 'to rub'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 38; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (reconstructs **terknō*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 195-196 (to *turr* and, further, to Gk τόπος 'tool for drawing a circle'), *St. IE* 44; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 49; WALDE-HOFMANN II 692-693; CHANTRAINE 134; VAN WINDEKENS I 503; POKORNY I 1077; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; ÇABEJ *St.* II 184-185 (follows CAMARDA and CIMOCHOWSKI); DEMIRAJ *AE* 387.

tjetër adj., pl. *tjerë* 'other'. In dialects, the original paradigm *jetër, jatër*, pl. *tjerë* is still preserved. The form *tjetër* result from crasis with the preceding particle *të* and/or analogical influence of plural. Goes back to PALb **etera* (with a mobile stress: sg. **éterā* ~ pl. **etérāi*) related to Slav **eterъ* 'some, somebody' (MEYER Wb. 162, *Alb. St.* III 85). ◇

BOPP 489 (to Skt *āntara-* 'interior'); CAMARDA I 215 (compares *tjetër* with Gk ἄτερος 'other' but the latter goes back to **sm-tero-*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 71; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 177; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 93, *IF* XXXVI 115, *LKUBA* 98; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; POKORNY I 284; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 185-187; VASMER II 29; HULD 117; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

tkurr aor. *tkurra* 'to make small, to press together'. Prefixal derivative based on **kurr* < PALb **kursa*, a zero-grade etymologically connected with Hitt *karš-*, *karšija-* 'to cut off', MĪr *corr* 'stunted' and other continuants of IE **(s)ker-s-*. ∅ VENDRYES [C] 211-212; POKORNY I 945; ÇABEJ *St.* II 187 (to *korr* and *shkurre*).

tlandër f, pl. *tlandra* 'bundle'. Derived from *lëndë*.

tmerr m 'horror, fright'. Other variants are *mner*, *kmer* and *mer*. Borrowed from Lat *timōrem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 431). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 146; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; ÇABEJ *St.* II 187-189 (to Gmc **maron* 'nightmare', Slav **mora* id. or to Gk μέριμνα 'thought, trouble, uneasiness'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 130.

toçillë f, pl. *toçilla* 'whetstone'. Borrowed from Slav **točidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *točilo*, SCr *točilo* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172). ∅ SVANE 72, 242.

toçis aor. *toçita* 'to press the juice out of grapes'. Borrowed from Slav **točiti* 'to secrete, to make flow', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *toča*, SCr *točiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 433). ∅ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; SVANE 72, 242.

tog m, pl. *togje* 'heap, pile'. Continues PALb **tāga*, a long grade of IE **(s)teg-* 'to cover', cf. in particular Gk τέγη 'roof', OIr *tech* 'house' < IE **tegos*. The same vowel grade may be attested in Lith *stiegti* 'to thatch (a roof)' if the latter reflects **stēgti*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 431; FRAENKEL 904; FRISK II 780-781; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 30; POKORNY I 1013-1014.

tojě f, pl. *toja* 'lace'. A parallel form is *tonjě*. Borrowed from Venet *togna* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269). ◇ ALESSIO apud ÇABEJ *St. II* 190 (from Rom **tonia*).

tok aor. *toka* 'to cut (meat), to sharpen (a scythe), to knock'. An onomatopoeia with an original meaning 'to knock'. Similar verbs are also attested in Romance, cf. Ital *toccare* 'to touch, to tap'.

tokě f, pl. *toka* 'earth, land, soil, ground, plot of land, field'. Borrowed from Slav **tokъ* 'threshing floor' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 18). Another widespread variant *trokě* is explained by the influence of *trokas*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (considers *tokě* 'earth' to be connected with *toka* 'belt buckle'); JOKL *Studien* 80; MLADENOV 635; ÇABEJ *St. fil.* 1966/2 84, *St. II* 190 (to *terě*); OREL *Balkanica* 111-112 (improbable explanation from an unknown Indo-European substratum language close to Hittite), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363; MURATI *Probleme* 133-134.

tokĕl f, pl. *tokla* 'piece'. Derived from *tokě* id., of Italian origin. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (on *tokě*).

tollě f 'bald spot; drum membrane'. Continues PALb **tāslā* < **tēkslā* etymologically related to Lat *tēla* 'cloth', OHG *dehsala* 'axe', Slav **tesla* id. < **tēkslā*, further derived from IE **tekþ-* 'to weave, to hew'. ◇ WALDE-HOFMANN II 655; VASMER IV 51; POKORNY I 1058-1059.

topĕr f, pl. *topra* 'small axe'. An early borrowing from Slav **toporъ* 'axe' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172-173; SVANE 78.

topil m 'pit filled with water'. Borrowed from Slav **topidlo*, a deverbative of **topiti* 'to sink', cf., for example, Bulg *topilo* 'deep pit in the river'. ◇ SVANE 59.

topis aor. *topita* 'to blunt; to frighten, to discourage'. Borrowed from Slav **topiti* 'to blunt' (MEYER *Wb.* 417), cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *rupiti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (*topis* 'to discourage' from SCr *stupiti* 'to step, to walk'); ÇABEJ *St. II* 190-191; SVANE 242.

torishtë f, pl. *torishta* 'sheep enclosure'. Borrowed from Slav **torišče* 'enclosure', cf. South Slavic forms with the same or close meaning:

Bulg *tor*, *torište*, SCr *tor* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165). ◇ SVANE 63, 141.

tork m, pl. *torqe* 'beam of the oil-press; wine-press'. An analogical back-formation based on **torq*. The latter is borrowed from Ital *torchio* 'press' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Lat *torculum* 'wine- or oil-press'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 105, 144; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

torolec m, pl. *toroleca* 'cricket'. Derived from *torolis*. The form *tor-rovan* may be an emphatic transformation of *torolec*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (to Slav **ščurъ* 'grasshopper').

torolingë f, pl. *torolinga* 'toy pipe, flute'. Derived from *torolis*.

tortë f, pl. *torta* 'rope'. Borrowed from Lat *tortum* 'rope (for tortures)', cf. Rum *tort* 'yarn, thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 433) ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Latin or from Ital *torta*); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 153-154.

torua ~ torue m, pl. *toronj* 'trace; secret path'. Borrowed from Slav pl. **torove* 'paths, traces' (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 302). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433

◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1040, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 144-146.

tragě f, pl. *tragě* 'trace'. Borrowed from Slav **tragъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *trag*, *traga*, SCr *trag* (MEYER Wb. 433). ◇ SVANE 36.

trajkě f 'fishing net'. Identical with *tratkě* 'big fishing net', a local loanword from SCr *tratka* < Dalm *trakta* (SKOK *ZfromPhil* LIV 425). ◇ MEYER Wb. 433 (< **tralkě*, derivative in -*kě* borrowed from Rom **tragula* 'trawling net'); JOKL *RIEB* II 59 (agrees with SKOK); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (follows MEYER); HAARMANN 153 (from Rom **terraticum*), 154 (from Rom **tragula*).

trajstě f, pl. *trajsta* 'sack, knapsack'. Another form is *trastě*. Borrowed from Rum *t(r)astră* id., a Balkan Wanderwort (MEYER Wb. 434).

trajtě f, pl. *trajta* 'form, shape'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *tractum*, participle of *trahō* 'to draw'. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 154). ◇ LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121.

trajtoj aor. *trajtova* 'to deal with, to treat'. Borrowed from Lat *tractāre*

treme f, pl. *treme* 'porch'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *trem*, *tr'am* 'inner porch, outer entrance hall', SCr *trijem*, *trem* 'porch' (MIK-LOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 436).

trenoj aor. *trenova* 'to become mad, to become stupid'. Derived from *tra*, pl. *trenj*, cf. Lat *stultus* 'stupid' ~ *stolō* 'shoot, branch, twig', Russ *ostolbenet* 'to be bewildered' ~ *stolb* 'column, post'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (to Ital *strano* 'strange' or SCr *krenuti* 'to bend, to incline'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (to *terrnoj* 'to change').

tres aor. *treta* 'to melt, to loosen, to dissolve'. From PALb **trōtja* etymologically identical with Slav **tratjǫ*, **tratiti* 'to spend, to waste' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (borrowed from Slav **tratiti*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; VASMER IV 94-95.

trevē f, pl. *trevā* 'land, area; peace, quiet'. Borrowed from MGk τρέβα 'truce' < OFr *treve* id. (JOKL *Litteris* IV 197, *Slavia* XIII 317). ◇ CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk τρῖβος 'path, way'); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (borrowed from Lat *trivium* 'crossroads'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (to OFr *triege*); SANDFELD *LBalk* 57; ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows JOKL).

trevoj aor. *trevova* 'to succeed, to prosper'. Derived from *trevē* (CAMARDA I 106). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (from Slav **terba* 'need, necessity'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows CAMARDA).

trikē f, pl. *trika* 'twig, branch'. From PALb **treikā*, a derivative of *tre*. For the semantic development cf. E *twig*, Slav **dvigъ* 'branch' < **dyǵho-* based on **dyō* 'two'. ◇ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289 (to *trim*); TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1964 4-6; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (from **trk-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390.

trim m, pl. *trima* 'hero', adj. 'brave, courageous'. From PALb **trima* related to IE **tṛmo-*, cf. Arm *t'arm* 'young, fresh, green' and other continuants of IE **ter-* 'weak, young'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 437 (to Gk τέρην 'soft, delicate'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 64; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289; AČAREAN *HAB* II 161; MANN *Language* XXVI 388; POKORNY I 1070-1071; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* III 41; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-ri- as a reflex of IE **-r-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389.

trink adj. 'brand new'. Emerged from the expression *i ri trink* id., a

semi-calque of Venet *novo de trinca*, Ital *nuovo di trinca* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 195). ◇ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 290 (< **trim-kě*, derived from *trim*).

trirě ~ **trině** f, pl. *trina* ~ *trira* 'harrow'. Borrowed from Rom **trīna* 'bundle, lace' > Ital *trina* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 195). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 437 (from Ital *trina*); RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 422 (to Gk τείρω 'to rub'), XCII 609 (to *tjerr*); JANSON *Unt.* 59-60.

trisk m, pl. *trisque* 'shoot (of vine)'. Etymologically close to *triskě*.

triskě f, pl. *triska* 'piece of wood, shavings'. Borrowed from Slav **trěska* 'chip' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. The substitution of Slav -ě- > Alb -i- may reflect an early loanword.

trishe f, pl. *trishe* 'shooting, sprout'. An early borrowing from Slav **trъsъ* 'grape, stalk', cf. SCr *trs* (PEDERSEN *RomJb* IX I 217). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 437, 526 (to SCr *trs* 'grape, vine'), Alb. *St.* III 24, 61; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 166 (to Gk θρινία· ἄμπελος ἐν Κρήτῃ, Hes.); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 217 (borrowed from Slav **trъstъ* 'cane'); GEORGIEV *Kr.-myk.* I 69 (to Gk θύρσος 'thyrsus'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 195-196 (to Gk τρέχυος 'shooting, twig'), IV 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390 (to *tre*).

trishtoj aor. *trishtova* 'to make sorry'. Derived from **trishtě* borrowed from Lat *tristis* 'sad' (MEYER *Wb.* 437). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 154.

troç adv. 'straightforwardly'. Based on Gk τρόπος 'direction' with an adverbial suffix -ç.

troftě f, pl. *trofta* 'trout'. Borrowed from Lat *tructa* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 437 with doubts). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; ERNOUT-MEILLET 704; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 74-77; HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 67, 102, 122.

trohas aor. *trohasa* 'to crumble'. Derived from *trohě* 'crumb', borrowed from Slav **troxa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *troxa*, SCr *troha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437).

troke f, pl. *troke* 'kind of cow-bell'. From PALb **trākā* etymological-

ly related to Skt *tarkú-* 'spindle', Tokh A *tark-* 'earring' and the like. See *tjerr*. ◇ MAYRHOFFER I 485; VAN WINDEKENS I 492; POKORNY I 1077.

trokoj aor. *trokova* 'to make dirty; to destroy'. In both meanings, derived from *tokë* 'earth', a variant of *tokë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 438-439 (to Ital dial. *truché* 'to push', *struccare* 'to press, to squeeze out').

trondit aor. *trondita* 'to swing'. An early borrowing from Slav **trq̃titi* 'to push', cf. Czech *trútit*, Pol *trącić* (MEYER *Wb.* 438). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 291; SVANE 242.

troshis aor. *troshita* 'to crumble, to break'. Borrowed from Slav **trošiti* id. (cf. Bulg *troša*, SCr *trošiti*), see *trohë* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437). ◇ SVANE 94, 243.

tru ~ trû m, pl. *tru ~ trû* 'brain'. Continues PAIb **taruna* identical with Skt *táruṇa-* 'young, tender', Av *tauruna-* 'young', cf. also Gk τέρην 'tender', τέρυ· ἄσθενές, λεπτόν (Hes.) and the like. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 82 (to Lat *tempus* 'temple'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97-98; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (from **ent̥no-*); FRISK II 879; MAYRHOFFER I 483; POKORNY I 1070.

truaj ~ truej aor. *trova* 'to put aside'. Borrowed from Lat *trādere* 'to pass, to give, to transfer' (HAARMANN 154). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (connected with *ruaj*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Skt *trāyāti*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 266.

truall ~ truell m, pl. *troje* 'foundation, plot of land, site'. Borrowed from Lat *tribulum* 'thresher, *threshing-floor'. The semantic development is similar to that of *tokë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 438 (from Rom **terriola*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137 (from Lat *terra* 'earth' with an Albanian suffix); ÇABEJ *St.* II 196-197 (related to *terë*).

trubull adj. 'turbid, troubled (water)'. Borrowed from Romance **turbulus* id.: Rum *turbure*, Ital Sicil *trúbbulu*, Fr *trouble* and the like. Cf. *trubulloj*. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 166.

trubulloj aor. *trubullova* 'to stir, to trouble (water)'. Borrowed from Rom **turbulāre* id.: Rum *turbura*, Fr *troubler* and the like. ◇ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

truç m 'crowd'. Derived from *truc* (cf. *trys*), for the semantics cf. ON *þrōng* 'crowd' ~ *þrōngr* 'narrow', *þryngva* 'to press'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 438 (to *trokoj*); BUCK *Synonyms* 929-930.

trumbë f, pl. *trumba* 'water-pump; trumpet'. Another variant is *trumë*. Borrowed from Rom **trumba* ~ **trumpa* 'trumpet, (water) pipe': Ital *tromba*, OFr *trompe*, Prov *trompa* and the like. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tromba*); MEYER *Wb.* 438 (follows MIKLOSICH).

trumë f, pl. *truma* 'crowd, group'. Metathesis of *turmë* under the influence of *truç*.

trumzë f, pl. *trumza* 'thyme'. Suffixal derivative of **trumë* < **turmë* borrowed from Gk θύμβρα 'savory' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 197).

trung m, pl. *trungje* 'trunk'. Borrowed from Lat *truncus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 438). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 137-138.

trup m, pl. *trupa* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav **trupъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflections: Bulg *trup*, SCr *trup* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 438-439). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; JOKL *LKUBA* 89; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153, 195; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271, *Stratificazione* 84; SVANE 178.

trushkyej aor. *trushkeva* 'to rob (a church)'. From Rom **trumpiscăre* 'to cheat', cf. **trumpăre* id. > Fr *tromper*. Further connection is Lat *trumphāre* 'to triumph'.

tryelë f, pl. *tryela* 'bore, drill'. Other variants are *turjelë*, *trujelë*. Borrowed from Rom **terebellum* id.: Ital *trivello*, Prov *taravela*, Port *travoela* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *trivella*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260 (from Ital *trivello*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 50.

tryezë f, pl. *tryeza* 'table'. Borrowed from dialectal (North Italian) Romance **trabeza* < Gk τράπεζα id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 117-118: prefers to identify *tryezë* with Gk θρόνος 'seat, chair'). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (from NGk τράπεζα 'table'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271.

trys aor. *trysa* 'to press, to compress, to squeeze'. Parallel forms are *trus*, *truc*. From PALb **trūtja*, a formation in *-*tja* based on IE **treu-* ~ **trū-*: Gk τρώω 'to wear out, to exhaust', Lith *trūniū*, *trūnėti* 'to rot, to go foul'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lat *trūdō*); FRISK II 938; FRAENKEL 1132; POKORNY I 1026-1027; OREL *IF* XLIII 116-117 (to *tjerr*; PALb **trūtja* reflects IE part. **trūto-*).

trystë f 'gathering'. Derived from *trys*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 124 (to *tryezë*).

tufë f, pl. *tufa* 'bunch of flowers, bundle'. Borrowed from Lat *tūfa* 'plume (on the helm)' (MEYER *Wb.* 439), Rom **tāfa* 'bush, bunch': Rum *tufă*, Span *tufo* and the like. The same word is also used metaphorically to denote a 'crowd', probably, not without influence of *turmë*. ◇ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk τύπτω 'to beat, to strike'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tuffo*); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 165; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 110-111 (from Gmc **puba-*); LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 272-274 (from Gmc **pūfa*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 309; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

tufk m 'pollen'. Derived from *tufë*.

tul m, pl. *tule*, *tula* 'meat, flesh, pulp'. From PALb **tula* etymologically connected with Gk τύλη 'swelling', Slav **tylъ* 'back side' (CAMARDA I 131; MEYER *Wb.* 451, *Alb. St.* III 23, 80). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, 543; SPITZER *MRIW* I 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272, *Stratificazione* 98; VASMER IV 131; FRISK II 942; POKORNY I 1081; ÇABEJ *St.* II 197-198; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 390-391.

tumbë f, pl. *tumba* 'rock edge; pl. tombs'. Another variant is *tume* 'top of the rock'. Borrowed from Lat *tumba* 'tomb' (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155.

tumbë f, pl. *tumba* 'bunch, brush'. An analogical transformation of *tufë*.

tumullac m, pl. *tumullaca* 'bubble, bladder'. Derived from **tumull* borrowed from Lat *tumulus* 'hill, heap'.

tun m, pl. *tunj* 'back, rear'. Borrowed from Slav **tunъ* 'false, vain, futile', in South Slavic attested in Bulg *tun* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 19). Note *tuně* 'butt' belonging to this group. ◇ SVANE 79.

tund aor. *tunda* 'to move, to stir, to swing'. Continues PALb **tunda*, a nasal present identical with Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tundō* 'to push' (CAMARDA I 74). ◇ MEYER Wb. 452; JOKL *Studien* 91 (to Skt *taṁsáyati* 'to draw to and fro'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; MAYRHOFFER I 511; WALDE-HOFMANN II 716-717; POKORNY I 1033-1034; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232.

turbě f 'turf'. Borrowed from Rom **turba*: Fr *tourbe*, Ital *torba* (from French).

turfulloj aor. *turfullova* 'to snort'. Borrowed from an unattested Rom **trānsflāre* or **trānsinflāre* 'to blow through'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 452 (from Ital *tronfio* 'swollen').

turi ~ **turî** pl. *turinj* 'trunk, muzzle'. Borrowed from Rom **utrînum* derived from Lat *uter* 'hose' (MEYER Wb. 452). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

turis aor. *turita* 'to frighten off (animals)'. Borrowed from Slav **turiti* 'to drive away, to chase', cf. in South Slavic, in the meaning 'to push, to put, to drop': Bulg *tur'a*, SCr *turiti* (SVANE 247).

turmě f, pl. *turma* 'crowd, herd'. Borrowed from Lat *turma* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER Wb. 453). ◇ CAMARDA I 99 (to Ital *torma* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

turp m 'shame'. Borrowed from Lat *turpe* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 143; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER Wb. 453). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (related to Lat *turpis*, Goth *þaurban*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84.

turshej aor. *tursheva* 'to break, to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom **trāsāre* 'to push, to stir': Prov *truzar*, Engad *trüscher* and the like.

turtull m, pl. *turtuj* 'turtle-dove'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sono-

rants, from Lat *turtur* id. (STIER KZ XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 144-146.

turrem refl. 'to rush, to run'. Continues PALb **tura* etymologically connected with Skt *tūrtā-* 'quick, fast', OHG *dweran* 'to turn fast', ON *þyrja* 'to run' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 453 (to or from Slav **turiti* 'to drive away, to chase'); MAYRHOFER I 514; POKORNY I 1100; MURATI *Probleme* 134.

turrē f, pl. *turra* 'haystack, pile of logs, tower'. Borrowed from Lat *turrem* 'tower' (WEIGAND 91; ÇABEJ *St.* II 198). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to W *twr* 'pile').

tus aor. *tuta* 'to frighten'. Continues PALb **tutja* based on a deverbative adjective in **-to-* and related to ON *þeya* 'to melt', OHG *douwen* id. with 'being silent' as an intermediary stage of semantic development. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 453 (from Turk *tutmak* 'to seize'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk ἀτὺζομαι); TRUBAČEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (on the development of meaning); ÇABEJ *St.* II 198 (related to *tund*).

tutje adv. 'there, on the other side'. Compound of *tu-* and *-tje* (as in *atje*). The first component continues PALb adverbial **tu* preserved in *kētu* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 199) and related to IE demonstrative **to-* (CAMARDA I 317; MEYER *Wb.* 425). The other component goes back to PALb **te* of uncertain origin.

tuturis aor. *tuturita* 'to sing (of swallows)'. An onomatopoeia (MEYER *Wb.* 453).

tym m 'smoke'. Hardly a loanword from Gk θυμός 'soul, spirit' as far as the latter is unknown in any meaning close to 'smoke'. Rather, continues PALb **ātuma* connected with Gmc **ēdumaz* 'breath' and further related to Skt *ātman-* 'blow, breath, soul'. The inlaut -y- in the Albanian word may be secondary. ◇ CAMARDA I 53 (related to Gk θυμός); MEYER *Wb.* 93 (secondary formation based on *tymos* 'to smoke' < CS *timijasati* 'to burn incense' < Gk θυμιάμα 'incense'); KRISTOFORIDI-HI 363 (to IE **dhūmos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272; OREL *Balkanica*

110-111 (from a substratum continuation of IE **dhūmos*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 254; HULD 117.

typth m, pl. *typtha* 'little hammer'. Diminutive of **typ* < PALb **tūpa* related to Skt *tupāti*, *tūmpati* 'to harm, to hurt', Gk *τύπτω* 'to strike with a weapon'. ◇ FRISK II 945-946; MAYRHOFER I 512-513; POKORNY I 1034.

tytë f, pl. *tyta* 'pipe, tube, barrel', adj. 'empty, unnecessary, futile'. From PALb **tūtā*, probably related to IE **teuə-* 'to swell'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 77 (explains *tytë* 'trunk' from **dytë*, borrowed from Rom **ductus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *tùščias*); POKORNY I 1080-1085; OREL *Balkanica* 112-113 (to a substratum continuation of IE **dhū-* *to-* derived from **dhū-* 'to blow').

Th

thadër f 'kind of a double-sided axe'. Continues PALb **tsestrā* identical with Skt *śastrā-* 'knife, sword'. The auslaut *-dër* may be considered to be a regular result of the non-initial **-str-*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 157-159 (to IE **kes-dhro-*, to **kes-* 'to cut'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 10; MAYRHOFER III 319; POKORNY I 586; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62 (from **kontro-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 199 (< **thardë*, postverbal derivative of **thar*, cf. *ther*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 391-392 (to Skt *śitā-* 'sharp').

thaj aor. *thava* 'to dry'. From PALb **sausnja*, a derivative of IE **sauso-* 'dry': Gk *αῦος*, MHG *sôr*, Lith *saūsas*, Slav **suxъ* (MEYER *Wb.* 88, *Alb. St.* III 43, 92). Note the dissimilation of sibilants leading to **s-* > *th-*. The adjective *thatë* 'dry' is a deverbative derived from an unattested PALb **sausa*. ◇ CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk *δασύς* 'thick with leaves, hairy, shaggy'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 34, KZ XXXIII 543, XXXVI 283; JOKL *Studien* 61, *LKUBA* 261; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300-301; PISANI *Saggi* 102; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233; FRISK I 188-189; FRAENKEL 766; VASMER III 813; MANN *Language* XXVI 381, *Hist. Gr.* 184 (to Gk *καυτός* 'burnt, red-hot', inconvincing semantically and inaccurate phonetically); ÇABEJ *St.* II 199-200 (reconstructs **sauknjō* and compares *thaj* with *σανκόν· ξηρόν*, Hes.); HULD 117-118; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; DEMIRAJ *AE* 392.

thanĕ f, pl. *thana*, *thanĕ* 'cornel'. Participle of *thaj* (MEYER Wb. 88 with an alternative comparison with Lat *cornus* id.). ◇ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θάμνος 'bush, shrub'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 332 (to OIr *congan* 'horn'); BARIĆ ARSt. I 9-10 (from **kōrngo-*, cf. Skt *śynga-* 'peak', Gk κρᾶγγών 'small crustacean'); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 277 (to Lith *šaūnas* 'quick, strong'); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 118 (borrowed from Greek or Thracο-Phrygian); ÇABEJ St. II 200-201 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD KZ XCV 306-307 (from **sosdh-nā*, cf. Lat *sorbum* 'service-berry' < **sosdhom*); JANSON *Unt.* 92-94; DEMIRAJ AE 393 (from Gk θάμνος).

thar aor. *thara* 'to add ferment to milk'. Historically identical with *ther*. For the semantic development cf. Lith *kartūs* 'bitter' - *kiřsti* 'to cut, to hew', Goth *baitrs* 'bitter' - *beitan* 'to bite', Latv *skābs* 'sour' - Lith *skabĕti* 'to cut, to hew'. ◇ BUCK *Synonyms* 1033-1035; ÇABEJ St. VII 225, 239.

thark m, pl. *tharq*, *tharqe* 'enclosure (especially, for milking)'. Continues PALb **tserka*, a derivative of *thur* < **tsurja*. Borrowed to Rum *țarc*. ◇ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk ἔρκος 'fence, enclosure'); MEYER Alb. St. III 39 (from IE **k̑uorkos*); PETERSSON *Heter.* 134 (same as MEYER); CAPIDAN *DR* II 552 (Rum *țarc* from Albanian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 691 (Rum *țarc* from Lat *circus*); DENSUȘIANU *GS* I 245-248 (from Iranian); CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 114 (suffix -*k*); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 165 (Rum *țarc* < Dacian < IE **serk-*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 351; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 200-203; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; ÇABEJ St. VII 199, 204.

tharm m 'sour dough, yogurt ferment'. Derived from *thar*. ◇ JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to Lith *šármas* 'lye'); ÇABEJ St. VII 202.

thartĕ adj. 'sour'. Another form is *tharbĕt* from where *thartĕ* seems to have been derived phonetically. Rum *sarbād* is borrowed from PALb **tsarbata* (for a voiced auslaut cf. also the name of the Beskidy mountains continuing PALb **beskai tai*). The source of this word is **tharbĕ*, derived from *thar*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 88, Alb. St. III 13, 72, 87, V 75 (to Lith *šármas* 'lye' and its cognates); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 332 (to Lat *acerbus* id.); JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to *tharm*); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 538-539 (to IE **sāro-* 'sour'); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 136 (together with Rum *sarbād* - from Rom **exalbidus*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (*tharbĕt* related to Lat *acerbus*); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II

347; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 120 (suffix *-bë* in *tharbë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 201-202 (derived from *ther*).

thashëm adv. 'on an empty stomach'. An adverbial form based on *thaj*.

thatë adj. 'dry'. Derivative of *thaj* (JOKL *LKUBA* 278). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

theç adj. 'fragile'. Derived from *thyej*.

thek aor. *theka* 'to roast, to toast (bread)'. Continues PALb **tsaka* from IE **k^hnk-* attested also in Greek, both in zero and full grades: κέγει· πεινᾶ, καγγομένης· ζηρᾶς τῷ φόβῳ (Hes.), πολυκαγκής 'burning strongly' (Hom.) and the like. Other parallels implying the initial **k-* (Skt *kāṅkṣati* 'to wish, to desire') are semantically too farfetched and should be ignored despite POKORNY I 565. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Ital *seccare* 'to dry'), 440 (from Ital *secco* 'dry'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1053 (from Lat *siccāre* 'to dry'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 13 (to *thëngjill* and, further, to Skt *śocati* 'to shine, to glow'); MAYRHOFER I 194; FRISK I 750-751; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* II 202-203 (to *thaj*).

thekë f, pl. *thekë* 'fringe'. From PALb **tsakā* etymologically close to Skt *śākhā* 'branch', Lith *šakà* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 88). ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 48 (follows MEYER), *KZ* XXXVI 332, *Kelt. Gr.* I 126; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 14 (same); LA PIANA *Studi* I 33 (against the comparison with *śākhā*); FRAENKEL 957-958; MAYRHOFER III 321-322; POKORNY I 523; ÇABEJ *LP* VII 191, VIII 90, *St.* II 203-204 (to *thek*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 393-394.

thekër ~ thekën f, pl. *thekëra ~ thekëna* 'rye'. Singularized plural of *thekë* (CAMARDA I 177-178) ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Lat *secāle* id. with a shift of stress); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82 (agrees with MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 13-15 (to *thikë*); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 204 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (agrees with MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* I 315 (same).

thel m, pl. *thela* 'big nail'. Continues PALb **tsala* related to Skt *śalā-*

'stick, cane', OIr *cail* 'spear', ON *hali* 'point of a pole'. ◇ POKORNY I 552-553.

thelb m, pl. *thelpinj*, *thalba*, *thelbna* 'kernel (of a nut)'. From PALb **tsalba*, a derivative of IE **kel-* 'to cover' from which various words for 'shell' are derived, cf. OHG *hulsa*, OE *hulu*. ◇ CAMARDA I 199; MEYER *Wb.* 89 (to Friul *sepe* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (to *bër-thamë*); JOKL *LKUBA* 192; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 1; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 204 (from IE **sphele-* 'to split'); POKORNY I 553-554.

thellë adj. 'deep; dark (of color)'. From PALb **tsawila* related to Gk κοῖλος 'hollow' < *κόφίλος (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332). ◇ CAMARDA I 64; MEYER *Wb.* 88 (to Skt *śūnyā-* 'empty'), *Alb.* *St.* III 13, 90; LA

PIANA *Studi* I 71, 1 (to Gk κόπυλος 'foundation'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII

thellë < dialectal *fellë*, 97-299 (reconstructs 394-395.

ambrā, a derivative 'crooked', OIr *camm* MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb.* *St.* -717; MEYER-LÜBKE 298; POKORNY I 918; DOZON *RB* 138; ÇABEJ

PALb **tsaipa* etymologically cippus 'pole' (JOKL DÉM XXXIX/2 52-54 13; WALDE-HOFMANN '9; POGHIRC *Ist. limb.* XII 428; ÇABEJ *St.* II 395-396.

Alb **tsana* related to OIr *do-mur* '(he) fell' JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218, 0 'to strike'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 115; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to *therrë* = *ferrë* and Lith *šerti* 'to eat, to graze'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 41; MAYRHOFER III 371-372; FRISK I 842-843; VENDRYES [C] 237-238; POKORNY I 578; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 208-210 (to IE **kers-* 'bristle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 396-397.

therokë f 'Passerina hirsuta; sweepings'. Derived from *ther* (MEYER *Wb.* 89). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 75 (identical with *throkë* 'dung' from Gk φρόκαλον 'rubbish'); MANN *HAED* 534 (to *thërrime*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 210 (follows MEYER *Wb.*).

therpelë f 'kind of thorny plant, woody nightshade, sim'. Compound of *ther* and *pelë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 210-211 (derived from *ther*).

311, *RiEB* I 48; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 83; FRISK I 891-892; CHANIRAINÉ 552; DOZON *RB* 138; PISANI *Saggi* 119

'chamber, room', Goth *þeipjo* id. ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238-240 (from Gk σάκκος id.); LA PIANA *Studi* I 30, 32 (connected with Gk σάκκος); FEIST *Goth.* 254-255; WALDE-HOFMANN I 182; FRISK I 933-934; BARTHOLOMAE 432; POKORNY I 586-587; HAMP *IF* LXVI 25 (from **kouti-*, cf. Gk κύτος 'hollow', Lat *cutis* 'skin'), *Orbis* XXIII/1 128-129; ÇABEJ *St.* II 211 (together with σάκκος, borrowed from Semitic).

thellëzë f, pl. *thellëza* 'partridge'. Derived from *thellë* as a color adjective (STIER *KZ* XI 110; CAMARDA II 30). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb.* *St.* IV 95 (from Rom **fulingia* based on Lat *fulica* 'coot'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535 (< **fëllëng-zë* borrowed from Rom **fullinga*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 10-12 (from **kelontë* 'jumper'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 240-241 (follows STIER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81 (< IE **kelontë* = Skt *śālāra-*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 86; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; SCHWENTNER *KZ* XLVII 255 (to *thëllim* in view of Gk πέρδιξ 'partridge' - πέρδομαι 'pedere'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 211-212.

thëllim m, pl. *thëllime* 'cold wind, tempest, storm, dry frost'. Derived from *thellë*, probably, in its function of a color adjective, with a further semantic development from 'darkness' to 'evil' or 'storm' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 212-213 with typological parallels). ◇ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk θλίμμα 'pressure', θλίβω 'to squeeze'); DOZON *Manuel* 92 (to Gk θύελλα 'storm'); DIEFENBACH I 55 (agrees with DOZON); KRISTOFORIDHI 127, 459, 470 (follows DOZON and compares *thëllim* with *fulloj*); BÜGGÉ

thëllim m, pl. *thëllime* 'sack'. Continues PALb **tsalba*, a derivative of IE **kel-* 'to cover' from which various words for 'shell' are derived, cf. OHG *hulsa*, OE *hulu*.

ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 115; ÇABEJ *St.* II 204-206 (to IE **sphele-* 'to split'); HULD 118, *KZ* XCII 1; **kouHlo-*); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; DEMIRAJ *AE*

thembër f, pl. *thembra* 'heel'. Continues PALb **tsamb-* of IE *(s)*kamb-* 'to bend': Gk σκαμβός 'bent', id. ◇ CAMARDA I 62 (to Gk θέναι 'palm'); M IV 120 (from Lat *femur* 'thigh'); FRISK II 716 *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* (reconstructs IE *(s)*k-*); HAARMANN 126; RUS *St.* II 206-207 (the original meaning is 'bending

thep m, pl. *thepa* 'peak, point, cog, tooth'. From logically identical with Skt *sēpa-* 'tail, penis', *L. Studien* 20, 117). Borrowed to Rum *jeapă*. ◇ L (to Arm *sep* 'point, peak'); MAYRHOFER III 374-3 I 219-200; POKORNY I 543; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* rom. II 352; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; HAMP *SCL* XX 207-208; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE*

ther aor. *thera* 'to slaughter, to pierce'. From Skt *śṛṇāti* 'to smash, to crush', Gk κῆρ 'death'. (MEYER *Wb.* 89). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; ZONF X 187; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 80-81 (to Lat *fer*

BB XVIII 174 (from Lat *follere* 'to bag'); PETERSSON KZ XLVII 255 (to Lith *švilpti* 'to whistle'); BARIĆ ARSt. I 22 (to *fryell* and *fryj*).

thëngjill m, pl. *thëngjij* 'hot ashes'. Continues PALb **tsangila*, with a prefix **ts-*, further connected with Lith *anglis* id., OPrus *anglis* id., Slav **oglb* id., Skt *āṅgāra-* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 328). ◇ CAMARDA I 64 (to Gk φέγγος 'light, shine'); MEYER Wb. 90 (from Lat *favilla* 'hot ashes'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 105-106 (from Slav **oglb* with a prothetic **v-* > Alb *f-*, *th-*); TREIMER MRIW I 375 (against JOKL); BARIĆ ARSt. I 12-13 (to **kenk-* 'to burn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298; TRAUTMANN *BS/Wb.* 8; CANDREA *GS* III 235 (from Rom **focilis* 'fire'); FRAENKEL 10; MAYRHOFFER I 21; VASMER IV 146; POKORNY I 779; TOPOROV *PJa* I 87 (against the connection with Lith *anglis* and the like); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13 (*th-* < **f-*), *BLing* 77-78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 214-215 (explains *thëngjill* as a singularized plural).

thënkël f, pl. *thënkla* 'dogberry'. Irregular transformation of **thënubël* continuing PALb **tsunu-abōla-* 'dog's apple' identical with Dac κινούβοιλα 'plant *Brionia alba*' (Diosc. 4. 182) and Lith *šūnobiulas* 'dog's pumpkin'. ◇ TOMASCHEK *Thr.* I 34; DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 362, 373; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

thëri ~ **thëni** f, pl. *thëri* ~ *thëni* 'louse'. From PALb **tsanidā* related to Gk κνίς 'nit', OHG *hniz* id. (MEYER Wb. 90, Alb. *St.* III 13, 37). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 332, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 41; JOKL *Studien* 105, *Sprache* IX 123; BARIĆ ARSt. I 12; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301 (reconstructs IE **kenid-*), *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 33-34; ERNOUT-MEILLET 351; MANN *Language* XVII 23, XXVIII 32; PISANI *Saggi* 128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243; FRISK I 912-913; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 115; HAMP KZ LXXVI 278 (correct reconstruction of **-o-* in the first syllable of **konid-*); POKORNY I 608; ÇABEJ *St.* II 215-216 (to *thind* 'sting, thorn'); HULD 118-119; JANSON *Unt.* 31-32; GRIEPENTROG *Wurzelnomina* 474-475; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397.

thërpehem refl. 'to become impregnated (of goats)'. Other forms are *thuprehehem* and also *thuprue*, *thyprue* 'to impregnate'. Derived from *thupër* as many other verbs for 'futuere' based on the word for

'stick'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (to *cap*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 218-219 (from **përthehet* based on **përth* = *përç*).

thërras aor. *thërrita*, *thirra* 'to call, to name'. Continues PAIb **tsira*, with a secondary present in *-*atja*. An old onomatopoeia. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 20-21 (to Lith *šárka* 'magpie', Slav **sorka* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 216-217.

thërreckë f, pl. *thërrecka* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from **thërrec* based on *ther*.

thërrime f, pl. *thërrime* 'crumb'. Derived from *ther* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 217-218). The verb *thërrmoj* 'to break, to crumb' (borrowed to Rum *fārima* id.) is derived from *thërrime*. ◇ CAMARDA I 52, 99 (to Gk θρόμμα 'bit, something broken off'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* IV 26 (*thërrmoj* from Rom **fragmindre*); PUŞCARIU *ZfromPh* XXVII 739, *EWB* 50 (together with Rum *fārima*, from Rom **farrīmen*); GIUGLEA *DR* III 594-597 (starts from Rom **farrīma*); WEIGAND *BA* III 214; REICHENKRON *ZfBalk* III 166 (reconstructs a Dacian source continuing IE *(s)*per*-); ROSETTI *ILR* I 277.

thi m, pl. *thi* 'pig'. From PAIb **sū(s)* (with dissimilation of sibilants) etymologically related to IE **sūs* id.: Av *hū*, Gk ὕς, Lat *sūs*, OHG *sū* (STIER *KZ* XI 214; CAMARDA I 77; MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 43-44, 63). ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 82, *KZ* XXXVI 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298, *Stratificazione* 143; BARIĆ *Hymje* 22; ERNOUT-MILLET 670; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; FRISK II 973-974; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 142 (reconstructs **k̑*- in the anlaut); LA PIANA *Studi* I 23; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 222; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233; WALDE-HOFMANN II 635-637; BARTHOLOMAE 1817; POKORNY I 1038; ÇABEJ *St.* II 219-220; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397-398.

thikë f, pl. *thika*, *thikë* 'knife'. From PAIb **tsikā*, derived from IE **kēi*- 'to sharpen': Skt *śīṣāti* 'to whet, to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θήγω 'to whet'), 117 (to Lat *sīca* 'knife'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Lat *sīca*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82, *KZ* XXXIV 287 (follows MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* I 293 (same); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155 (same); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 13-14 (to Skt *śikhā* 'tuft of hair, fringe');

ACAREAN *HAB* IV 254-255; MAYRHOFFER III 345; LA PIANA *Studi* I 30-31 (against borrowing from Latin for phonetic reasons: Lat *s-* > Alb *sh-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 387; POKORNY I 541-542; ÇABEJ *St.* II 221-222 (follows BARIĆ and adduces *thekë* as another cognate).

thimě adj. 'grey'. Derived from *thij*, see *thinjë*.

thimth m, pl. *thimtha* 'sting, nipple'. A deminutive of **thim* related to *thind* (JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319). The meaning 'nipple' may be secondary, due to the influence of *thithë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 223-224).

thind m, pl. *thinda* 'beak, nipple'. Derived from the same verbal root as *thikë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *findere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (to *ther*, *thyej*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 238; POKORNY I 920; ÇABEJ *St.* II 222-223 (to *thëri*, *thumb*); HAMP-*Münch. St. Spr.* XLIII 47-48 (< IE **kēnt-*).

thinjë f, pl. *thinja* 'grey hair'. Derived from *thij* 'to go grey' < PALb **tsinja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *śyāvā-* 'dark brown', Av *syāva-* 'black', Slav **sivъ* 'dark grey' and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 91, Alb. *St.* III 44 (from Slav **sinъ* 'dark blue'); WEIGAND 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (to *finjë* and *hi*); MAYRHOFFER III 384; BARTHOLOMAE 1631; VASMER III 617; POKORNY I 541; ÇABEJ *St.* II 225-226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI in his comparison with *finjë*); MURATI *Probleme* 135.

thipë f 'bread crust'. Identical with *cipë* (KRISTOFORIDHI 129). ◇ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127; ÇABEJ *St.* II 226.

thirqe f, pl. *thirqe* 'chick-pea'. Singularized plural of **thirk*, derivative in **-ka-* of *thjerrë* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII 96). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 91, Alb. *St.* III 44 (from Venet *siserchia* id.); HELBIG 79 (accepts MEYER's etymology); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (from *siserchia* with dissimilation of *s* - *s*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII).

thirr m 'soot'. From PALb **tsirwa* identical with Lith *šiřvas* 'grey' (CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42) and continuing the Indo-European root for dark color **kē-*. Cf. *surmë* and *thjermë*. ◇ FRAENKEL 989; POKORNY I 573-574; ÇABEJ *St.* II 226-227 (to Slav **sěra* 'sulphur').

thirravajë f 'complaint'. Lexicalization of *me thirrë vaj* 'to make a complaint, to complain' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 227).

thith m, pl. *thitha* 'joint-pin, sprig'. Another form is *thinx*. From **thind-th*, diminutive of *thind*.

thith aor. *thitha* 'to suck'. Another form is *thëthij*. Continues PALb **tsitsa*. An old "descriptive" stem (JOKL *Balkanogerm.* 127-128, *Slavia* XIII 325). Of the same origin is *thithë* 'nipple' < PALb **tsitsa*. ∅ CAMARDA I 37, 77-78 (to Gk τῖθῆμι 'to put'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44, IV 31 (from SCr *sisa* 'nipple, bosom'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (*thithë* to Ir *cioch*, Slav **sisa*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; ÇABEJ *St.* II 227-228.

thjermë adj. 'grey'. From PALb **tserma*, a full grade of the root found in zero grade in *surmë* and etymologically related to Lith *šiřmas* 'grey' (JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 153-155, *WuS* XII 89-90). ∅ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (follows JOKL); POKORNY I 574; ÇABEJ *St.* II 228-229 (derived from *thjerrë*); HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399.

thjerrë f, pl. *thjerra* 'lentil'. Continues PALb **tserā*, a non-reduplicated parallel of Lat *cicer* 'pea', Arm *siserñ* id. < IE **kī-ker-* (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 15, *AArbSt* II 81-83). ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* IV 118 (from Rom **fābārium*, to Lat *fāba* 'bean'); WEIGAND 19 (agrees with MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81-83; JOKL *LKUBA* 179-181 (to Lith *šerti* 'to feed'); AČAREAN *HAB* IV 218; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (agrees with BARIĆ); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 254; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 1127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 212; POKORNY I 598; ÇABEJ *St.* II 220-221 (identical with *fier*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 398-399.

thjeshtë adj. 'simple, easy'. Another form is *fjeshtë*. Continues PALb **tseksta*, a derivative in **ts-* based on **eksta* > *jashtë* with the basic meaning 'not outside' = 'easy to reach', for the semantic model cf. OIr *asse* < **ad-staio-* 'standing by' = 'easily attainable' = 'easy', Fr *aise* 'ease' < Lat *adjacēns* 'lying near'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *festus* 'solemn, festive'); JOKL *Studien* 37-38, *LKUBA* 190, 214 (from IE **skāi-* 'to shine'); VENDRYES [A] 96; BUCK *Synonyms* 648-650; ÇABEJ *St.* II 224-225 (derived from *fill*).

thjeshtë m, pl. *thjeshtë* 'stepson'. In Sicilian dialects of Albanian one finds *fjeshtë*. Borrowed from Lat *filiaster* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1053) phonetically influenced by *thjeshtë* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 51-52). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* V 75 (from Ital *figliastro* id., Venet *fiaastro* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 48, 211 (same); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* II 229.

thkollët adj. 'thin, meager'. A phonetic evolution of *tëholloj* 'to become thin' based on *hollë* (MANN *HAED* 539). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 229-230 (agrees with MANN).

thnegël f, pl. *thnegla* 'ant'. Other forms are *thënegullë*, *thënëjegëll*. Continues PAIb **tsangulā*, with a prefix **ts-*, further connected with Lat *anguis* 'snake', Lith *angìs* id., OHG *angar* 'kind of maggot', *engirine* 'larva', Lith *ankštiraĩ* 'maggot'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 89-90 (from Lat *formicula* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 175; SCHUCHARDT *Revue basque* V 106-108 (to Basque *chiugurri*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 12 (compound of *thëri* ~ *thëni* and

lyzed as a compound of *thua* and *pērç* (for the meaning cf. *Tom Thumb* and Russian *mužičok-s-nogotok*). BUZUKU has a participle *thopërkuom* 'paralyticus', *thoprëkuom* 'hydropicus' which has nothing to do with *thopër* and reflects a verb **thě-për-køj* 'to undernourish', with two prefixes, based on *køj*. ◇ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 123-125, *Vox Rom.* VI 227 (from Slavic, cf. SCr *coprati* 'to conjure'); MANN *HAED* 92; ÇABEJ *St.* II 230-231 (from Ital *zoppo* 'lame').

thua ~ thue m, pl. *thoj ~ thonj* '(finger) nail'. Goes back to PALb **atsāna* derived from IE **ak̑-* 'sharp' and, as far as its structure is concerned, similar with Gk ἄκανθος 'thorny fruit', ἄκαινα 'tip, point'. ◇ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk ὄνυξ 'nail'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Av *spāma-* 'saliva' misinterpreted as 'nail'), *Alb. St.* III 14, 16; LEWY *IF* XXXII 159 (compares *thua* with Lat *squāma* '(fish) scale'); JOKL *LKUBA* 26; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 10 (derivative of IE **k̑er-* 'horn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301, *Stratificazione* 98; FRISK I 49, 51; ÇABEJ *St.* II 231-232 (to Gk κεντέω 'to prick'); HULD 120 (to Gmc **xanduz* 'hand').

**upera* 'upper' etymologically related to OHG *obaro* id., Lat *super* id. and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Hung dial. *supra* id.); POKORNY I 1106.

thur aor. *thura* 'to fence, to enclose, to plait, to weave'. From PALb **tsurja*, a zero grade form related to Arm *sarik* 'band, rope', Gk κάρπος 'row of thrums in the loom'. ◇ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θυρώ 'to furnish with doors'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Lat *crātis* 'wicker-work', Gk κύρτη 'fishing net'); AČAREAN *HAB* IV 188; FRISK I 756; POKORNY I 577-578; CLACKSON *LR* 140.

thuthaq adj. 'lispings'. Pronouncing *s* as *th* (MEYER *Wb.* 92).

thyej aor. *theva* 'to break'. Continues PALb **tsā(i)nja* derived from IE **kēi-* 'to sharpen': Skt *śiśāti* 'to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. See *thikē*. ◇ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θύω 'to rage, to seethe').

U

u part. of passive. From PALb **wa* related to IE **syom*, acc. 'self' with the vowel lost in the unstressed position and **w* vocalized as *u* (BOPP 480-481) or resulting from the regular development of IE **syo-* in Albanian. ◇ CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 468, *Alb. St.* III 39; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 74; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 111; JOKL *LKUBA* 74, *IF* L 56; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; POKORNY I 882; HAMP *IF* LXXXI 36-37; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 100; ÇABEJ *St.* II 234-235; HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

ubël f, pl. *ubla* 'well, shaft, hillside well'. The original meaning is 'hillside well'. With a secondary voicing of **-p-* continues PALb **upela*, a derivative of IE **upo* 'under'. Morphologically particularly close to Goth *ubils* 'evil', originally 'exceeding due limits' < **upelo-*. ◇ ONIONS 332; POKORNY I 1106-1107.

udob adv. 'easy, light'. Borrowed from Slav **udobъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; SVANE 272.

udĥě f, pl. *udĥě* 'way'. From PALb **wada*, an *o*-grade **uodhā* based on **uedh-* 'to beat, to break'. For such semantic development cf. Slav

**trepati* 'to knock, to beat' ~ OS *thravon* 'to trot' ~ Slav **tropa* 'path' and the like (BUCK *Synonyms* 693-694). ◇ CAMARDA I 50, 108 (comparison with Gk ὁδός 'road'); MEYER *BB* VIII 191 (compares with Slav **ulica* 'street'), *Wb.* 455 (derives from IE **ueǵh-*), *Alb. St.* III 18, 80; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189 (borrowed from Gk ὁδός); JOKL *Studien* 92, *LKUBA* 128, 316 (cognate of Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry, to convey'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; DERŽAVIN *Jazyk I literatura* I 190-191 (to *urë* and *ujë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274 (from IE **ueǵh-* 'to move, to pull'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 60-61; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; TISCHLER II 318-319 (etymology of the Hittite word); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (to IE **uedh-* 'to lead'); ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 34-35; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 186; ÇABEJ *StF* IV/1 69, 83 (follows HAMP), *St.* II 237-238 (zero-grade formation of IE **uedh-* 'to beat, to break'); HULD 120-121; OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54-55 (close to Hitt *huda-* 'hurry', a zero-grade of IE **uedh-*), *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400-401.

udhos *m* 'sort of cheese'. Originally, participle in *-ues, -os* of Geg *hudh* 'to throw, to pour' (see *hedh*) with the loss of initial *h-*. Semantically, the Balkan-Carpathian technology of cheese production makes such a motivation fairly possible, cf. Slav **žetica* derived from **žeti* 'to press, to squeeze' (KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 142-143). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 455 (to Carpathian *urda*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245-246; DURIDANOV *LB* XVII 51-62 (from **urdhos* related to *urdhë*; phonetically difficult); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

ugar *m, pl.* *ugarë* 'land unused for two years'. Borrowed from Slav **ugarъ* 'fallow ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ugar*, SCr *ugar* (MEYER *Wb.* 456). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; SVANE 36.

ujë *f/n, pl.* *ujëra ~ ujna* 'water'. From PALb **udrjā* (HAMP *St. Whatmough* 83, *Laryngeals* 138) derived from the Indo-European word for 'water' **ued-* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 51, 75). For a similar formation cf. Gk ὕδρία 'water-bucket'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 456 (reconstructs **udnjā* but there are no traces of *unjë* in the dialects), *Alb. St.* III 66; LA PIANA I 118 (derives *ujë* from **ulë* < **ud-l-o-*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 217; BARIČ *AArhSt.* II 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273-274; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247, *KZ* XXXIII 285-286, XXXVI 339 (from **uë* < **udā* with *-j-* filling hiatus), *Kelt. Gr.* II 19; JOKL *WuS* XII 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; POKORNY 78-79; FRISK II 957-959; ÇABEJ

St. II 238-239 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD 121; DEMIRAJ *AE* 401-402 (from PALb **urjā*, related to Skt *vār-* 'water').

ujk m, pl. *ujq*, *ujqër* ~ *ujqën* 'wolf'. The archaic form *ulk* is preserved in Chamian. Goes back to PALb *(w)*ulka* continuing IE **ul̥kʷos* id.: Skt *vṛka-*, Gk *λύκος*, Lat *lupus*, Goth *wulfs* and the like (STIER *KZ* XI 143; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* III 2, 80). The form *ujkth* 'wolf's hide' is an obvious derivative of *ujk* (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 99) ∅ CAMARDA I 26 (metathesis of *λύκος*); MEYER *BB* VIII 191, *Gr. Gr.* 69, 233, 262; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; JOKL *Studien* 92, 119 (*ujkth* - to Lat *vellus* 'fleece, hide'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274, *Stratificazione* 143; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 45 (agrees with JOKL on *ujkth*), 111, *Hymje* 22; PORZIG *Gliederung* 206; ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 61; MANN *Language* XVII 15; FRISK II 143-144; MAYRHOFER III 240-241; WALDE-HOFMANN I 836-837; FEIST *Goth.* 576; POKORNY I 1178-1179; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; GINDIN *Form. SN* 61; ÇABEJ *St.* II 239-240, 242-244; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 121-122; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ *AE* 403.

ukrajë f 'forest'. Borrowed from Slav **ukrajь* attested, in a different meaning, in SCr *ukraj* 'near', Russ *ukraj* (MEYER *Wb.* 456).

ul aor. *ula* 'to lower'. From PALb **wala* related to Gk *εἰλῶ* 'to shut in, to press', Lith *valýti* 'to clean', *iš-valýti* 'to carry away' (CAMARDA I 54). Forms like *unj* reflect an earlier **ulnj* < **walnja*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 457-458 (to the non-existent Slav **xynqti*); PEDERSEN *IF* V 64, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (separates *unj* from *ul*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 32 (agrees with PEDERSEN and compares *ul* with Slav **xylъ* 'crooked, weak'); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 39 (to *vang*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY I 1138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 240-242 (follows CAMARDA).

ulërij ~ **ulëri** aor. *ulërita* 'to shout, to howl'. Another form is *ulëras*. Borrowed from Rom **uruläre* id. (cf. Rum *urla*, Sard *urulare* and the like) continuing Lat *ululäre* 'to howl, to yell' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 457). ∅ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 171; ÇABEJ *St.* II 242 (onomatopoeia).

ulishtë f, pl. *ulishta* 'small tub'. Borrowed from Slav **uliščę*, deriva-

tive of **ulbjь* 'hive; trough', cf. SCr *ulište* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 242 (derived from *ul*); SVANE 159.

ulmej aor. *ulmeva* 'to make wet'. Derived from an unattested **ulm* continuing PALb **ulg(a)ma* related to OHG *welc* 'wet', Lith *vilgyti* 'to make wet', Latv *vaļgums* 'wetness', Slav **vьlgъkъ* 'wet'. ◇ FRAENKEL 1251; VASMER I 337; POKORNY I 1145 (with mistakes in Lithuanian forms); ÇABEJ *St.* II 244 (identical with *lëmehem* 'to apply rouge' and *mëlmej* 'to add butter or oil to food').

ulzë f, pl. *ulza* 'kind of maple'. Derived from PALb **ulma* continuing IE **lmo-* also reflected in Lat *ulmus* 'elm', cf. also ON *almr* id., OIr *lem* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 244). ◇ WALDE-HOFMANN II 811-812; POKORNY I 303.

ullastër f, pl. *ullastra* 'wild olive tree'. Borrowed from Ital *olivastro* 'olive' influenced by *ulli* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 244-245). The variant *ullashtër* may well go back to Lat *oleaster* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◇ WEIGAND 95 (to *ulli*); JOKL *LKUBA* 210-211 (from Rom **olīvaster*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24, 31; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 129, 136.

ulli ~ **ullî** m, pl. *ullinj* 'olive (tree)'. Borrowed from Lat *olīvus* 'olive tree' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 245) or, less exactly, from *olīva* 'olive' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; JOKL *LKUBA* 210; WEIGAND 95; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 158.

umas aor. *umata* 'to bark'. Derived from an unattested **umē* from PALb **wamā* further related to Skt *vāmiti* 'to vomit', Av *vam-* 'to spit', Gk ἐμέω 'to spit out', Lat *vomeō* 'to vomit' and the like. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (from an uncertain Slavic source); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 16 (< **ulmatiō* related to Gk ὑλάω id.); WALDE-HOFMANN II 835; MAYRHOFFER III 146; FRISK I 504-505; POKORNY I 1146; ÇABEJ *St.* II 246 (onomatopoeia).

(G) **umb** m 'plowshare'. Other forms are *um* and *hum*. Borrowed from the nominative of Lat *vōmis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 135-136; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; HAARMANN 158.

unak m, pl. *unakë* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav **junakъ* 'young man, hero', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *junak*, SCr *junak*. The Slavic word can also denote the ritual log at the hearth stone and the hearth-stone itself in the *polaznik* ritual known all over the Balkans.

unazë f, pl. *unaza* 'finger-ring, small iron ring'. Based on *unë* < PALb **wandā* related to Arm *gind* 'ring', Goth *bi-windan* 'to unwreath' and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* II 246-247: reconstructs **uendā*, IV 57). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 457 (based on the rare *una* borrowed from Rom **virāna*, cf. Lat *viriae* 'armlets, bracelets'), Alb. *St.* IV 40; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 78, 102 (to Lat *unguis* 'nail', *ungulus* 'finger-ring'); FEIST *Goth.* 98; POKORNY I 1148.

undyrë f, pl. *undyrë* 'fat'. Another form is *yndyrë*. Borrowed from Lat *unctura* 'ointment' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◇ BARIĆ *AARbSt.* I 145; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 50-52; ÇABEJ *St.* II 313; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 121.

unë pron. 'I'. A composite consisting of the personal pronoun *u* (attested as such in dialects) and particle *në* (cf. Gk *ναί*, *νή*). The Italo-Albanian form *uth* contains a diminutive suffix *-th* (DOZON 276). The personal pronoun *u* is identical with *u* 'self' < PALb **we* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 69). It may also result from the allegro change of a sequence **edz we* < IE **eǵhom sue*. In other cases we find IE **me-*, cf. acc. *mua* ~ *mue* < **mēm* as in Skt *mām*, OPers *mām*, OPrus *mien* and Slav **mę* (JOKL *IF* XLIX 274). ◇ BOPP 504-505 (to IE **eǵhom* 'I'); CAMARDA I 215-216 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 454 (*u* borrowed from Rom **eo* < Lat *ego* 'I'), Alb. *St.* I 34; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 102 (*uth* <

(agrees with BARIĆ); quaj, MANN *Language* XXVI 385; PISANI *Saggi* 107, 167; HAMP *RRL* XXI 50 (notes a similar vocalism in Hitt *ugga* 'I'), *St. Whatmough* 78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 233-234 (agrees with LA PIANA); HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

unë f 'piece of a broken pot'. Used once by BUZUKU. Continues PALb **wantā* further related to Arm *vandem* 'to destroy', OHG *wund* 'wound', MW *gweint*, praet. '(I) pierced'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 455 (related to *ûth* 'wooden jug'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 111 (*ûth* related to IE **ued-* 'water'); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 296; POKORNY I 1108; ÇABEJ *St.* II 247.

ungroj aor. *ungrova* 'to howl, to whine, to squeak (of animals)'. Borrowed, with a secondary inlaut *r*, from Lat *uncāre* 'to roar (of bears)'.

ungj m, pl. *ungjër* 'uncle'. Borrowed from Lat *avunculus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* IV 54-55). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1049; WEIGAND 96; JOKL *LKUBA* 15, 28; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 110; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189, 227; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 247; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

ungji adv. 'completely'. Another form is *unji*. Univerbation of *u në gj* 'itself in its totality', cf. *u* and *gjithë*. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 64 (to *një*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 296 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *St.* II 247-248 (from **n gj* with *n* > *un*).

ungjill m, pl. *ungjij* 'gospel'. Borrowed from Lat *evangelium* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 457) or from Rom **evangelum* > Ital *vangelo* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 248-249). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1049; WEIGAND 96; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 141-142.

unzë f, pl. *unza* 'pen-point, pen'. Phonetic form of *hundësë*, derivative of *hundë* (MANN *HAED* 163). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 249.

(G) **unzë** f 'firebrand, smut'. The Tosk form is *urth*. Related to or derived from *uri* 'hunger'. ◇ MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Lith *ugñs* 'fire').

upeshk m 'bishop'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 458). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1045, 1048; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; HAARMANN 122; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 110, 120.

upri f 'group of peasants helping another peasant in his farm'. Based on an unattested **upër* continuing PALb **upera* and related to Av *up* 'upper', Gk *ὑπερος* 'pestle', OHG *obaro* 'upper'. ◇ JOKL *Vox R.* VI 221 (from **vëpri*, to *vepër*); FRISK II 966-967; POKORNY I 11. ÇABEJ *St.* II 249 (borrowed from Slav **upirati se* 'to lean').

urdhë f, pl *urdha* 'sort of white cheese'. There are also variants *urdh* and *hurdhë* with a secondary prothetic *h*-. The word reflects PALb **wurdh* from an earlier **urdā* or **uordā*, derived from IE **uer-* 'to boil, to burn' (Arm *varēm* 'to kindle', Lith *virti* 'to cook, to boil', Slav **variti* id.). Semantically, it is important for this etymology that *urdhë* is p

duced by *boiling whey* (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 211-212). From Albanian *urdhë* was borrowed to other Balkan and Carpathian languages, such as Rum *urdă* (KLEPIKOVA 142-144). ◇ MLADENOV 654 (derives *urdhë* and other Balkan cognates from Turk *vurmak* 'to beat, to strike'), *Slavia V*/I 56; MACHEK 670 (from Lat *būtyrum* 'butter'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 739-740 (to Gk οὐρός 'trench'); SIMEONOV *LB XV* 33-35 (to Ossetic *urs* 'white'); BARIĆ *Lingv. st.* 39 (from IE **srdhā*); DURIDANOV *LB XVII* 51-59 (from **skrdo-*, cf. *hrrë* < **skrno-*, both treated as derivatives of IE **sker-* 'to cut'); CAPIDAN II 470 f. (Arumanian sources of the Albanian word); GIUGLEA *DR III* 587; FRAENKEL 1263; POKORNY I 1166; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 352; ROSETTI *ILR I* 282-283; RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 411-412; KLEPIKOVA *Ėtimologija* 1966 62-81; HAMP *LB XXIV/3* 47-50 (from **skorHdā*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

urdhër ~ urdhën m, pl. *urdhëra ~ urdhna* 'order'. Borrowed from Lat *ordinem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 458). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276-277; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; HAARMANN 139.

(T) urdhëratë f, pl. *urdhërata* 'servant'. Derived from *urdhër, urdhëroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 250). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 458.

urelē f, pl. *urela* 'water-pit'. From PAIb **urelā* related to ON *úr* 'drizzle', OPrus *wurs* 'pool', Gk ἄν-αρος 'devoid of water' and the like. ◇ FRISK I 103-104; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* X 51-54; PERSSON *IF XXXV* 199; POKORNY I 80-81.

urë f, pl. *ura* 'bridge'. From PAIb **warā* related to Goth *warjan* 'to prevent, to defend', ON *vör* 'row of stones', *ver* 'dam', Osc *veru* 'door' and, further, to IE **uortom* 'gate' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 250-251). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 33; JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (to *udhë*), *LKUBA* 128, 316-317 (against BARIĆ); BARIĆ I 110-111 (to Gk γέφυρα 'bridge'); DERŽAVIN *Jazyk i literatura* I 190-191 (to Basque *ura* 'water'); ROMANSKI *MPr VII* 1-4 (to Illyr *-ora* in *Vilazora*); MAYER *Illyrier* I 99 (follows ROMANSKI); FEIST *Goth.* 551-552; POKORNY I 1160-1162; DEMIRAJ *AE* 403-404.

urë f, pl. *ura* 'burning log'. Continues PAIb **warā* related to Arm *vařem* 'to kindle (fire)', Hitt *uar-* 'to burn' and their cognates. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 458 (from IE **eus-* 'to burn'), *Alb. St.* III 63; JOKL *LKUBA* 113-115;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275-276; POKORNY I 1166; JANSON *Unt.* 84-85.

uri ~ **û** f 'hunger'. The Tosk form is derived from **ur*. From PALb **wana*, a nominal derivative of IE **uen-* 'to want, to desire', cf. Skt *vánati*, *vanati* id., Lat *venus* 'love' (MEYER Wb. 455, Alb. St. III 80). ◇ JOKL apud ÇABEJ St. II 235 (to Skt *ūná-* 'defective, wanting', Goth *wans* 'defective, faulty'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; MANN *Language* XVII 15; MAYRHOFER III 141-142; WALDE-HOFMANN II 752-753; POKORNY I 1146-1147; ÇABEJ St. II 235-237 (agrees with JOKL).

uri m, pl. *urinj* 'mole'. Another, and more archaic, variant is *ur*. Derived from *uri* is *urith* id. From PALb **wara*, a non-reduplicated form close to Lat *viverra* 'ferret', Lith *vaiveris* 'pole-cat', *vaiverė* 'squirrel' and the like. Another non-reduplicated form is represented in OHG *eihhurno* 'squirrel', OE *ác-weorna* id. ◇ STIER KZ XI No. 11 (to the second element of Gk *ἰδδουρος*, Hes. 'mole'); CAMARDA I 295 (identical with *buri* 'mole', from *brej*); DIEFENBACH I 48 (to Gk *ὀρύσσω* 'to dig'); LAMBERTZ KZ LIII 304 (to Lat *sorex* 'shrew-mouse', Gk *ὕραξ* 'mouse, shrew-mouse'); JOKL *LKUBA* 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 143; FRAENKEL 1185; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ St. II 251-252 (to IE **uers-* 'top' or to Lith *ūrvas* 'hole, cavern'; *urithe* 'astragalus' based on *urith*).

uroj aor. *urova* 'to wish luck, to congratulate, to adore (deity)'. Borrowed from Lat *orāre* 'to argue, to plead, to pray' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45). ◇ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 247 (from Lat *augurāre* 'to prophesy, to make auguries'); MEYER Wb. 459 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049 (accepts both alternatives); JOKL *ZONF* X 190; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ St. II 252-253; HAARMANN 139.

urok m 'aim, intention'. Borrowed from Slav **urokъ* 'condition, deal', cf. ORuss *urokъ* (MEYER Wb. 459). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

urtě adj. 'quiet, intelligent'. Based on an unattested **ur* continuing PALb **wara* related to Lat *vērus* 'true', OIr *fír* id., OHG *wār* id. ◇ MEYER Wb. 458 (to *unj*, see *ul*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 551 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 93 (compares *urtě* with OHG *wār* 'prudent', Gk *ὀράω* 'to see'), *LKUBA* 194, 228; TREIMER *MRIW* I 353-354 (to Lat *urgeō*

'to press, to push'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 768-769; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7, 11; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 270.

urtundë f 'big vessel without handles'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. *rotunda* 'round, circular' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 253). The intermediate form must have been **rutundë*.

urth m 'ivy'. Derived from an unattested **ur* continuing PAIb **wara* related to Lith *veriū*, *vėrti* 'to thread', *pa-varė* 'long row' and other reflections of IE **yer-* 'to bind'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (identifies *urth* with *fruth*); BARIĆ I 29, 102 (to Lat *hedera* 'ivy'); WEIGAND *BA* II 274, 283-284 (to *urdhë*, *udhos*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140 n. 2 (to Dac *scardian* 'aristolochia, kind of plant'); MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Skt *vrj-* 'to twist'); POKORNY I 1150-1551; FRAENKEL 1229-1230; ÇABEJ *St.* II 253-255 (to IE **yer-* 'to turn').

urrej aor. *urreva*, *urrejta* 'to hate'. Borrowed from Lat *horrēre* 'to be afraid, to be astonished' (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; ÇABEJ *St.* II 255 (univerbation of *vë re* 'to pay attention').

urrë f 'sapwood, laburnum'. From PAIb **warnā* etymologically related to *verr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 255-256). ◇ GURAKUQI *Illyria* I/21 8 (to the second element of Lat *alburnum* id.).

ushqej aor. *ushqeva* 'to feed'. Based on passive Lat *vescor* 'to feed oneself' (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 75; HAARMANN 156.

usht m, pl. *ushta* 'ear (of grain)'. Historically identical with *ushtë* 'spear' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 256). Continues PAIb **ušta* close to OHG *ort* 'point', ON *oddr* id. and Lith *usnīs* 'thistle' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 62, 80). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav **ostb* 'awn'), *Wb.* 459 (to Gk ἄεξω 'to increase, to foster', Goth *wahsjan* 'to grow, to increase'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 29-30; FRAENKEL 1172; POKORNY I 1172; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 93, *St.* II 256-257; HAMP *ALH* XII 159; DEMIRAJ *AE* 404.

ushtar m, pl. *ushtarë* 'soldier'. Derived from *ushtë*, see *usht*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 459 (from Lat *hostis* 'enemy'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277 (agrees with MEYER); HAARMANN 130 (*ushtri* 'army' from Lat *hoste*).

ushtoj aor. *ushtova* 'to sound, to shout'. Borrowed from Lat *ōscitāre* 'to shout, to open mouth, to yawn'. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 75 (to *uturij*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 257 (onomatopoeia).

ushtoj aor. *ushtova* 'to try, to probe'. Borrowed from Lat *ūsītārī* id.

ushunjë ~ ushûj f 'lard'. Borrowed from Lat *axungia* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 19-20 (from NGk ὀξύγγι, ἄξούγγι id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St. II* 257 (from Byz Gk ὀξύγγι).

ushunjëz f, pl. *ushunjëza* 'leech'. Another form is *shushunjë*. Borrowed from Rom **sanguisungia*, cf. Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 420).

ut m 'owl'. Another form is *hut*. Borrowed from Lat *ōtus* 'horned owl' (MEYER *Wb.* 460). ◇ HAARMANN 139.

uturij ~ uturî aor. *uturiva* 'to thunder'. Onomatopoeia.

uthët adj. 'sour'. An irregular phonetic variant of *athët*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 455-456 (to **us-* in Lith *usnīs* 'thistle'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 111-112

uthull f 'vinegar'. Derived from **uth* 'sour', see *uthët* (MEYER *Wb.* 455). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 332 ("unclear"); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 111-112 (from IE **eues-dh-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-ull*).

uzdajë f, pl. *uzdajë* 'hope'. Borrowed from Slavic **u-sъ-daja*, cf. SCr *uzdaja* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 460). ◇ SVANE 224, 259.

V

va m/f, pl. *va* 'ford'. Borrowing from Lat *vadum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 68 (related to Lat *vadum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 28, *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285-286; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243 (Latin loanword); SPITZER *MRIW* I 332 (treats *va* as a cognate of *vadum*); JOKL *IF XXXVI* 105, 137 (admits the possibility of an Indo-European source for *va*), *LKUBA* 209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 252; MANN

Language XXVIII 33, XXVI 380 (reconstructs **uadhom*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 257-258 (follows SPITZER); HULD 122-123 (loanword); DEMIRAJ *AE* 405.

vađe f, pl. *vada* 'water-pit, irrigation channel'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vada* id., SCr *vada* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12).

vadis aor. *vadita* 'to water, to irrigate'. Borrowed from Slav **vaditi* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vad'a* (MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159; SVANE 39, 243.

vadhë ~ vodhë f, pl. *vadha ~ vodha* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Gk οἴη id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 207-209, 325) with -dh- rendering the intervocalic Gk -ι- [j]. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112 (to Lat *sorbus* id. < IE **suordho*-); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 258-259 (from Gk ὄα id.).

vagëlloj aor. *vagëllova* 'to be dim, to be weak (of eyes)'. Together with *vagulloj* 'to dawn, to be dim' and *vagët* 'faded, faint, dim' based on Lat *vagus* 'strolling about, rambling'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 4 (to *agoj*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk ἀχλὺς 'mist'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 259 (agrees with MEYER).

vaj m, pl. *vaje* 'mourning wail'. Based on the onomatopoeia *vaj* 'alas' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 461). From here *vajtoj ~ vojtoj* 'to mourn a dead' is derived. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (connected with Lat *vae*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 260; HAARMANN 138; DEMIRAJ *AE* 405-406.

vaj ~ voj m/n, pl. *vajra ~ vojna* 'oil'. A more conservative form is *val*. Borrowed from Lat *oleum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 462, MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 575). The anlaut *va-* ~ *vo-* is typical of loanwords. ◇ CAMARDA I 39 (treats *vaj ~ voj* as a cognate of *oleum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; JOKL *Studien* 116, *Slavia* XIII 641 (G *vojna* 'odors' borrowed from Slav **von'a* 'odor'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 305; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; HAARMANN 52; HULD 123; ÇABEJ *St.* II 299-300 (against JOKL); LANDI *Lat.* 61, 126, 141.

vajc adj. 'tearful'. Derived from *vaj*.

vajžë f, pl. *vajza* 'girl'. Other important variants are *varžë*, *vashë* < **varshë* and *vajë* < **varjë*. They are based on an unattested **varë* continuing **vëharë* < PALb **swesarā*. The latter reflects the Indo-European word for 'sister': Skt *svāsar-*, Arm *k'oyr*, Lat *soror* and the like (HAMP SABBO 109-110). ◇ TREIMER *MRIW* I 46 (to Skt *vardhati* 'to increase' and its cognates), *Slavia* II 455, *KZ* LXV 107-108; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 113-114 (to Gk παρθένος 'maiden', Lat *virgō* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 260-261, 332 (from **suo-ro-*, to IE **sue-* 'self, own'); TAGLI-
AVINI *Dalmazia* 278, *Stratificazione* 120; MAYRHOFER III 565; WALDE-
HOFMANN II 563; POKORNY I 1051; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 47; ÖLBERG
IF LXXIII 208; ÇABEJ *St.* II 261-263 (deminutive of *varrë*); FEKA *GjJ*
IV/2, 88-89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 406-407 (to Lat *virgō* 'maiden').

vak ~ **vok** aor. *vaka* ~ *voka* 'to warm slightly, to make lukewarm'. Of uncertain origin. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 462 (from SCr *mlak* 'warm'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112-113 (to ON *vókr* 'wet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286-287.

vak m 'into the open, outside'. Borrowed from Rom **vacus*, cf. Lat *vacuus* 'empty' (MEYER *Wb.* 462).

val m 'valley'. Occurs in the phrase *mal e val* only. Borrowed from Lat *vallis* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 263).

valanicë f, pl. *valanica* 'fulling-mill'. Borrowed from South Slavic **val'anica* (KRISTOFORIDHI 14, 485; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 264.

valavit aor. *valavita* 'to swing, to sway'. Another form is *valëvit*. An expressive derivative of *valë*.

valë f, pl. *valë* 'wave'. From PALb **walā* etymologically connected with OHG *wella* id., Lith *vilnìs* id., Slav **vьlna* id., **valъ* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 191, *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38 with the reconstruction of **uoljā*). PALb **walā* seems to reflect a zero grade **uəlīā*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36 (from Slav **valъ*); JOKL *LKUBA* 270, 325 (*valë* < **ualnā*, **uļnā*), *Sprache* IX 22; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; BÜGA II 375; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Lith *vilnìs* 'wave'), XXVIII 38; PISANI *Saggi* 126; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 48 (reconstructs **uolnā*); FRAENKEL 1254; VASMER I 268, 339; POKORNY I 1141-1143;

CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 56; ÇABEJ *StF* IV/2 8, *St.* II 264-265; HULD 123-124; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 407-408.

valët adj. 'boiling hot'. Derived from *valë*. The verb *valoj*, *vloj* 'to boil' is of the same origin (MEYER *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

valikë f 'time spent on the work in fields'. Derived from *val*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 264-265 (derived from *valë*).

valle f, pl. *valle* 'folk dance in a ring'. Borrowed from NGk βαλλίζω 'to dance a folk dance' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *NGr. St.* IV 15). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 462 (directly from Italian); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 278; ÇABEJ *St.* II 265-266 (to Lat *volvō* 'to roll').

vallë particle 'maybe (in questions)'. Continues PALb **walā* related to Goth *waila* id., OHG *wela*, *wola* continuing IE **uel-* 'to wish' (MEYER *Wb.* 462). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *varā-* 'best'); JOKL *LKUBA* 209, 325; FEIST *Goth.* 543; POKORNY I 1137; ÇABEJ *St.* II 266.

vallë ~ vollë f, pl. *vallë ~ vollë* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Rom **vola*, derivative of *volāre* 'to fly'. ◇ HAMP *Strat.* 41-43 (from IE **oblu-* 'apple').

vallkua ~ vallkue m, pl. *vallkonj* 'fish trap'. An early borrowing from Slav pl. **volkove* 'objects that can be dragged or carried, nets'.

vanë f, pl. *vana* 'crease, fold'. Participial form of *vete*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 266 (derived from *va*).

vangë f, pl. *vanga* 'spade'. Historically identical with *vëng~ vang*.

vapë f 'heat'. Borrowed from Rom **vapa* or Oltal *vapa* 'vapor' (MEYER *Wb.* 463).

var aor. *vara* 'to hang'. A secondary ablaut variant of *vjerr* (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 84). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; ÇABEJ *St.* II 267.

varesë f, pl. *varesa* 'chain'. Derived from *var*.

varfër ~ vorfën adj. 'poor'. Borrowed from Lat *orphanus* 'orphan' (MEYER Wb. 463). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; SPITZER *MRIW* I 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 208-209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 139; JANSON *Unt.* 61; LANDI *Lat.* 61.

varg m, pl. *vargje* 'row, chain, ring'. Derived from *var* (MEYER Wb. 475). Note also *vargan* 'caravan, long row'. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (to Gk ὄρχος 'row of vines or trees'); CHANTRAINE 831; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (suffix -g); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; ÇABEJ *St.* II 267-268 (agrees with MEYER); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408-409 (to *vjerr*).

vargër ~ vërgâ m, pl. *vërgenj* 'uncastrated ram'. In Tosk, there is also *vërgër* id. An innovation based on Lat *virgō* 'virgin' and presumably reflecting Rom **virgānus* (MEYER Wb. 470, *Alb. St.* V 104-105). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI No 32 (from Rom **virgārius*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 268-269 (related to βάρηχοι- ἄρνες Ἀάκωνες, Hes.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 157.

varjesht ~ varresht m 'swath'. A prefixal derivative of *rresht* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 270).

varr ~ vorr m, pl. *varre ~ vorre* 'grave'. Borrowed from late Rom **orna* < Lat *urna* 'cinerary urn' (OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 31-32). ◇ DIEFENBACH I 55 (to Gk ὀρύχω 'to dig up' and/or OE *éar* 'earth of the grave'); MEYER Wb. 37 (to *verrë, birë*), *Alb. St.* V 104 (to IE **uer-* 'to wrap'); JOKL *Studien* 94, *IF* XXXVI 125; ÇABEJ *St.* II 269-270 (follows DIEFENBACH); DEMIRAJ *AE* 409.

varrë f, pl. *varrë* 'wound'. Secondary formation built on *vras* and based on the analogy with verbs in -*as*. Cf. *vrajë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 464 (to *vras* and Skt *vraná-* 'wound'), *Alb. St.* III 38, 73; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 63 (to OHG *wern, werra* 'varix'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194; SKOK *A ArbSt* I 223; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; FRISK *Kl. Schr.* 277 (follows MEYER); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIII 66; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 194; ANTTILA *Schw.* 156; ÇABEJ *St.* II 270-271; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

vatër ~ votër f, pl. *vatra ~ votra* 'hearth, fireplace'. Borrowed from

Iranian, cf. Av *ātar-* 'fire' (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 37-50). The intermediate Iranian form in the Balkans must have been **atar-* or **otar-*. Rum *vatrā* 'hearth, fireplace' is an Albanian loanword. Slavic forms (SCr *vatra* id. and the like) were borrowed from Albanian or Rumanian (JOKL WZKM XXXIV 49). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4 (from Lat *atrium*); MEYER *Wb.* 464-465; MLADENOV *RESI* IV/2 191-192; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287-288; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 283-284; BARTHOLOMAE 312-316; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (to Lat *atrium*); VASMER I 279; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 40-41; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 353; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; HAMP *Opusc. slavica* 201-210 (looks for an ancient Balkan source), *RRL* 4 (1981) 315, *ALH* XII 153-155; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 45-46; KLEPIKOVA *BJaz.* 149-169; SCHUSTER-ŠEWC *ZfPhonetik* XXXII 699-702; HULD 124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 410-412 (Latin influence).

vath ~ **vāth** m, pl. *vathë* ~ *vāthë* 'earring'. Another variant is *vēth*. Diminutive of *vëng* ~ *vang*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 151; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-766; FEIST *Goth.* 546-547; POKORNY I 1156-1158.

vathë f, pl. *vathë* 'sheepfold, pen'. Diminutive of an unattested **vartë* continuing Palb **wartā*. The letter is etymologically identical with Tokh B *wārto* 'garden', Ir *fert* 'grave mound', OE *weorð* 'yard' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 94). ◇ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 390; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5 (to Lat *urbs* 'town'); POKORNY I 1162; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XL (1984) 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412 (connected with IE **ues-* 'to live, to stay night').

vazhdë f 'trace'. Borrowed from East South Slavic, cf. Bulg *važdam*, OCS *važdati* 'to lead' (MEYER *Wb.* 465).

vdes aor. *vdiqa* 'to die'. From **awa-takja*, derivative of **teka* 'to run away, to go away', cf. *ndjek* (HULD 124-125). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 465 (comparison with SCr *zdeknuti* 'to die, to peg out'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 77 (to OHG *touwen* 'to die' - but the source of the latter is IE **dhau-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285 (agrees with BARIĆ); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 25-30 (to Skt *vinakti* 'to separate'); PISANI *Saggi* 123 (follows BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 142 (to OE *deorc* 'dark'), *Etim.* III 206-208.

vdjerr aor. *vdorra* 'to leave'. From **awa-derna* 'to leave' < **to go*

away' formed with a prefix on the basis of IE **der-* 'to run': Skt *dr̥ti* 'to run, to hasten', Gk aor. ἔδρᾶν 'to run away' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 437). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 73 (to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk φθείρω); MAYRHOFER III 211; FRISK I 122-123; POKORNY I 204; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204.

ve f, pl. *va*, *veja* 'widow'. From PALb **widewā* related to Skt *vidhāvā* id., Lat *vidua* id., Goth *widuwo* id. and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-53, 90). Phonetically, the borrowing from Lat *vidua* is equally possible (MEYER *Wb.* 465, *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 123). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vidua*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 120-121, 126; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; BARIĆ *Hymje* 21; FEIST *Goth.* 562; MAYRHOFER III 211; WALDE-HOFMANN II 785-786; POKORNY I 1128; ÇABEJ *St.* II 272-273 (follows JOKL).

ve ~ vo f, pl. *ve ~ vo* 'egg'. Etymologically relevant is the Old Albanian form *vœ* (BUZUKU, BARDHI). Hence, the reconstruction of the contracted Tosk **vae* > *ve* ~ Geg **vœ* > *vo*. The correspondence of anlaut Tosk *va-* ~ Geg *vo-* is typical of (mainly Latin) loanwords. Therefore, *ve ~ vo* is a borrowing from Lat *ōvum* 'egg' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 465). ◇ BOPP 534 n. 1 (compares with Lat *ōvum*, Gk ὄών); CAMARDA I 44, 91 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 23; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-52, 90, 207 (confronted with difficulties in the explanation of the vocalism, reconstructs **ēuīē*), *IF* XXXVI 109 f.; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110; BARIĆ I 81; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; ÇABEJ *St.* II 272 (follows BOPP); HULD 125-126.

veç adv., prep. 'separately, besides'. Derivative of **ve*, a form of PALb **awa* 'away, out, un-', cf. *vdes*, *vrap*. ◇ MANN *Comp.* 44 (from IE **au̯jos*).

vedër f, pl. *vedra* 'pail (for milk)'. Borrowed from Slav **vědro* 'pail', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vedro*, SCr *vjedro*, *vedro* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 465). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 68.

vegë f, pl. *vega* 'handle, tool, instrument'. With other variants (*vjegë*, *vegjë*), this word continues the attested form *vegël* 'ear (of a vessel), instrument, tool'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *vehiculum* 'vehicle'

(LAMBERTZ apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 273). ◇ CAMARDA I 70 (to Lat *vehō* 'to carry'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 549-550; JOKL *LKUBA* 101-104 (to *vangë* or to *vig*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 99; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 77-78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 273-276 (follows JOKL's second etymology), 296-297; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412-413.

vegoj aor. *vegova* 'to appear misty, to be indistinct'. Borrowed from Lat *vagārī* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Turkish); ÇABEJ *St.* II 275 (to *vagëlloj*).

vegsh m, pl. *vegsha* 'clay pot'. Derived from *vegë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 101-103). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 275.

vehthe pron. 'self'. Other widespread variants are *vete* and *vetë*. From PALb **swai-ta* derived from **swaja*. The latter is identical with IE **swojos* 'own': Slav **svojъ*, OPrus *swais* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45), further related to IE **sue-* (BOPP 478; CAMARDA I 218; MEYER *Wb.* 468). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (*vetë* from IE **sue-t-*), BB VIII 192, *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 41, 261 (reconstructs **swojeti*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 290 (*vetë* < **suet-i-* with a locative particle **-i*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280-281; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, 382 (to Gk *αὐτός*); TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 251; VASMER III 583; PISANI *Saggi* 167; LEUKART *Nomina* 152-153; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 ("unclear"); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354, *Orpheus* VI 17 (against MANN); DEMIRAJ *AE* 416-417.

vej aor. *vejta* 'to weave'. From PALb **wehnja* connected with Skt *ubhndti* 'to lace up', OHG *weban* 'to weave', Tokh B *wāp-* id. (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 36, 38). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 105; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178, 186; MAYRHOFFER I 107; POKORNY I 1114; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 77; ÇABEJ *LP* VII 162-163, *St.* VII 184, 228; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 413-414 (secondary form in **-njō*).

vel aor. *vela* 'to overeat, to eat too much'. Continues PALb **wala*, a secondary ablaut variant of *vjell* (HAHN 7). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 276.

velenxë f, pl. *velenxa* 'woolen blanket'. A Balkan word indirectly borrowed to Albanian from Slav **val'anica* 'object made of felt' through the mediation of NGk *βελέντσα* 'woolen blanket'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Hung *velencze*);

SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12; SVANE 48.

vem m, pl. *veme* 'larva, grub, caterpillar'. Derived from *ve* 'egg' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 276-277). The meaning 'caterpillar' appeared under the influence of *dhemje* occasionally confused with *vem* in dialects where *v* and *dh* are interchanged. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 84, *Alb.St.* IV 61 (identifies *vem* with *dhemje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 19, 87.

vend m, pl. *vende* 'place'. From PALB **wen-ta*, an adjectival form based on the verb **wena* > *vě* (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◇ HAHN I 243 (comparison with the Illyrian place-name *Vendum*); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XXI 89-90; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 116; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38, *Hist. Gr.* 81 (to IE **ues-*); GERCENBERG *Prosodika* 106 (to Illyr Οὐένδων, *A-vendius*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 278-280 (to Gk οὐδᾶς 'ground, earth', Arm *getin* id.); HULD 126.

venitem refl. 'to pale, to wane'. Borrowed from Slav **venŋti* id., cf. South Slav continuants: Bulg *vena*, SCr *venuti* (MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◇ SVANE 251.

vepër f, pl. *vepra* 'work'. A singularized plural of an unattested **vapër* ~ *vopër*, cf. *vogël*, pl. *vegjël*. Borrowed from Lat *opera* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 130.

verbër ~ **verb** adj. 'blind'. Borrowed from Lat *orbis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 466) with the same phonetic development as in *vepër*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 60-61, 177.

verdhë adj. 'yellow'. Borrowed from Lat *viridis* 'green' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 14; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

verë f 'summer'. Borrowed from Rom **vëra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 466; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279-280; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 82, 216; HAARMANN 156.

verĕ ~ venĕ f 'wine'. From PALb **wainā* cognate with Gk οἶνῃ 'vine', οἶνος 'wine', Lat *vīnum* 'wine', Arm *gini* id., ultimately borrowed from Sem **wainu-* id. (CAMARDA I 42, 57; MEYER *Wb.* 465-466, *Alb. St.* III 38, 89). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vīnum*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 321; BÜGA III 427; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; LA PIANA *Prefisso* 48; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 387, *Hist. Gr.* 66 (loanword from Doric); FRISK II 364-366; CHANTRAINE 785; WALDE-HOFMANN II 794-795; POKORNY I 1121; ÇABEJ *St.* II 280-281; HULD 126-127 (borrowed from North-West Greek); JANSON *Unt.* 32-33; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414.

verigĕ f, pl. *veriga* 'chain ring'. Borrowed from Slav **veriga* 'chain', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *veriga*, SCr *veriga* (MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 148; SVANE 86.

verzĕ f, pl. *verza* 'gill, branchia'. Continues the umlauticized PALb **wardjā* etymologically identical with Lith *varlĕ* 'frog' < **vardĕ*, Latv *vārde*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 467 (from **byrca*, to Slav **byrkъ* 'mustache'); WEIGAND 98 (to *vesh*); JOKL *LKUBA* 137-139 (from Rom **vertia*, to Lat *vertere* 'to turn'); FRAENKEL 1200; SOMMER *Balt.* 178 (on Lith -l- < *-d- in this word); DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 262 (from **vesh-zĕ*, to *vesh*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 281-282 (follows DODBIBA).

verzomĕ f 'fishing net'. Derived from *verzĕ*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 282 (identical with *vĕrzop*).

verr m, pl. *verra* 'alder'. Continues PALb **werna* related to Bret *gwern* id., W *gwernen* id., Mİr *fern* id. (DIEFENBACH I 50) and Arm *geran* 'beam, timber' (LIDÉN *IF* XVIII 485-486). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 255, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-88, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 413; TREIMER *Slavia* III 454 (to Slav **avorъ* 'elm', a Germanic loanword in Slavic); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 53; POKORNY I 1169; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 205; HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 193 (on Bret *gwern*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 282-283; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414-415.

verrĕ f, pl. *verra* 'hole'. Another form is *vĕrĕ*. From PALb **werā* or

**werwā* connected with Skt *urú-* 'wide', *vāras-* 'space, width', Gk εὐρύς 'wide'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 36 (improbable comparison with *birē*); MAYRHOFER I 110; FRISK I 592-593; POKORNY I 1165; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

ves m, pl. *vese* 'bad habit'. Borrowed from Lat *vitium* 'fault, defect, vice' (MEYER *Wb.* 467). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 58, 125.

vesë f 'dew'. DE RADA's variant is *voesë*, in Geg one also finds *vosë*. The original form must have been **vaesë* ~ *voesë*. Borrowed from Rom **ōvātium*, a word describing the falling dew as small eggs. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 262 (from **uend-ti-*).

vesh m, pl. *veshë* 'ear'. From PALb **wausi-* further related to IE **ōus-* ~ **əus-* id. (CAMARDA I 54), in particular, cf. Lat *auris*, Lith *ausis*, Latv *āuss* (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 11-12, 61). Another, less possible reconstruction for Proto-Albanian is **wōusa*; in this case, the immediate parallel is found in Gk ὠς id. (HAMP *Laryngeals* 138) but in Greek the long vocalism belongs to nom. sg. of the consonantal stem. In both cases, prothetic *v-* is not quite regular. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *ghōṣa-* 'noise'); MEYER *Wb.* 467 (compares with Av *gaoš-* 'to hear'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172 (follows MEYER *Alb. St.* III); PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 254 (*v-* treated as a hiatus-filler); JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 40; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110-111; BÜGA II 641; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; LA PIANA *Studi* I 82; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; FRAENKEL 26; FRISK II 448-449; WALDE-HOFMANN I 85-86; POKORNY I 785; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (borrowed from Lat *ōs*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 127; KARULIS *LEV* I 90-91; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 73; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 ("ruki" rule in *vesh*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414 (reconstructs dual, cf. *sy*).

vesh m, pl. *veshë* 'vine'. Historically identical with *vesh* 'ear'. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 213-215 (to Lith *vāisius* 'fruit'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 114-115 (derived from IE **uoino-* 'wine'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorges.* I 93.

vesh aor. *vesha* 'to put on (clothes), to cover'. From PALb **wesja* etymologically connected with Skt *vāste* 'to wear, to be dressed in', Gk ἐννύμι 'to dress', and in particular with causatives attested in Skt *vāsáyati*

and Goth *wasjan* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; BOPP 503-504; MEYER *Wb.* 467, *Alb. St.* III 38, 61). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Lat *vestire* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283; LA PIANA *Studi* I 92; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 39; FRISK I 521-522; MAYRHOFER III 175-176; POKORNY I 1172-1173; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 150; DEMIRAJ *AE* 416.

veshěl adj. 'fruitful'. Derived from *vesh* 'vine'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

veshje f, pl. *veshje* 'kidney'. Historically identical with *veshje* 'clothing, clothes, dress', *veshje* is derived from *vesh* 'to cover, to put on' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 467-468 (to Hung *vese* id. and Slav **pečeny* 'liver'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 283-284 (connects *veshje* with *eshke*).

veshkĕt ~ vyshkĕt adj. 'faded, withered'. Borrowed from Lat *vĕscus* 'small, thin, weak' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 468). From here the verb *veshk* 'to make withered' is derived. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

veshqok adj. 'clever, smart'. Derivative of *veshq* identical with *veshěl*, with *-shq-* rendering *-sl-* as in *shqa*.

veshtull m, pl. *veshtuj* 'mistletoe'. Based on an unattested **vesht*, an irregular continuant of **veshk* borrowed from Lat *viscum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 468). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 157 (from Rom **vistulum*); HAMP *St. albanica* VIII/2 153-155.

vete ~ vetem aor. *vajta* 'to go'. The element *-te* in the paradigm of singular is, whatever its source, secondary. The original form of 1 sg. was **vem* continuing PAIb **wadmi* identical with Arm *gam* '(I) come'. Further cognates are Lat *vādō* 'to go, to walk' and ON *vaða* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (calque of Rom **vādītus sum* with *vet(e)-* borrowed from **vādītus*; alternatively, *vete* is related to Lat *vādere*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 292; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109 (from **gʷatos esmi*), Zb. *Belić* 187; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; WALDE-HOFMANN II 723-724; POKORNY I 1109.

vetĕtĭj aor. *vetĕtĭva* 'to sparkle'. Related forms are *vetoj* and *vektōj* 'to

shine'. The original form must have been **veg(ĕ)toj* connected etymologically with *vegoj*, *vegulloj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 470 (from Slav **svĕtiti* 'to shine'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279.

vetlloj aor. *vetllova* 'to crease, to fold'. Derived from *vetull*.

vetull f, pl. *vetulla* 'eyebrow'. Borrowed from Rom **vittula* derived from Lat *vitta* 'band', especially denoting a fillet or chaplet worn round the head (SPITZER *MRIW* I 332-333). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 93-94, *Wb.* 469 (to Slav **věko* 'eyelid', Lith *vokà* id. or to Slav **vědja* 'eyebrow'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 38; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81 (to IE **okʰ-t-* derived from 'eye' **okʰ-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* V 195; HAARMANN 50 (agrees with SPITZER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* II 284 (follows MEYER's comparison with Slav **vědja*); HULD 128 (from **okʰlā* with **-kʰl-* > *-t(u)ll*); HAARMANN 158.

veth m, pl. *vethë* 'maggot'. Deminutive of *vem*.

vezulloj aor. *vezullova* 'to shine'. From **dhezulloj*, derivative of *dhez* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 285). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *vetĕtij*).

vë ~ vê aor. *vura ~ vuna* 'to put'. Proto-Albanian innovation **awena* replacing IE **dhē-* (including such idioms as *i vë emrin* 'to give a name' < **onōmn dhē-*). The verb **awena* is a derivative in **-no-* based on **aue* 'down, off' (Skt *āva* id. and the like) and its original meaning is 'to put down', 'to put aside', just as in Lat *pōnere* 'to put'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 469; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (< IE **ues-* 'to sell'); MAYRHOFER I 56; POKORNY I 72; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128-129 (reconstructs IE **Honō*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 278 f. (comparison with Arm *getin*); HULD 126 (to Goth *winja* 'pasture'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 436 (< IE **ues-* 'to stay, to live, to be'; possible only if **wena-* < **wes-na-* is accepted); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

vëlla m, pl. *vëllezër ~ vëllazën* 'brother'. As plural reflects *-z-* < **-dj-*, the Proto-Albanian source of *vëlla* can be reconstructed as **swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal **swe* (see *u*) and **laudā* cognate with OHG *liut* 'people', Slav **l'udъ* id. and the like, from IE **leudh-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 41-46). ◇ BOPP 461 (connected with IE **bhrāter-* 'brother'); MEYER *Wb.* 469-470 (correctly reconstructs **swe-* as the first element),

Alb. St. III 63 (same as BOPP; adduces βρά·ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἰλείων [sc. Ἰλείων], Hes.); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 222 (compares with ON *svilar* 'brothers-in-law', Gk (Pollux) εἰλίονες id. thus reconstructing **syelo-*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284-285 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 121 (follows JOKL); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 34 (from **sue-loghos* "from the same bed"); PISANI *REIE* IV 17-18; VASMER II 545; POKORNY I 684-685; BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 322-323; CHANTRAINE 191; SZEMERÉNYI *Kinship* 116; HAMP *RRL* XXI/1 51, *JIES* XVI/1-2 121-122; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from **sue-sloughā*); HULD 129 (reconstructs **auH-m-tlā* and compairs *vëlla* with Lat *avunculus* 'maternal uncle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 417.

vënd ~ vend m, pl. *vende* 'place'. A coexisting Tosk form is *vend*. From Palb **wenta*, derivative of *vě* 'to put' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

vëng ~ vang m, pl. *vangje* 'hoop, tyre, ring, rim'. The Tosk form is poorly attested. From Palb **wengā* related to Skt *vāṅgati* 'to go, to limp', OHG *winchan* 'to make a sign, to make a motion', Lith *vìngis* 'arc' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 463, *Alb. St.* III 7, 38, 66, 87). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 103-104, *ArRom* XXIV 39, *Sprache* IX 130; BÜGA II 325, 648; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRAENKEL 1256-1257; MAYRHOFER III 124; POKORNY I 1148; ÇABEJ *St.* II 266-267; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

vëngër adj. 'cross-eyed'. Related to *vang*.

vërsë ~ vërcë f 'age'. The Geg form with its -c- < Slav *-st- is more conservative. Borrowed from Slav **vrsta* 'age, kind, kin', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vrъsta* 'age', SCr *vrsta* 'kind, age' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

vërsnik m, pl. *vërsnikë* 'peer'. Borrowed from Slav **srъvrstъnikъ* id., cf. ORuss *srъvrstъnikъ*. Another variant, *vëshnik*, may belong to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

vëershëllej aor. *vëershëlleva* 'to whistle'. Irregular transformation of Rom **fistuläre*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'pipe'.

vērshoj aor. *vērshova* 'to flood, to overflow'. Borrowed from Lat *versāre* 'to turn, to wind', in Romance also 'to pour out' (MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Ital *versare*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* II 285 (prefixal derivative in *vēr-* based on *lēshoj*); HAARMANN 156.

věrtetě f, pl. *věrteta* 'truth'. Borrowed from Lat *veritatem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 145.

věrtit aor. *věrtita* 'to turn'. Borrowed from Slav **vьrtěti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *vьrt'a*, SCr *vrtjeti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; SVANE 249.

věrtyt m 'physical strength'. Borrowed from Lat *virtutem* 'manhood, strength' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 470-471). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 84.

věrvit aor. *věrvita* 'to hurl, to fling'. Borrowed from Slav **vьrvěti*: Bulg *vьrv'a*, SCr *vrvjeti*, *vrvljeti* (MEYER *Wb.* 471). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243; SVANE 249.

věrzop m 'rope used to carry straw'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vьrzop* 'tie bundle' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 282).

věrras aor. *virra* 'to shout; to bleat'. Secondary formation in *-as* < **atja* based on PAIb **wera* further related to Gk εἶπω 'to say', Hitt *uerija-* 'to sound' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 175 (to *hērtas*); MEYER *Wb.* 471, *Alb. St.* III 38, V 105 (follows CAMARDA and compares *věrras* with Slav **verščati* 'to squeak'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; FRISK I 469-471; POKORNY I 1162-1163; ÇABEJ *St.* II 285-286 (same as MEYER).

věrrī ~ věrrĭ f, pl. *věrrī ~ věrrĭ* 'winter pasture'. Borrowed from Rom **hiberninum*, derivative of Lat *hibernum* 'winter' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 240-242). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 264-265; WEIGAND 99

(Albanian derivative of *hibernum*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* II 286 (from Rom **invernus*?!).

vërri f 'little furrow'. Another form is *rruvi*. Derived from *verrë* (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 94-95 (to Lat *versus* 'furrow'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 286-287 (to *varrë*).

vësht ~ vësht m, pl. *vreshta ~ vneshta* 'vineyard'. From PALB **wainesta* with a mobile stress in the paradigm: sg. **wáinesta* - pl. **wainés-ta*. Derived from **wainā* > *verë ~ venë* (MEYER *Wb.* 466; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549). ◇ ; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 126-127, *LKUBA* 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* II 280-281; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414.

vështirë adj. 'hard, difficult, bad, evil'. Prefixal derivative of *shtirë* (MEYER *Wb.* 416). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 284; ÇABEJ *St.* II 287.

vëshjell aor. *vështolla* 'to wrap'. A prefixal derivative of *shtjell*.

vështroj aor. *vështrova* 'to see, to watch'. Another variant is *vështoj*. Borrowed from Lat *visitāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 471). On the other hand, cf. *vëzhgoj*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1051; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 234; HAAR-

and its derivatives, cf., in particular, ON *sveigr* 'flexible', OHG *sweiga* 'cattle shed' < **swei-ē-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 472 (from Lat *vicus* 'street, village'); JOKL *Studien* 96 (to-Ski *vayd* 'branch', Slav **větvъ* id.), *LKUBA* 149; POKORNY I 1041-1042; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 77-78; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 418.

vigan m, pl. *viganë* 'giant'. A Balkan *Wanderwort* for 'smith', cf. SCR *viganj*, Hung *vihnye* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 472). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

vigje pl. 'gifts (on marriage or birth); dinner on the third day after child's birth'. Borrowed from Lat *victualia* 'victuals'. The sonorization of the dental may point to the late date of borrowing. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 95-96 (from **yed-l-*, to Gk *ἐδωv* 'dowry'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 290 (plural of *vig*); MURATT *Probleme* 106-107 (from Lat *vigilia*); LANDI *Lat.* 94, 126.

*-š- in accordance with the "ruki" rule (OREL *IJaK* 140-141) and further related to *weta > vit (STIER KZ XI 207), cf. Skt vatsá- 'calf' belonging to the same root (BOPP 461, 513). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 200; STIER KZ XI No 48; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 72 (from Lat *vitulus*); MEYER *Wb.* 475-476; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 290 (reconstructs *ueteso-); JOKL *LKUBA* 34, 261 (suggests *uetesjo- as a source of viç); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281, *Stratificazione* 143; PORZIG *Gliederung* 159; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER III 133; SZEMERÉNYI *Quellen* 94; HAMP *GJA* VII/1 27-30, *BSL* LXVI 222; ÇABEJ *St.* II 288-290; HULD 129-130; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354; DEMIRAJ *AE* 417-418.

vider f, pl. *vidra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Slav *rydra id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vidra*, SCr *vidra* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189, 299). ◊ SVANE 143.

vidh m, pl. *vidha* 'elm'. From PALb *wīdza related to Kurd *viz* id., OE *wíc* id., and, with nasalization, Lith *vinkšna* id., Slav *vězъ id. (MEYER *Wb.* 472, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 150; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 392; BUGA II 653; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRAENKEL 1257; VASMER I 374; POKORNY I 1177; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 83.

vig m, pl. *vigi*, *vigie* 'small bridge, coffin, stretcher on which the dead

MAIR 137-138; HAMP *GJA* VII/1 27-30.

vēzhgoj aor. *vēzhgova* 'to watch, to observe'. Borrowed from Lat *vestigāre* 'to follow, to track' (MEYER *Wb.* 471). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriss* 2 I 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 246; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 157.

vgje ~ **vgjē** m, pl. *vgjenj* 'pine'. Borrowed from Lat *abiegnum* 'related to fir', derivative of *abietem* 'fir' (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 64, V 105, *Wb.* 471). ◊ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 252 (from Lat *abietem* 'fir-tree'); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 57 (from Gk πεύκη 'pine'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* II 287-288.

vickē f, pl. *vicka* 'hoofbeat, step'. From *vith-kē, derived from *vithe* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 288).

viç m, pl. *viça*, *viçëra* ~ *viçna* 'calf'. From PALb *vetuša with *-s- >

vigiëz f. pl. *vigiëza* 'vetch'. Collective form of **vigië* a hypercorrect form of **vique* borrowed from Lat *vicia* id. (MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ St. II 290). ◇ HAARMANN 157; LANDI Lat. 113.

vij ~ **vinj** aor. *erdha* 'to come'. Borrowed from Lat *venire* id. (MEYER Wb. 473). The aorist continues PALb **erdza* etymologically identical with Gk ἔρχομαι 'to come' (CAMARDA I 240; MEYER Wb. 69, Alb. St. III 18, 86). ◇ CAMARDA I 79 (mistakenly equates *vij* with Gk βαίνω 'to go' and Lat *veniō*); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1043; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 335; MEILLET Arm. II 42; FRISK II 572; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 71; KLINGENSCHMITT Verbum 97; ÇABEJ St. I 164 (to Gk ὀρνύμαι 'to move' and its cognates); HULD 129; HAARMANN 156.

vijë f, pl. *vija* 'furrow, line, ditch'. Borrowed from Lat *vīa* 'road, way' (MEYER Wb. 471-472). ◇ MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ St. VII 279; HAARMANN 157; LANDI Lat. 77, 135.

vikas aor. *vikata* 'to cry, to shout'. Borrowed from Slav **vykati* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vikam*, SCr *vikati* (MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente 36; MEYER Wb. 472). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 192; SVANE 261.

vilas aor. *vilata* 'to cut down (trees)'. Derivative in *-as* < **-atja* of *vjel* (ÇABEJ St. II 291).

vile f, pl. *vile* 'bunch (of grapes)'. Derived from *vjel* (MEYER Wb. 475). ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 291.

virgjër ~ **virgjin** f, pl. *virgjëra* ~ *virgjina* 'maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *virginem* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 71; MEYER Wb. 470). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß² I 1045; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI Lat. 57, 145-146.

virua ~ **virue** m, pl. *vironj* 'brook, rivulet'. Borrowed from Slav pl. **virove* of **virъ* 'whirlpool, water-pit' (JOKL IF XLIX 280-281). ◇ MEYER Wb. 473 (from Slav **virъ*); ÇABEJ St. II 292; SVANE 170.

vise f, pl. *vise* 'place'. Goes back to PALb **witsjā* < IE **ueikjā* similar to Gk οἰκία 'dwelling, house'. The development of IE **-kī-* to Alb -

'house'. ◇ CAMARDA 131 (rejects the connection with **ueiko-*); MEYER BB VIII 186, Wb. 473 (*vise* is treated as a reflex of **ueiko-* but this is phonetically impossible as **k̑* > PALb *-ts- > Alb -th-), Alb. St. III 13, 38; PEDERSEN KZ XXXV 338; JOKL *Studien* 5 (to Lith *vietà* 'place'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 32; PISANI *Saggi* 101; FRISK II 360-361; CAMAJ Alb. *Worthb.* 69-70; POKORNY I 1131; CAMAJ Alb. *Worthb.* 69-71; ÇABEJ LP VIII 127-128, St. II 293-294 (singularized pl. of *vënd*); HULD 126 (-s- < *-d-t-); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364; DEMIRAJ AE 419.

visk m 'foal of donkey'. Borrowed from Slav **viskъ* 'shriek', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *visk*, SCr *visak* (BER I 152). ◇ MEYER Wb. 473 (from Slav **viskati* 'to shriek'); ÇABEJ St. II 295 (hypocoristic of *Vinçenc*).

vishkëlloj aor. *vishkëllova* 'to whistle'. Borrowed from Lat *fistuläre* id. (MEYER Wb. 112). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284.

vishkull f, pl. *vishkulla* 'rod, cane'. Borrowed from Rom **viscula*, cf. Calabr *višiyu* 'young oak-tree' < Rom **višcile*. ◇ LANDI Lat. 111, 140.

vishnje f, pl. *vishnje* 'kind of cherry'. Borrowed from Slav **višn'a*, cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *višn'a*, SCr *višnja* (MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 36; MEYER Wb. 473-474). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 164; SVANE 128.

vishtat pl. 'standing crop'. Related to *vjeshtë* (JOKL LKUBA 213-214).

vit, vjet m, pl. *vite, vjet, vjetëra* 'year'. From PALb **weta* connected with Hitt *uitt-* id., Gk *ἔτος* id. and the like (BOPP 460; CAMARDA I 17; MEYER Wb. 475-476, Alb. St. III 23, 38). ◇ MEYER Gr. Gr. 35, 269, 320; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRISK I 583-584; CHANTRAINE 383; POKORNY I 1175; HAMP GJA VII/1 27-29, BSL LXVI 222; HULD 129-130; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ AE 419-420.

vitërk m 'stepfather'. Borrowed from Lat *vitricus* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 127-128). ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 295; HAARMANN 158.

vito f, pl. *vito* 'dove'. Other forms are *vitua* and *vidë*. Based on PALb

**weitā* related to Skt *vāya-* 'bird', Lat *avis* id. and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 299-301). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 223 (from an onomatopoeic call); MEYER *Wb.* 474 (same as STIER); (); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 254; FRAENKEL 1265; MAYRHOFFER III 236-237; WALDE-HOFMANN II 713-714; POKORNY I 1123-1124; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 101 (a compound containing IE **uei-* 'bird'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 420-421.

vitore f, pl. *vitore* 'mythical serpent (keeper of the house), fairy, fate; mother of many children'. Borrowed from Lat *victoria* 'victory' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252). ◇ HAHN 162 (derived from *vit*); MEYER *Wb.* 475; TREIMER *AArbSt.* I 27-28 (to Lith *vieta* 'place'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 295-296 (derived from *vej*).

vithe f, pl. *vithe* 'crupper, rump, buttock, haunch'. A diminutive in *-th* based on PALb **wija* 'twisted, woven' derived from IE **uei-* 'to twist, to weave': Lat *vīeō*, Skt *vāyati*, Lith *výti*, Slav **viti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 472 (compared with *bythe*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk *ισχία*); FRAENKEL 1266-1267; VASMER I 322; MAYRHOFFER III 147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 786-788; POKORNY I 1120-1121; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

vjedh aor. *vodha* 'to steal'. From PALb **wedza* related to Skt *vāhati* 'to drive', Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry', Goth *gawigan* 'to steal' and other continuants of IE **ueǵh-* (MEYER *Wb.* 474-475, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38). From *vjedh* the word for 'badger', *vjedhull*, is derived (STIER *KZ* XI 140). The latter was borrowed to Rum *viezure*. ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 36, 274; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335 (to IE **uedh-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 59, 172; JOKL *LKUBA* 322; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; VASMER I 284 (to IE **uedh-* 'to lead'); FEIST *Goth.* 212; WALDE-HOFMANN II 742-743; MAYRHOFFER III 177-179; POKORNY I 1118-1120; STANG *Vergl.* 389 (on the long grade in aor. *vodha*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 353; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138, *Die Sprache* XIV 156 (follows VASMER); HULD 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 421-422.

vjehërr f, pl. *vjehrra* 'mother-in-law'. From PALb **swexurā* < **swesurā* with assimilation from the expected **swetsurā* (BOPP 531; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 46) restructured under the influence of the masculine form *vjehërr* 'father-in-law' < IE **suekuros* and related to IE **suekrū-*; Skt *śvaśrū-* 'mother-in-law', Lat *socrus* id. and the like. The masculine form *vjehërr* corresponds to Skt *śvāśura-* 'father-

in-law', Gk ἐκυρός id. and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 186, *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 5, 58). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 37; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 75; JOKL *LKUBA* 41-43, *Sprache* IX 127; BARIĆ *AarbSt.* II 384-385; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48; MLADENOV *Ist.* 188; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282, *Stratificazione* 121; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22-23, 38 (from **yeskuro-* < **syekuro-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; PISANI *Saggi* 103 (reconstructs **syeskuros* to account for -*h-*); MAYRHOFFER III 400-401; WALDE-HOFMANN II 550-551; FRISK I 478-479; POKORNY I 1043-1044; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687; HULD 131 (follows LA PIANA), *IF* LXXXIV 196-199; DEMIRAJ *AE* 422.

vjej ~ **vij** aor. *vjeva*, *vjeja* 'to need'. A more conservative form is *vėjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valēre* 'to be able, to be healthy' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

vjel aor. *vola* 'to pluck (fruit), to vintage'. From PALb **wela* related to Gk εἴλω 'to shut in, to press', Lith *su-valyti* 'to harvest, to reap' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38, 77, V 106). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 190, 214, *Slavia* XIII 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I/2 124 n. 2 (to Lat *vellō* 'to pluck, to pull'); FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY I 1138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 297-298.

vjell aor. *volla* 'to vomit'. From PALb **welwa* related to Lat *volvō* 'to turn' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283 (to *vjel*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57 (to *avull*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 832-834; POKORNY I 1140-1142; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 211; HULD 130 (on the semantic evolution of *vjell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 422-423.

vjershë f. pl. *vjersha* 'poem'. Borrowed from Lat *versus* 'verse' (CAMARDA 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043; WEIGAND 100 (against borrowing from Latin); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 138-139; ÇABEJ *St.* II 298-299 (secondary feminine form restored from pl. *vjersha*); HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 110, 148.

vjerr aor. *vorra* 'to hang'. Continues PALb **wera* related to Gk ἀείρω 'to raise up', Lith *veriù*, *vėrti* 'to weigh', *sveriù*, *sverti* 'to open, to thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 71). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; MANN *Language* XVII 18; FRAENKEL 951, 1229; FRISK I 23;

POKORNY I 1150-1151; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423.

vjeshtë f, pl. *vjeshta* 'autumn'. Derivative in *-shhtë* from *vjel* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 123, *LKUBA* 190, 214; ÇABEJ *St.* II 299; MANN *Comp.* 46 (to IE **ayek̑s-* 'to grow'); MURATI *Probleme* 108-110 (from **aiyesjā*).

vjetër adj. 'old'. Borrowed from Lat *veterem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◇ CAMARDA I 102 (treats *vjetër* as a derivative of *vit*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 64, 157; HULD 131.

vlag m 'wetness'. Borrowed from Slav **volga* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlag* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189).

vlak m, pl. *vleq* 'fishing-net; lambskin'. Another form is *vllak*. Borrowed from Slav **volkъ* 'object that can be dragged or carried', cf. Bulg *vlak*, SCr *vlak* 'net' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170, 303; SVANE 154.

vlej aor. *vleva, vlejta* 'to be worth, to cost, to deserve'. Other variants are *vëjej* and *vjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valēre* 'to be worth, to cost' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281.

vloj aor. *vlova* 'to get engaged'. See *mbloj*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 234.

vlug m 'prime (of life), peak'. Continues Palb **awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE **leug-* 'to bend': Gk *λυγίζω* id., ON *lykna* 'to bend knees', Lith *lūgnas* 'flexible' and the like. The original meaning is, therefore, 'turning point'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); FRISK II 141; FRAENKEL 388-389; POKORNY I 685-686; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vlladikë m 'archbishop'. From a South Slavic continuant of **voldyka* 'lord': Bulg *vladika*, SCr *vladika* (MEYER *Wb.* 476).

vllah m, pl. *vllëh* 'Arumunian'. Borrowed from Slav **volxъ* 'Valachian, speaker of Romance', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlast*, SCr *vlah* (MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

vllanjë f, pl. *vllanja* 'garden-bed, plot'. In Geg, there exist such variants as *vullâ* and *vllâ*. Borrowed from Rom **villānea*, to Lat fem. *villāna* 'related to farming'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 274 (from Rom **malleānus*, to Lat *malleolus*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 540; ÇABEJ St. II 307-308 (to *valë*, *avull*).

vobektë adj. 'poor'. A more conservative form is *vobeg*. Singularized plural of **vobog* borrowed, with assimilation of vowels, from Slav **ubogъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ubog*, SCr *ubog* (MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente 36; MEYER Wb. 476). ◇ JOKL LKUBA 7; SELIŠČEV Slav. nase-lenie 193, 326; SVANE 267.

voc m, pl. *voca* 'boy, youth'. Derived from *vogël*, *vogërr*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 199-200.

vogë f 'steam'. Continues PALb **wāgā* related to Gk ὑγρός 'wet', ON *vōkr* id. ◇ MEYER Wb. 477 (from Ital *voga* 'rowing; stroke'); FRISK II 955-956; POKORNY I 1118.

vogël adj. 'small', pl. *vegjël*. Within Albanian, another cognate is *vogërr* 'undersized, dwarfed, small'. Both forms continue PALb **wāgla*, **wāgra* related to Lat *vagor* 'to roam around', OIr *fán* 'slope' < **uāg-no-*. The semantic development is from **uāg-* 'to be crooked' to 'small'. ◇ CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk ὀλίγος 'little', with a metathesis); MEYER Wb. 477 (to Slav **svěžъ* 'fresh'), Alb. St. III 58; BUGGE BB XVIII 173 (to Norw *våk* 'child'); BARIĆ ARSt. I 115 (< **ue-* 'not' + *galan-* 'big', cf. Slav **goleмъ* id.); JOKL LKUBA 23; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 286; WALDE-HOFMANN II 726-727; POKORNY I 1120; ÇABEJ St. VII 237; HULD 131-132.

vokull f 'circle'. Borrowed from Slav **okolъ* 'circle, circumference', cf. *okoll*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 477 (from Ital *bocca* 'mouth').

volitem refl. 'to fit'. Borrowed from Slav **voliti* 'to like, to prefer', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vol'a*, SCr *voliti*. ◇ SVANE 250.

volltë f, pl. *vollta* 'will'. Another variant is *volë*. Borrowed from Slav **vol'a* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vol'a*, SCr *volja* (MEYER Wb. 477). ◇ SVANE 224, 250.

voně adj. 'late'. From PALb **wānti*, a participle in **-nti* related to Skt *vāyati* 'to vanish, to become exhausted', Lith *vójus(i)* 'ailing', Latv *vājš* 'meager, weak'. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 46-47 (reconstructs Tosk **vanē* and derives **vanē ~ voně* from **okno-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Lat *vānus* 'empty'); FRAENKEL 559; MAYRHOFER III 189-190; POKORNY I 1112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 300-301 (to *vete*).

vorbě f, pl. *vorba* 'clay pot'. An early borrowing in PALb **wāribā* from Slav **varьba* 'cooking' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153, 172). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 97 (to Slav **variti* 'to cook', Lith *virti* id.), *Die Sprache* IX 150-151, *Slavia* XIII 301 (against SELIŠČEV); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 120 (suffix *-bē*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 301-303 (from IE **uer-* 'to turn'), III 214; URBUTIS *Kalhotyra* IX 263; MURATI *Probleme* 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423-424.

(G) **voshtër** f, pl. *voshtra* 'Ligustrum vulgare'. Borrowed from late Lat *ōleaster* (JOKL *LKUBA* 209-211), cf. with a different stress, *ullashtër* s.v. *ullastër*. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 303; HAARMANN 138.

vovë f, pl. *vova* 'bogey, scarecrow'. An onomatopoeia, probably of Slavic origin, cf. Russ *vova* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (to Slovene *bavbav* and the like).

vozit aor. *vozita* 'to sail, to steer a course, to travel'. Borrowed from Slav **voziti* 'to carry (in a vehicle)' and also 'to row, to paddle', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *voz'a*, SCr *voziti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 477). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 161; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167, 183; SVANE 244.

vrah m, pl. *vrahe* 'pile of sheaves'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vrax* 'sheaf' (WEIGAND 101). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 117. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from Turk *orak* 'harvest, crops'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 117; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160, 305; ÇABEJ *St.* II 303-304.

vrajë f, pl. *vraja* 'wound'. Derived from *vras*.

vrap aor. *vrapa* 'to run, to haste'. From PALb **awa-rapa*, derivative with prefix **awa-*, in etymological connection with *rjep* 'to strip off

(skin or bark), to tear off' (OREL *Linguistica* 436-438). For the semantic development, cf. Russ *drat'* 'to run away' < 'to tear', Gk ἔδραυν '(I) ran away' ~ δέπω 'to strip off' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk πέπω 'to turn the scale, to sink', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize and carry off'); MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to IE **uerp-* ~ **urep-*; but IE **ur-* yielded Alb *rr-*), Alb. *St.* III 31, 38, 72; TOMASCHEK *MGGW* XXIII 550 (to several Illyrian toponyms derived from *urb-/urp-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 187; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 91; SCHRIJNEN *KZ* XLII 108 (to Lith *virpėti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XVII 18; GINDIN *Form. SN* 62; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *MJ* XXIII 285; OREL *Linguistica* 436-438 (alternative etymology: to Lat *rēpere* 'to creep', OPrus *rtipaiti* 'to follow', Latv *rāpt* 'to creep'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 424.

vras aor. *vrava* 'to kill'. From PALb **awa-rautja*, a prefix derivative based on IE **reu-* 'to tear, to destroy': Skt *rutá-* 'broken', Lat *ruō* 'to fall down, to rush down' and the like (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 464 (to *varrē* and Skt *vraṇa-* 'wound'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; MAYRHOFER III 63; POKORNY I 868; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vrazhdě adj. 'hard, rough, unfriendly'. Borrowed from Bulg *vražda* or CS *vražda* 'enmity' and transformed into an adjective (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 186, 196). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (related to *vrērēt* ~ *vranēt*); JOKL *LKUBA* 155 (develops MEYER's etymology), *Slavia* XIII 610 (against SELIŠČEV); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 65 (from OCS *vražь* 'inimical'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 304 (derived from *vras*).

vrej aor. *vreja* 'to observe'. Univerbation of *vē re* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 243, 362). ◇ CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk ὀράω 'to see'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 277-278, 304 (follows MEYER).

vrer ~ **vëner** m 'gall, bile'. Borrowed from Lat *venenum* 'potion, poison' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 82.

vrëndě f 'drizzle'. A prefixal derivative of *rend* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 304-305). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 97 (to ON *úr* 'drizzle', Av *vār-* 'rain'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 91; SPITZER *MRIW* I 327; DEMIRAJ *AE* 424 (to Gk βρέχω 'to rain, to moisten').

vrěrět ~ vranět adj. 'cloudy'. Together with *vrěr ~ vran* 'to darken, to become cloudy', based on **vrěr ~ vran* 'cloudy', a prefixal derivative of *re* 'cloud' (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 610, *ArRom* XXIV 40). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (borrowed from a South Slavic reflex of Slav **vornъ* 'black'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197 (same as MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 128-129 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 117-118, *Hymje* 78 (from IE **urano-* related to Slav **vorna* 'crow'); SKOK *AArbSt.* II 331 n. 31 (supports BARIĆ); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; ÇABEJ *St.* II 305-306 (agrees with JOKL *Slavia* XIII 610); JANSON *Unt.* 33-34; MURATI *Probleme* 135.

vrigull m, pl. *vriguj* 'flap, lobe'. Borrowed from Lat *verriculum* 'seine'.

vrikĕ f 'tamarisk'. Borrowed from Ital dial. *vrīca* id. < Gk *μυρίκη* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 306). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 467 (derived from *verr*); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-87, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236 (follows MEYER).

vringĕlloj aor. *vringĕllova* 'to whizz, to hum'. A prefixal form based on Rom **ringulāre* 'to growl, to grumble'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vrokth m 'dandruff'. A prefixal derivative of *rrok*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vrug m 'rust, mildew, blight'. Continues PALb **awa-ruga*, a prefixal form related to Av *raoyna-* 'butter', ON *rjúmi* 'cream'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); BARTHOLOMAE 1488; POKORNY I 873.

vrugĕt adj. 'dark'. Derived from *vrug*.

vrujoj aor. *vrujova* 'to well up, to spring'. Derived from *vrull* 'flight, run'. The latter is borrowed from Slav **vĕrlъ* 'strong, energetic', cf. Bulg *vĕrl*, SCr *vrli* 'good'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from SCr *vrulja* 'source'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 209-210; SVANE 171.

vrragĕ f, pl. *vrragĕ* 'trace, wheel-trace'. Borrowed from Slav **ovragъ* 'ravine', cf. Bulg *ovrag*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 306-307 (derivative of *varrĕ*).

vuaaj ~ vuej aor. *vova, vojta, vuajta* 'to suffer'. Borrowed from Lat *vivere* 'to live' and also 'to survive', with a semantic development suggesting an intermediate stage of 'surviving', 'living through'. Thus, *vuan*

nga një sëmundë *‘he lives through an illness’ > ‘he suffers of an illness’.
 ◇ MEYER Wb. 479 (from Slav **bolěti* ‘to be ill’); BARIĆ ARSt 73 (to Lith *voñs* ‘wound’); ÇABEJ St. VII 258.

vullnet m ‘will’. Another form is *vullëndet*. Borrowed from Lat *voluntatem* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 72; MEYER Wb. 479). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 158; LANDI Lat. 33, 88, 117.

vurg m, pl. *vurgje* ‘marsh, swamp’. From PALb **wurga* related to Gk ὀργᾶω ‘to be soaked’, ὀργᾶς ‘marsh, meadow’. ◇ FRISK II 411; POKORNY I 1169 (reconstructs **uerǵ-*).

vrkollak m, pl. *vrkolleq* ‘vampire’. Another form is *vrvollak*. Borrowed from Slav **vŭlkodlakъ* ‘werewolf, vampire’, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vŭkolak*, SCr *vukodlak* (MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 37; MEYER Wb. 479). ◇ JOKL LKUBA 69-70; SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 185; SVANE 217.

vurratë f, pl. *vurrata* ‘scar, mark, brand’. Borrowed from Lat fem. *vulnerāta*, part. of *vulnerō* ‘to wound’. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 308 (derived from *varrë*).

(G) **vûth** m ‘small valley’. Derived from *vû*, Geg participle of *vë* (ÇABEJ St. II 308). ◇ CAMAJ Alb. *Worthb.* 71 (reconstructs **und-*).

X

xa adv. ‘here you are’. A form of the verb *zë* with an initial *x-* < *z-* (ÇABEJ St. II 308).

xbunjë f ‘fluff from spinning’. Derived from *xbut*, *zbut* ‘to make soft’, cf. *butë*. ◇ MEYER Wb. 79 (to SCr *bunjak* ‘rubbish’).

xëgit aor. *xëgita* ‘to irritate’. A metathesis of *guxit* id., *gëzit* id. based on *gaz*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 309 (to *cys* and *nxit*).

xixë f, pl. *xixa* ‘spark’. A descriptive formation. ◇ MEYER Wb. 79 (to Ital *cica*); HAMP ABS XVII 129-130.

xunkth m, pl. *xunktha* 'reed'. Diminutive of *cung* with a secondary sonorization of the anlaut (ÇABEJ *St.* II 309).

xvar adv. 'trailing, dragging'. A phonetic variant of *zvar*.

xverk m 'occiput'. A phonetic variant of *zverk*.

Y

yej aor. *yejta* 'to stay awake'. Derived from *yll*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 215.

yjēzē f 'ankle, knuckle'. Derivative of **yl* (BARIC *AArbSt.* I 158-159) attested in *bërryl* and *ylber*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to *yll*); JOKL *Idg. Jb.* X 67 (identical with *nyjēzē*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 312 (follows JOKL).

ylber m, pl. *ylberē*, *ylbera* 'rainbow'. From PAIb **ul(e)nā bhōra* 'rainbow' < *'curve', a mirror reflection of PAIb **bhōrei ul(e)nā* > *bërryl* 'elbow' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67). For similar nomination of the rainbow cf. Slav **doga* 'arc, curve' > 'rainbow'. It is possible to conjecture NGk ὠλένη 'elbow' > *'rainbow' contaminated with ζωνάρι Παναγίας 'Our lady's belt' and ζωνάρι κυρᾶς 'Ελένης 'Lady Helen's belt' (BELECKIJ *Principy* 66-67; OREL *loc. cit.*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460-461, *IF* VI 114 f.; KRISTOFORIDHI 433 (from *yll ber*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 312-313 (identifies the first component with *yll* 'star' following KRISTOFORIDHI).

yll m, pl. *yje* 'star'. A parallel form is *hyll*. Goes back to PAIb **skīw-ila*, a derivative of **skijā* > *hije* 'shadow' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438-439). For the phonetic development of -īwi- > -y- cf. *grykē*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to IE **sulno-* or **sūli-* 'sun'), Alb. *St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, XXXVI 277-278 (accepts MEYER's comparison with **sūli*); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 114-115; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; PISANI *REIE* IV 9; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132-133 (*yll* as a proof of *s*-mobile in the word for 'sun'); HULD 132, *KZ* XC 178-182 (to OE *ysle*, ON *usli* 'spark, ember'); LIUKKONEN *SSF* X- 58 (to Slav **aviti* 'to appear'); RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 264; BEEKES *CIEL* 264 (follows HULD and reconstructs **Huslo-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 206.

ysht aor. *yshta* 'to cast spells, to bewitch'. From PALb **awi-sta* related to IE **auei-* 'bird' and **stā-* 'to stand', originally 'to foretell according to birds, to augur', cf. Lat *augurāre, auspicāre*. ◇ POKORNY I 86; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

Z

zabel m, pl. *zabele, zabela* 'little wood'. Borrowed from Slav **zaběltz* id. attested in South Slavic (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 479 (to SCr *zabijeliti* 'to make white').

zabua ~ zabue m, pl. *zabonj* 'linch-pin'. Borrowed from Slav **zabojъ*, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *zaboj*, SCr *zaboj*. ◇ SVANE 34.

zakon m, pl. *zakone* 'custom, habit'. Borrowed from Slav **zakonъ* 'law', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *zakon*, SCr *zakon* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; CAMARDA II 161; MEYER *Wb.* 480). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 53-54; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 177; SVANE 205.

zall m, pl. *zaje* 'river sand, river bank'. Borrowed as PALb **aigjala* from Gk αἰγιαλός 'river bank' (CAMARDA I 93). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 480 (from Lat *sabulum* 'sand'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 118, *AArbSt.* I 100 (to OHG *kes* 'firm ground'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* II 314-315 (to IE **jēlo-* 'unripe, raw'); HAARMANN 147.

zapëri f, pl. *zapëri* 'crease, fold'. Derived from *zaparit* 'to crumple' borrowed from Slav **zapariti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 481 (from SCr *sabor* 'crease, fold'); SVANE 244.

zavrat m, pl. *zavrate* 'garden-bed'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *zavrat* 'curve, turn', SCr *zavrat* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 316).

zbatoj aor. *zbatova* 'to put into force, to carry out'. Borrowed from Rom **exbattuere* 'to shake, to toss': Ital *sbattere*, Rum *zbat* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ PUȘCARIU *EWB* 180; ÇABEJ *St.* II 316-317 (against MEYER).

zbavit aor. *zbavita* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from Slav **jъzbaviti* 'to get

rid of', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *izbav'a*, SCr *izbaviti* (MEYER Wb. 481).

zbej aor. *zbejta* 'to make pale'. Derived from PALb **banja* (historically identical with *běj*) and related to Skt *bhāti* 'to shine', OIr *bán* 'white' and the like. ◇ MEYER Wb. 482 (to Slav **bělъ* 'white'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MAYRHOFER II 493-494; VENDRYES [B] 13; POKORNY I 104-105.

zbërkoj aor. *zbërkova* 'to tear, to rip'. Derived from *bark*, cf. Fr *éventrer* 'to disembowel, to tear open' (ÇABEJ St. II 317).

zborak m, pl. *zborakë, zboreq* 'martin'. Derived from *zborë*, variant of *borë*, cf. Fr *nivereau* id. and Russ *z'ablik* id. with a similar semantic motivation (KRISTOFORIDHI 368). ◇ STIER KZ XI 88 (to Goth *sparwa* 'sparrow'); MEYER Wb. 482 (to SCr *čvorak* 'starling'); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 1933 (to Rum *zbor* 'flight'); ÇABEJ St. II 317 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

zbres aor. *zbrita* 'to descend'. Derived from *pres*. ◇ HAMP *Festschr. Knobloch* 145-146 (from IE **bhergh-* 'to increase, to grow').

zbruj aor. *zbrujta* 'to soften'. Related to *mbruj* (ÇABEJ St. II 317).

(G) **zdërgjëhem** refl. 'to spread oneself out, to sprawl'. Derived from *dergjëm*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 317-318 (prefixal formation based on *gjerë*).

zdralë f, pl. *zdrala* 'dirt'. Derived from *zdraj*, see *zdramë* (ÇABEJ St. II 318).

zdramë f 'wound on horse's withers'. Derived from *zdraj* 'to swell, to make swell' (WEIGAND 104), a prefixal formation based on PALb **d(e)ranja*. This verb is to be compared with Skt *drñāti* 'to burst', Gk *ḑépω* 'to skin, to flay' and the like (ÇABEJ St. II 318). ◇ MAYRHOFER II 59; FRISK I 368-370; POKORNY I 206-208.

zemër f, pl. *zemra* 'heart; middle'. A difficult word without any reliable explanation. ◇ MEYER Wb. 483 (compares with Geg *zê* 'soul' and connects *zemër* with *zê* 'to seize'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (to ON *gaman* 'joy'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE **ghen-*, cf.

Gk εὐθηνέω 'to blossom' and its cognates); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293, *Stratificazione* 99-100 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 212 f. (follows MEYER); HAAS 166 (to Phryg κίμερος· νοῦς, Hes.); HULD 132-133; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 59 (to Lith *juosmuõ* 'belt').

zeshk aor. *zeshka* 'to make brown'. Derived from *zi* (MEYER *Wb.* 484). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 216, 222; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115.

zet num. 'twenty'. From PALb **w(i)džati* etymologically identical with IE **u̯t̥k̥mti* id.: Skt *vimśatī-*, Gk εἴκοσι, Lat *vīginti* (BOPP 512; CAMARDA I 170; MEYER *Wb.* 483). ◇ XYLANDER 306; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 24, III 17, 23; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338, *Kelt. Gr.* I 186; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 103, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35, n. 2; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 40; PISANI *Saggi* 133; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRISK I 453-454; WALDE-HOFMANN II 788-789; MAYRHOFER III 199-200; POKORNY I 1177; HULD 133-134; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252, n. 1 (*z-* as a reflex of **u̯t̥k̥-*), *Numerals* 900, 919, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96; ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 207 f. (from **jeug-t-* related to **jugom* 'yoke'), *St.* II 318-319; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 165; HULD 133-134; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (on the development of **wdž-* > *z-*), *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425.

zě ~ zâ aor. *zura ~ zuna* 'to seize, to grasp, to touch'. From PALb **džeina*, a derivative in **-no-* based on IE **g^hejə-* 'to overpower': Skt *jyā* 'force, power', *jáyati* 'to win, to conquer', Gk βίη 'power'. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *hā-* 'to reach'); MEYER *Wb.* 483 (from Slav **jъz-imati* 'to take out'); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 13; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (reconstructs **g^hhenō*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE **g^hhen-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (follows JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 101, 128; FRISK I 235; MAYRHOFER I 419, 448; POKORNY I 469-470; ÇABEJ *BUSht* XIV/3 44-45 (to Skt *yāmati* 'to hold'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62; HAMP *ŽA* XXXI 92, *IF* XC 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 426-427.

zě ~ zâ m, pl. *zěra ~ zana* 'voice'. From PALb **džana* etymologically related to Arm *jain* 'voice', Slav **zvонъ* 'ringing, sound', IE **g^huēn-* (MEYER *Wb.* 483, *Alb. St.* III 17, 39; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 306). ◇ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk γῆρυς 'voice, speech'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 403 (compares *zě* with Gk φωνή 'sound'); JOKL *Studien* 7 (on the development of palatals before **-u-*), *IF*

XXXVI 99, 112, 116, *Mélanges Pedersen* 133-134, *Sprache* IX 124; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 490-491; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 45; HULD 134; JANSON *Unt.* 34-36; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; OREL *IF* XCIII 108; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425-426.

zēmēr ~ zamēr f, pl. *zēmëra ~ zamëra* 'late afternoon meal, late afternoon, tea time'. A difficult word. Maybe, a borrowing from Gk διήμερον 'period of twenty-four hours', *'afternoon'? ◇ CAMARDA I 107 (identifies *zēmēr* with *zemër* as 'the center of the day'); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 214-215 (compares *zēmēr* with Gk ἡμᾶρ 'day', Arm *awr* id. which, however, do not explain the anlaut *z-*), *St.* II 319; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41-42 (connection with *zē*).

zërë ~ zanë f, pl. *zëra ~ zana* 'goddess of forests, fairy, beautiful maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *Diana* (JOKL *Studien* 97-98). ◇ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 400; WEIGAND *BA* I 254; PAVLOVIĆ *ZfBalk* I 73-74; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* II 315-316, V 144-152; JANSON *Unt.* 62; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 94, 104.

zgafelle f, pl. *zgafelle* 'hole, cave, gallery, tunnel'. Derived from *zga-fulloy* 'to dig a pit'. The latter is a prefixal formation based on Rom **cappulāre* 'to cut, to chop'. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 186-187 (from Rom **dis-co-affibulāre*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 93-94 (to Lith *žiūpsnis* 'handful'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 319-320 (to *gërfej*).

zgarbë f, pl. *zgarba* 'hollow (in a tree)'. Derived from *garbë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 320-321 (to *kalb*).

zgavër f, pl. *zgavra* 'hole'. Another variant is *zguer*. A prefixal form based on PALB **gawirā* related to IE **geu-r-*, **gou-r-* 'bent, crooked'. ◇ POKORNY I 397.

zgerdhë f, pl. *zgerdha* 'bronchial tube'. Derived from dial. *zgardh* 'to open', further related to *gardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 321). Note *zgërdhelë* 'hole', *zgërdhihem* 'to bare one's teeth' and *zgërdhagët* 'empty' going back to the same source (ÇABEJ *St.* II 321-322). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (to *ngordh*).

zgorkë f, pl. *zgorka* 'deep place (in the river)'. Derived from *zguer*, see *zgavër*.

zgrip m, pl. *zgripe* 'side, edge, rim'. Based on PALb **gripa* related to OHG *krapfo* 'hook', ON *krappr* 'narrow'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to *shkrep*); JOKL *Studien* 35, *LKUBA* 116; POKORNY I 388; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 44 (reconstructs **grp-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 322-323 (follows MEYER).

zgrof m, pl. *zgrofe* 'stomach'. With a secondary *-f-* < *-p-*, a prefixal derivative of *gropë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 323). ◇ JOKL *AArbSt.* I 44 (from Lat *scrobis* 'ditch, dike').

zgurdulloy aor. *zgurdullova* 'to open wide (of eyes)'. A phonetic variant of *zgardhulloy* 'to open' derived from *zgardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 323-324).

zgurdhë f 'rectum'. Derived from *zguer*, cf. *zgavër* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 324). ◇ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 141-143 (to *zorrë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *BUSht* XIII/2 45; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; HULD 137; BEEKES *Lar.* 104 (untenable **g^he-g^hreH-do-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 427.

zgiebe f 'itch, scab'. Borrowed from Lat *scabiēs* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; HAARMANN 148.

zgjedhë f, pl. *zgjedha* 'ox yoke'. From PALb **diš-gadā* formed with a prefix **diš-* and related to *gjedh* 'cattle' (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70). ◇ CAMARDA I 88 (to IE **jugom* 'yoke'); MEYER *Wb.* 484 (from NGk ζεῦγλα, ζεῦλα); JOKL *Studien* 98-100 (derives *zgjedhë* from **zd-ledhe*, further compared with *lidh*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 119 (follows CAMARDA and adds Arm *luc* 'yoke'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 324 (unconvincing parallels in Germanic: OFries *gadia* 'to tie, to unite', Germ *Gatte* 'spouse'); OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70 (accepts **diš-* as a cognate of Gk δις- 'double').

zgjerbe f, pl. *zgjerbe* 'moth'. Connected with *gjerb*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 321 (singularized plural of *zgarbë*).

zgjic m 'little bay'. Derived from *gji* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 324).

zgjoj aor. *zgjova* 'to wake, to rouse'. Borrowed from Rom **exvigilāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1054). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 120 (prefix *z-* + cognate of Skt *svāpa-* 'dream, sleep'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

zgjua ~ **zgjue** m, pl. *zgjoj*, *zgjoje* 'beehive'. Based on **gjua* ~ *gjue* borrowed from Lat *jānuā* 'door, entrance'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 484 (to Slav **ulъъ* id.); WEIGAND 105 (from Rom **excavōne*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 109, LKUBA 286 (from Rom **excovus*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 325 (from **glon-*).

zgjyrë f 'rust'. Borrowed from Lat *scōria* 'dross, slag' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1053). ◇ HAARMANN 149.

zi adj., fem. *zezë* 'black'. From PALb **džedi* (fem. *zezë* < **džedjā*), etymologically connected with MHG *quāt* 'dirt', OE *cwéad* 'bad', Lith *gėda* 'shame', Slav **gadъкъ* 'disgusting', **gadъ* 'reptile, worm' < IE **gʰed-* (JOKL *Studien* 100-102, LKUBA 27). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 484, Alb. *St.* IV 43 (to Lith *žilas* 'grey-haired', Latv *zils* 'blue'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 64; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to Thracian proper names Ζειζαζς, Ζισιςς); POKORNY I 484; FRAENKEL 142; ÇABEJ *St.* II 325-326 (to Lith *júodas* 'black' but the change **j-* > Alb *z-* is unconvincing); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 110 (follows ÇABEJ); HULD 134-135 (to Slav **židъкъ* 'liquid'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 81-82; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; DEMIRAJ *AE* 427-428.

zid m 'wall'. Borrowed from Slav **zidъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *zid*, SCr *zid* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 484). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 173.

ziej aor. *zjeva* 'to boil, to cook'. From PALb **džernja* based on a less frequent form *zie* id. < **džera*. For the loss of the final *-r and the development of corresponding derivatives in *-nja cf. *bie* 'to carry' < **bera* ~ (m)*baj* 'to hold' < **en-barnja* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 439-440). The Indo-European parallels go back to **gʰher-*: Gk θέρομαι 'to become hot, to warm, to burn', OIr *fogair* '(he) warms' and the like. See *zjarm*, *zjarr*. ◇ CAMARDA I 44, 89 (to Gk ζέω 'to boil' but Gk ζ- < IE **j-* is never reflected as Alb *z-*!); MEYER *Wb.* 485 (borrowed from NGk ζέω 'to boil'); JOKL *IF* XLIX 294, *Slavia* XIII 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; FRISK I 612; MAYER I 162, II 52 (accepts the comparison with IE **ies-* in connection with Illyr *Aquas Jasas*); FRISK I 665-666; POKORNY I 493-495; ÇABEJ *St.* II 326-327; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (follows MEYER).

zjarm m, pl. *zjarme* 'fire'. From PALb **džerma* etymologically identical with Gk θερμός 'warm', Arm *žerm* id. < **gʰhermo-* (CAMARDA I

71; MEYER *Wb.* 485). ◇ FRISK II 664-665; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320-321, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293-294; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 121; POKORNY I 493-495; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201; HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

zjarr m, pl. *zjarre* 'fire'. From PALb **džera*, a new *o*-stem transformed from IE **g^hheres-*, nom. sg. **g^hheros*, cf. Skt *hāras-* 'flame, heat', Gk *ῥέος* 'summer', Arm *jer* id. (OREL *ZfBalk* XXV/2 145). Further connected with *zjarm* (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER *Wb.* 485, *Alb. St.* III 18). ◇ FRISK II 665-666; MAYRHOFFER III 579; POKORNY I 493-495; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293-294; LA PIANA *Studi* I 40-41 (reconstructs **g^hher-muro-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 163; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 234; HAMP *Anc. IE* 115 (treats *zjarr* as a singluraized plural of *zjarm*); HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

zmojle f 'fallow (land)'. Borrowed from Rom **exmulgia*, a derivative of Lat *ē(x)mulgēre* 'to milk out, to drain out', cf. Rum *zmulge* (JOKL *BA* IV 196-198, *Slavia* XIII 287). ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 182; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* II 327.

zog m, p. *zogj* 'bird'. An Oriental *Wanderwort*, presumably, of Iranian origin, cf. Arm *jag* 'chick', NPers *zâq* 'cub' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; HULD 135-136). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 216 (to Gk *ζῷον* 'animal'); CAMARDA I 104 (to Gk *ζῶω* 'to live', thus implying a derivative of IE **g^hlē-*); MEYER *Wb.* 486 (to Skt *jahu-* 'young animal'); JOKL *Sprache* IX 143; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338 (reconstructs **ghāghos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294-295, *Stratificazione* 143; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36, *Hist. Gr.* 35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; POKORNY I 409; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 445 (adduces Sogd *z'γ* 'kind of bird'); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 217-218 (to Lith *jėgà* 'strength', Gk *ἥβη* 'youth, youthful strength'), *St.* II 327-328; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 97-105 (reconstructs **uīke-g^o-*, to **uei-* 'bird'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 429-430.

zorrë f, pl. *zorrë* 'gut'. From PALb **džārnā*, a long grade etymologically identical with Lith *žarnà* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 486, *Alb. St.* III 18) continuing IE **g^herā-* 'to swallow'. ◇ CAMARDA I 88 (to Gk *ζώνη* 'belt, girdle'), 120 (to Gk *χορδή* 'gut'); SOLMSEN *KZ* XXXIV 2-3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 358; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 74; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 139-

142 (to IE *g^herǝ-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295, *Stratificazione* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 290; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lat *hīra* 'gut'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; PISANI *Saggi* 125; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRAENKEL 1291; POKORNY I 434-435; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 136-137; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 430-431.

zot m. pl. *zotërinj*, *zotër*, *zota* 'lord, master, god'. From PAIb *w(i)tš-pati- etymologically identical with Skt *viś-pati-* 'lord of the house' (HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96). The feminine form *zonjë* continues *w(i)tš-patnjā. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (*zonjë* to Skt *jāni-* 'woman'); MEYER *Wb.* 486-487 (to Skt *jāyate* 'to be born'; *zonjë* compared with IE *g^henā 'woman'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 324 (derives *zonjë* from *g^henijā; interprets *zot* and *zonjë* as compounds including *-potis and *potnjā, with the first component reconstructed as *g^hijā 'life'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 121-124 (from IE *djēu-t-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295 (compares *zot* with Skt *jāspati-* 'house master'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (from *g^hiā-tā, to *g^hei- 'to live'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 375 (against TAGLIAVINI); SOLTA *Sprache* V 198-199; MAYRHOFER III 224-225; ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 222 f. (to Gk ἅγιος 'saint'); BUDIMIR *AarbSt* IV/1 157-160, *GJA* XI/2 (1972[1974]) 85-86; PISANI *Sprache* VII 99-103 (< IE *g^hes-poti-/potnī); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42 (on the phonetic development); KLINGENSCHMITT *Lldg.* 104 (from *desjās + poti- similar to Arm *tēr* 'lord, master' < *desjās + anēr); DEMIRAJ *AE* 431-432.

zulë f 'shout, glory'. The derivative *zulmë* 'glory' is more widespread. From PAIb *dzulā, a zero-grade derivative of IE *g^hhau(ǝ)- 'to call': Skt *hávate*, Av *zavaiti*, Slav *zъvati. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 487 (to *zurnë* < Turk *zurna* 'kind of flute'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk ἵουλος 'down, the first growth of the whiskers and beard; corn-sheaf' - comparison based on the misunderstanding of the Greek word); ÇABEJ *St.* II 328-329 ('word of dubious origin').

zushë f 'heat, noon heat'. Borrowed, with an irregular z-, from Slav *suša 'drought', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *suša*, SCr *suša*. ◇ HULD *KZ* XCVIII (from *djēu + eus(i)ēH 'heat of the daytime sky').

zverk m 'occiput'. Derived from an unattested *vark > *verk based on *vjerr*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 488 (to Lith *gerklė* 'throat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*

mazia 296, *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42 (from *z-* + **uorkos*, further connected with *W cywarch* 'rope' < Celt **kom-vor-ko-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; MOUTSOS *AlAK* 338-344 (borrowed from Gk σβέρκος 'nape of the neck'); HULD *KZ* CVII/1 165-171 (from Goth **swairhs*).

zvjerdh aor. *zvordha* 'to wean'. A prefixal form based on *PAIb* **verdza* related to Lith *veržiū*, *veržti* 'to lace, to tie', Latv *vērzt* 'to turn', Slav **verzti* 'to bind' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 488, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38, 72). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335 (from IE **uert-*); FRAENKEL 1230-1231; POKORNY I 1168-1169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 432.

zymtë adj. 'dark'. Originally **zym*, this is a derivative of *zi* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 329).

Zh

zharg m 'snake skin'. Identical with *shark* (ÇABEJ II 330-331).

zhdërvjellët adj. 'adroit, deft, developed'. An expressive infigated form of the Italianism *zhvilloj* 'to develop'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 488 (from *SCr žrijev* 'lot'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 318 (to IE **uel-* 'to turn'); ÇABEJ II 331 (follows JOKL).

zheg m 'heat'. Borrowed from Slav **žegъ* id., cf. *SCr žega* 'sun-heat' (MEYER *Wb.* 488). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197.

zhumbinë f, pl. *zhumbina* 'gum'. Borrowed from Slav **zqbina* id. derived from **zqbъ* 'tooth' (SCHWYZER *KZ* LVII 259-260).

zhur m 'gravel'. Another variant is *shur*. Borrowed from Lat *saburra* 'sand ballast' (MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◇ HAARMANN 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251.

(G) **zhys** aor. *zhyta* 'to dive'. From *PAIb* **diš-ūd-tja* derived from IE **ued-* ~ **ud-* 'water', see *mbys* (HAMP *Laryngeals* 139). ◇ CAMARDA I 89 (reconstructs a prefix *sh-* followed by the root related to Gk δύω 'to immerse'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 124 (to Gk βάπτω 'to dip'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 246-247 (from IE **udjō*); POKORNY I 78-80; ÇABEJ II 332; HULD 90-91.

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